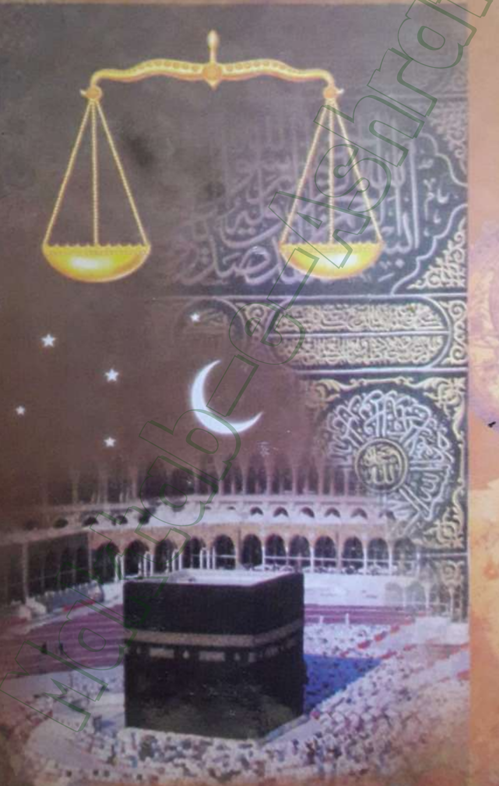
The History of ISLAM

Volume Two



By: **Akbar Shah Najeebabadi**

Revised by: **Safi-ur-Rahman Mubarakpuri**

The History of Islam

(Volume Two)



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In the Name of Allâh the Most Beneficent, the Most Merciful

Publishers Note

We are presenting before you the second volume of the book *History of Islam*. This book was originally written in the Urdu language in 1922 (1343 AH) by Akbar Shah Khan Najeebabadi. This was the time about 25 years before the partition of Indian Subcontinent into Pakistan and India. For the purpose of brevity, the compiler has presented the authentic events in concise form from the famous histories of Islam written in the Arabic and Persian languages by the grêat Muslim historians like Tabari, Ibn Athir, Mas'udi, Abul-Fida', Ibn Khaldûn and Suyuti, apart from getting benefited from the authentic books of *Ahadith* for the compilation of the part about the biography of the Prophet Muhammad ﷺ. So, this compilation is actually the extract of the works of the famous Muslim historians.

First volume of this book was heartily greeted by the readers. Now we are proud to present the second volume. In the first volume, starting with the introduction of the history as a subject, the country, people and conditions of Arabia prior to the advent of Islam were discussed, and an account of the life of Prophet Muhammad ﷺ was presented including the hardships and opposition he faced while propagating the message of Islam, and the details of migration and the period after it until his death. After that the description of Rightly Guided Caliphate was also discussed in its full perspective.

In this second volume, starting with the Caliphate of Banu Umayyah, the martydom of Imam Husain ﷺ, and the Caliphate of the Abbasids, all areas have been covered as far as the expansion of Islam was.

We hope that the readers will find this volume also of great help in the study of Islamic history. The famous scholar Safi-ur-Rahman Mubarakpuri has revised the Urdu edition before its translation to check the authenticity aspect.

The translation was done by the Translation Department of Darussalam, and every care has been taken to reproduce the events and the names of the persons and places as accurately as possible. We thank all the persons who have cooperated with us to complete this task and produce it before you into a presentable form. May Allâh accept our humble efforts in this regard and send His peace and blessings on our Prophet Muhammad, his Companions and his followers. —*Amin!*

Abdul Malik Mujahid
General Manager
Darussalam

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Chapter 1

Caliphate of Banu Umayyah

(First Phase)

After the Khilafat Rashida, (the rightly guided caliphate) we now begin with the Caliphate of Banu Umayyah. In the Khilafat ar-Rashida, the first two caliphs were neither from Banu Umayyah nor from Banu Hashim. The period of these two rightly guided Caliphs was the best. The third was related to the family of Banu Umayyah and the fourth to Banu Hashim. In the second half of the Khilafat ar-Rashida, the caliphs of both Banu Umayyah and Banu Hashim remained on the throne. The second half compared to the first half may be called a period of failure though it was certainly better than the caliphates that followed because the Prophet's companions were the rulers and most of his companions were still alive.

Islam came into the world to wipe out *Shirk,* (partnership with Allah) and establish *Tawhid,* oneness of Allâh. The Prophet (ﷺ) showed mankind what is perfect *Tawhid* and the way to real success. There can be no harm or loss greater than *Shirk* and no felicity and success greater than *Tawhid*. *Shirk,* in fact, is the name of injustice and oppression. That is why the noble Quran calls it the greatest of

injustices. What can be a bigger injustice than the fact that man should regard as his Maker, all the helpless beings that are themselves Allah's creations and slaves? Only that person can commit *Shirk* who wants to lead a life of injustice. The greatest thing that compels a man to embrace injustice is ignorance coupled with unjustified love, which in Quranic phraseology we call darkness and loss of the right path. In unjustified and uncalled for love for elders of our families and tribes we accord unjust veneration of their, pictures, statues and graves and these are the chief reasons that lead to the prevalence of *Shirk* in the world. It is through this that mankind has forgotten its Creator and fell into a death-pit. The Prophet (ﷺ) wiped out all the possibilities of *Shirk*, he also saved mankind from unjustified family prejudice and love that takes mankind away from justice and impartiality. The second thing that compels and has been compelling mankind to suffer from this greatest injustice is unjustified pride. This is the very thing that turned Iblis into *Satan*, the rejected one and it is through this that he has been able to seduce most people from the right path and put them on the way to destruction. When this unjustified pride joins hands with unjustified love, a very powerful formula for destruction is prepared for mankind. In order to do away with this source of *Shirk* the Prophet (ﷺ) on the day of the conquest of Makkah, stood at the door of the Ka'bah and addressed the inhabitants of Makkah and those who were influential among the Arabs.

> "O the tribe of Quraish! Allah did away with your vanity of the age of ignorance and your pride in your ancestors. All men are the offspring of Adam and Adam was made of clay. Allah says, O mankind! We created you from a single pair of a male and a female and made you into nations and tribes that you may know each other. Verily the most honored of you in the sight of Allah is (he who is) the most righteous of you." (*Ibn Hisham 4:60*)

Putting an end to racial and tribal pride was in reality closing the avenues to *Shirk* and creating the capacity for *Tawhid*. Also, there is no denying the existence of tribes and nations and their distinctions but greatness is not connected with race and family. Greatness and superiority is connected with the recognition and fear of Allah. Everybody who becomes pious deserves to be blessed and every

member of a tribe earns debasement for his and her misdeeds. By setting people on the right and straight path, the Prophet (ﷺ) delivered them to success in both the worlds and felicity for mankind. In the first half of the Khilafat ar-Rashida, the Muslims had nothing to do with the renounced sources of deviation and forgot family intolerance Quraish used to address Bilal the Habashi (Ethiopian) as 'Sayyadi' (my chief) and regarded him as more honored than themselves by virtue of his good deeds. The wisdom in sending the *Muhajirîn* and Ansars of noble families under the command of Osama bin Zaid (رضي الله عنه) was that nobody should harbor the thought in his heart that a man could be honored by virtue of nation, race or family. Had the crown and caliphate been the prerogative of a particular tribe and family, the Prophet (ﷺ) would not have sent anybody other than Banu Hashim as administrators to the provinces and territories and as commanders of the armed forces but he rarely did so. He always took care to bestow leadership and governorship strictly on the basis of merit. He did not consider anyone worthy of such a position based on one's relation to a particular family, or tribe. That was why even slaves could become leaders over the elders in Quraish and be given command the aremed forces nothing there than his would have been expected of the perfect teacher who preached pure *Tawhid*.

There had been a historical rivalry between Banu Umayyah and Banu Hashim as both tried to excel each other. That was probably why Banu Umayyah first opposed the Prophet (ﷺ), who belonged to the tribe of Banu Hashim, vehemently and Banu Hashim supported him more. When the Polythiests, those who make partners with Allah, were totally wiped out from the Arab and the opposing atheists of both tribes were slain or the fortunate ones embraced Islam, there were a good number of courageous and meritorious people in the newly converted Banu Umayyah. The Prophet (ﷺ) honored their capabilities. At the time of the conquest of Makkah by equating Abu Sufyan's house with the Ka'bah in connection to protection, he pleased them. Uthman bin Affan (رضي الله عنه) who came from Banu Umayyah and who was the Prophet's son-in-law, Ba'it ar-Ridwan was taken for him. Um ul-Muminin Um Habiba (رضي الله عنه) also belonged to the Banu Umayyah tribe, she was Abu Sufyan's daughter and Muawiya's sister. The Prophet (ﷺ) appointed Abu Sufyan (رضي الله عنه) the ruler of Najran.

He made Uthman bin Abul-Aas (رضي الله عنه) who was Uthman bin Affan's uncle, the governor of Taif and the adjoining areas. Umar Farooq (رضي الله عنه) made him governor of Oman and Bahrain. Attab bin Usaid (رضي الله عنه), the grandson of Abu Sufyan's uncle Abul-Aas, who became a Muslim on the day of the victory of Makkah was appointed the ruler of Makkah. Khalid bin Sayeed, the grandson of Abu Sufyan's uncle, was made the administrator of Yemen. He became a martyr in the battle of Yarmuk. Similarly, the Prophet (ﷺ) appointed Uthman bin Sayeed the governor of Khaibar and and his brother Aban the ruler of Bahrain. Had the Prophet (ﷺ) an iota of the old rivalry between Banu Umayyah and Banu Hashim and preferred the racial and family relations to personal qualification, he would not have made these people of Banu Umayyah the administrators of these provinces.

He never chose racial discrimination to individual excellence. Yes, he admitted to tribal preferences but it was confined only to those families, which were known for their managing and leading capabilities due to the experience and training that the members of those specific tribes were exposed to. For management and commander ship, he selected the capable and qualified persons from among these families. Islam had put an end to the traditional rivalry that existed between Banu Umayyah and Banu Hashim. Therefore, it was appropriate that they should not have been put in the position to partake in the Caliphate for some time so that they would not be able to revive their old competitive rivalry. The Prophet ﷺ realized this danger fully, which was indicated by his making Abu Bakr رضي الله عنه, the Imam of the *Salat* so that he would be made the caliph after the Prophet's death. The group of Sahabas (Companions of the Prophet ﷺ) who had discernment and understanding, acted upon it whole heartedly. Similarly, Abu Bakr رضي الله عنه appointed as his successor after him the man who was superior to all others in merit and belonged to neither bothe tribes. In the same way if after Umar bin Khattab رضي الله عنه, Abu Obeida bin Al-Jarrah رضي الله عنه or Salim Maula Hudhaifa رضي الله عنه had been made the caliph as Umar bin Khattab رضي الله عنه himself wanted, then this dormant rivalry would not have come to life again. But these two noblemen had died much earlier than Umar bin Khattab رضي الله عنه. Again, if any of the six members of the

Shura (council) chosen by Umar bin Khattab رضي الله عنه to pick his successor had maintained this principle by selecting one from among themselves that did not belong to either both tribes to be made caliph, it would have been possible that the future dangers might have been averted and at least both these tribes would not have recalled their forgotten rivalry. If Ali bin Abi Talib رضي الله عنه had been made the caliph after Umar bin Khattab رضي الله عنه there was every possibility that this extinguished fire would not have reignited. This is because Ali bin Abi Talib رضي الله عنه was not expected to have made so much extraordinary and sensitive allowances for Banu Hashim as Uthman bin Affan رضي الله عنه made in favor of Banu Umayyah. However, we should have faith that whatever happened was strictly in accordance with the dictates of Allâh and was the destiny that He decreed. We have nothing at our disposal to prefer our presumed resolution that did not actually occur to the results of events that really took place. The most that we can say is that the rebirth and prolongation of the systematic rivalry between Banu Hashim and Banu Umayyah during the Islamic era was extremely harmful for Islâm. Those today who want to see this rivalry maintained and consider the connection with a particular family or tribe as a necessary qualification for the post of caliph are increasingly proving themselves as enemies of and harmful to Islâm.

Banu Umayyah by virtue of their personal merit, were regarded as an integral part of the Islamic caliphate. After the appointment of Uthman bin Affan رضي الله عنه as the caliph, Banu Umayyah took advantage of his mild nature and Marwan bin Al-Hakam's remaining in authority, increased their power and influence so much that they overwhelmed the entire Islamic World and were occupied with maneuvering to establish their leadership over the Arab world which they previously could not have done in view of the stiff opposition they faced during the days of Ignorance. The martyrdom of Uthman bin Affan رضي الله عنه and the conspiracy hatched by the *Munafiqin* and the Jews posing as Muslims helped them establish their control even more. Ali bin Abi Talib رضي الله عنه had to face greater difficulties during his rule for the simple reason that he was from Banu Hashim. The rivalry between Banu Hashim and Banu Umayyah was constantly before the eyes of the whole Arab world. They attributed all attempts made by Ali

bin Abi Talib رضي الله عنه against Muawiya رضي الله عنه and Banu Umayyah to these rivalries and did not cooperate with him because they did not like to participate in reviving the old rivalries between these two tribes. Had there been a non-Hashmite as caliph instead of Ali bin Abi Talib رضي الله عنه he would have gotten more help from the Arab tribes. Had Ali bin Abi Talib رضي الله عنه himself not been the caliph he would have done better in opposing Muawiya رضي الله عنه and crushing Banu Umayyah and would have found himself more powerful and effective in establishing the caliphate of one who was not a Hashimite.

At this moment, we recollect involuntarily the last words of Imam Hasan رضي الله عنه which he uttered as a last testament to Imam Husain رضي الله عنه at the time of his death.

"When Ali bin Abi Talib رضي الله عنه became caliph after the Prophet's ﷺ death, swords came out of their sheaths and this issue remained unsettled and now I know it full well that Prophethood and the caliphate cannot co-exist in our family."

The future, which has now passed into the past, has put its seal of truth on these true words of Imam Hasan رضي الله عنه. After the rightly guided Caliphs, Banu Umayyah made Damascus its capital and ruled over the whole Islamic world for about ninety years. For several hundred years, their caliphate and rule continued in Spain. The rule by Banu Abbas family in Baghdad lasted for more than five hundred years. Banu Abbas are Banu Hashim, no doubt, but they are the descendants of the prophet's uncle and not the descendants of the Prophet's daughter. In other words, Sadat (Arabic plural of the word Sayed which is a title of respect and is also used to refer to the Prophet's descendants) can by taken as belonging to the Prophet's family because the Prophet's blood through Fatima bint Muhammad ﷺ is present. As there is no mixing of the Prophet's blood in the Abbasids, they cannot be taken as belonging to his descendants. A ruling family in Egypt claimed to be called Fatimid; but research scholars found its claim to be false. In India, there was a family that called themselves Sadat. But it is an open secret that Khidr Khan, the ruler of Multan, who was its first ancestor, was by no means a Sayed. The cause of his being known as a Sayed was simply because a mystic saint addressed him as Sayed, which is also a title of respect. Even

today, people address the Mughal and Pathan (tribe in Mangols) chiefs as "Sayed." In short, no one has been able to found a free government and kingship of Sadat of significance in any country so far. This is the one reality before us. When we recall the last words of Imam Hasan رضي الله عنه, our hearts are unconsciously overawed by the grand truth and magnificent utterance of the speaker.

Whatever Imam Hasan رضي الله عنه told his brother Imam Husain رضي الله عنه at the time of his death, was not only his Ijtihad (the pronouncement of the learned when Qur'an, Hadith, and Sunnah have not clarified an issue) or ilham (inspiration) but also that of the entire group of the Prophet's Companions. This was the idea that led the Prophet ﷺ to make a Hashmi neither a permanent ruler of a province nor a free and responsible commander of a large army. Though in the expedition of Mauta the Proper deputed Jafar bin Abi Talib رضي الله عنه as a commander, he made his freed slave Zaid bin Harith his senior. Although, he assigned Ali bin Abi Talib رضي الله عنه the work of collecting the Islamic tax in Yemen and that was only for a short time and he gave the post of administrator to Muadh bin Jabl رضي الله عنه and Abu Musa Al-Ashari رضي الله عنه. Similarly Abu Bakr رضي الله عنه and Umar bin Khattab رضي الله عنه never deputed Banu Hashim on important and responsible posts nor made them rulers of states though these two first caliphs paid great respect to Banu Hashim took care for their likes and dislikes, took *Mashwara (consul)* from them and acted upon it. Umar bin Khattab once said that if they had the power of a ruler along with the honor of Prophethood, they would cause the people to be very submissive and this would make them suffer from tribal pride and thereby kill the real spirit of Islam and they would destroy themselves.

Once he said that whoever led people towards the veneration of the age of Ignorance, he must be slain. Once again he said "If anybody made a man Amir or ruler on the basis of his relation or friendship with him though better persons among the Muslims were available he committed a breach of trust with Allâh, the Prophet ﷺ and the Muslim community.

In brief, this was not only the faith of Imam Hàsan رضي الله عنه that the honor of Prophethood is sufficient for the family of the Prophet ﷺ and the honor of the rule should not be linked to it, but this belief was also shared by most of the Sahabas. The truth is that the holy Sadat who

were related to the Prophet's family and who were supposed to end shirk and all its facets from the world, should not hanker after worldly dominion and material prosperity so that they might prove worthy of being the Prophet's progeny. If the Prophet ﷺ had not declared taking Sadaqa (charity) unlawful for the Sadat, we could have expected that they, the family of the Prophet ﷺ deserved to be caliphs and emperors. But this provision for his family is the biggest proof that he had already decided that his family would remain non-attached to worldly riches or perhaps he might have known it from the divine revelation. The forbidding of charity to the family of the Prophet ﷺ is in fact a matter of great pride for the Sadat and it exalts their status to such heights that the other groups of the world, which are related to Islam, can be envious of. Worldly riches and sovereignty are such things which distance man from Allâh. The Holy Qur'ân and Traditions, therefore look down upon them. History tells us that the people despite being in possession of right knowledge could not be persuaded to do good deeds. Only those lucky people who had not much to do with material riches have been honored to protect Islam and such people alone continue to safeguard Islam.

The Prophet ﷺ said, that Islam began with the poor and would last with them. Also, think over this Tradition in which he (ﷺ) has said: "I leave the Qur'ân and my children, Sadat among you."

This Tradition also bears an ample proof of the fact that Imam Hasan رضي الله عنه had declared strictly in accordance with the intention of the tradition, "I know it full well that Prophethood and the caliphate cannot co-exist in our family."

Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه

Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه was born seventeen years before the Hijra, he was junior to Ali bin Abi Talib رضي الله عنه by six years. Amir Muawiya's mother Hind bint Utba was first married to Faka bin Mughira Quraishi. Faka once doubted his wife's chastity. He kicked her and ultimately turned her out of his house. That became a topic of discussion among the people. Hind's father Utba asked his daughter. "What is the matter? Tell me clearly. If Faka is justified in accusing you, I shall tell somebody and he will kill him and we shall be saved from dishonor. However, if he is a liar and slandered you unnecessarily,

we shall refer this affair to a soothsayer." Hind swore many times to prove her innocence and refused the allegation absolutely. When Utba was convinced of his daughter's innocence, he compelled Faka bin Mughira to take his tribe Banu Makhzoom with him and go to a soothsayer in Yemen. Similarly Utba bin Rabia too, along with a few persons of Abd al-Manaf, Hind and a friend of hers, set out. They reached the soothsayer and requested him to attend to the affair of those two women.

The soothsayer first went to Hind's friend and striking at her both shoulders said: "Stand up". Then he came to Hind and struck her also, and said "Stand up. You have neither done a bad deed nor committed adultery and you will give birth to a king whose name will be Muawiya." Hearing this Faka caught hold of his wife's hand but the latter pulled away her hand away with a jerk and told him that if she was to give birth to a king, he would not be from his seed. So, after the proof of her impeccability she severed her relation with him. Abu Sufyan bin Harb then married Hind and Muawiya was born.

Abu Sufyan was not more than forty when Muawiya was born. Abu Sufyan was ten years older than the Prophet ﷺ. Right from his childhood Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه had some indications of the future by virtue of which he was called the 'Choro (Kisra) of the Arabs'. He was chiefly known for his wisdom, good management, love of peace and moderation. He was tall, fair complexioned, handsome and strongly built. When the Prophet ﷺ saw him, he said, "This is the Choro (Kisra) of Arabia. The day Muawiya رضي الله عنه leaves the world, you will see that lots of heads will be severed from their bodies." In the last days of his life, Amir Muawiya's belly bulged a little. He used to read the Khutba while sitting on the pulpit. This mode of address of sitting was started by him. He was a well-read man. On the day of the Conquest of Makkah he came with his father, Abu Sufyan, and embraced Islam at the age of twenty five and remained with the Prophet ﷺ until the latter's death. He accompanied him on the expedition of Hunain and the siege of Taif also. After that when the Prophet ﷺ came to Makkah, performed Umara and proceeded to Madinah, Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه Came Madinah and was appointed as one of the recorders of the revelation. Apart from recording the

revelation, he on behalf of the Prophet ﷺ used to entertain and make arrangements for the board and lodging of foreign delegates. After the Prophet's death when Abu Bakr رضي الله عنه sent Amir Muawiya's brother Yazid bin Abu Sufyan رضي الله عنه to Syria with an army, he gave Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه a division and put him in charge of supplying aid to him. In the Syrian expedition, his performance was extremely marvelous and a good indication of his abilities and he impressed all by his acts of valor. Umar bin Khattab رضي الله عنه made him the permanent administrator of Jordan. When Sahabas like Abu Obeida and Yazid bin Abu Sufyan died of the plague of Amwas, Umar bin Khattab رضي الله عنه appointed him the ruler of Damascus, the jurisdiction of his brother. Jordan and other districts were included under his government. When Umar bin Khattab رضي الله عنه went to Bait al-Maqdis (Jerusalem), Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه accorded a reception for him and acompanied him. Umar bin Khattab رضي الله عنه objected to Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه saying, "You have adopted the royal way of living and I have heard, you have assigned door keepers." Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه said, "The Syrian borders always remain in danger of incursion by the Roman soldiers and attack. Their spies keep roaming throughout Syria. I think the external pomp and grandeur is necessary to keep the Roman emperor and the Christians in awe and the door keepers keep the Roman spies at bay."

Satisfied with this answer Umar bin Khattab رضي الله عنه no longer questioned him. Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه sought his permission for launching a naval attack on Constantinople and the capture of the islands in the Mediterranean Sea. But Umar bin Khattab رضي الله عنه did not allow him to do so. When Uthman bin Affan رضي الله عنه became caliph after Umar bin Khattab رضي الله عنه, he made Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه the governor of Syria and all the adjoining areas. He permitted him to prepare a navy and extended his powers. Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه captured Syria and considerably strengthened the Islamic rule there, kept the Roman emperor in terror and awe of him and did not give the Christians a chance to attack the Islamic territories. What transpired between him and Ali bin Abi Talib رضي الله عنه after the martyrdom of Uthman bin Affan رضي الله عنه, has been discussed in Volume 1 of this book, there was a truce between Amir Muawiya رضي

الله عنه and Imam Hasan رضي الله عنه. Till the month of Rabia al-Awwal 41 Hijra, the entire Islamic world took ba'it (Arabic for the swearing of allegiance) at the hands of Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه and Imam Hasan accepted him as the caliph. Up to that time, Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه had been the governor of Syria for twenty years. After becoming caliph and emperor of the whole Islamic world, he remained alive for twenty years more. The total period of his rule was forty years. In the first half of the forty years, he was a ruler of a province or Governor and in the second half, he ruled as caliph or emperor. I have recorded in detail his conditions, circumstances and important events in the first volume. From this point, we have to consider him as Caliph for the events in the second half of his rule and hence he has been named caliph in the following text.

Virtues and Habits

Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه has narrated 163 *Ahadith* (Traditions which afterwards were in turn narrated by Sahabas like Ibn Abbas, Ibn Umar, Ibn Zubair, Abu Darda رضي الله عنهم, and Tabeyeens (those who saw the companions of the Prophet but not the Prophet himself) like Ibn ul-Musayyib and Humaid bin Abdur Rahman رحمهما الله. Many traditions are popular about his greatness. Tirmidhi, under the caption 'Traditions of Hasan' has written that the Prophet ﷺ said "O Allâh! Make Muawiya (رضي الله عنه) the guide and the guided." It is recorded in *Musnad* Imam Ahmad bin Hanbal that the Prophet ﷺ said, "O Allâh! Teach Muawiya (رضي الله عنه) calculation and save him from punishment." Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه himself says. "I hoped to be caliph the moment when the Prophet ﷺ told me that when you become a king, treat people with kindness." Amir Muawiya's رضي الله عنه patience and common sense was proverbial. Once after performing Hajj during his caliphate he came to Madinah and stayed there for a few days. One day when Abdullah bin Mohammad bin Aqil bin Abi Talib رضي الله عنه was sitting with Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه, Abu Qatada Ansari رضي الله عنه also arrived. Seeing him Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه said, "All came to meet me except Ansari." Abu Qatada رضي الله عنه said, "We have no means of communications and so we could not come." Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه said, "What about your camels?" He said, "All our

camels have got tired by following you and your father." Then he began to say, "I have heard the Prophet ﷺ say that a time would come when people would prefer the undeserving to the deserving." Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه said, "Then, has the Prophet ﷺ said something about how to act in such a situation?" Abu Qatada رضي الله عنه said, "The Prophet ﷺ has said about such a situation that the people should be patient." Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه said, "Then have patience."

A young man from the Quraish went to Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه and started abusing him. Hearing his unbecoming language Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه said, "O my nephew! Desist from this misbehavior because a king's anger is like a child's but his accountability in like a tiger's." Shâbi has said, that there are four wise men among the Arab: Amir Muawiya Amr bin Al-Aas, Mughira bin Shoba and Zeyad رضي الله عنهم. Muawiya for his patience and common sense, Amr bin Al-Aas for the capacity to solve knotty problems if suddenly encountered, Mughira for maintaining his cool and Zeyad in all small and big matters.

Similarly there are also four Qadis (Judges) Umar bin Khattab, Ali bin Abi Talib, Ibn Masood and Zaid bin Thabit رضي الله عنهم.

Jabir رضي الله عنه says, "I have seen none greater than Umar رضي الله عنه as a scholar of the Qur'ân and Fiqah, than Talha bin Obaidullah رضي الله عنه as a giver without being asked, than Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه as a man of patience and commonsense, than Amr bin Al-Aas رضي الله عنه as a sincere friend. One day Aqil bin Abi Talib رضي الله عنه went to Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه. Seeing him Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه, out of good humor, said, "Here is Aqil. His uncle was Abu Lahab". Aqil quickly retorted, "Here is Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه his father's sister was Hammalat al-Hatab. (This is in reference to the chapter Masad, the Palm Fiber, of Quran where Allah is promising punishment to Abu Lahab and Hammalat al-Hatab, his wife who brings the fuel for the fire).

When someone asked Abdullah bin Abbas رضي الله عنه about Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه, he said, "His patience was a antidote to anger and his generosity kept the people tongue tied." He knew how to join hearts and that strengthened his rule. One day Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه himself said, "The success I had against Ali bin Abi Talib رضي الله عنه was due to four factors:

1. I used to guard my secrets while Ali bin Abi Talib رضي الله عنه, disclosed every thing to the people.
2. My army was obedient while Ali's army was disobedient.
3. I did not take part in the Jamal war (The war between Ali رضي الله عنه and Aaisha رضي الله عنها)
4. I was popular with the Quraish while its people were displeased with Ali bin Abi Talib رضي الله عنه.

Important events during Amir Muawiya's Caliphate

When Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه sat on the throne Caliphate there were found three kinds of people in respect of faith and action in the Islamic world. The first sect was of the partisans of Ali. They thought that Ali bin Abi Talib رضي الله عنه deserved the Caliphate and after him, his progeny was entitled to the Caliphate. This sect was found in Iraq and Iran even more. It was also found Egypt. But it dwindled after the renunciation of the throne by Imam Hasan رضي الله عنه and his reconciliation with Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه. The second sect was of the partisans of Muawiya or partisans of Banu Umayyah. It included the whole of Syria and some Arabian tribes like Banu Kalb.

Due to the assassination of Uthman bin Affan رضي الله عنه, these people believed that Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه and Banu Umayyah were entitled to the Caliphate and were ready to extend all help to them. The third sect was called Khwarij. They considered the first two sects to have gone astray and into unbelief and thus they used all their powers against them. The hypocrites and conspirators who were unanimously the enemies of Islam remained mingled with this people. The majority of these Khwarij were in Iraq mostly in Basra and Kufa. Besides these three sects, there was one more sect, which remained aloof from all these controversies and wanted to live a life of withdrawal. This group consisted mostly of the great Sahabas. These people were mostly found in Madinah Munawwara and Makkah Mukarama and lived in the rural areas of the Hijaz or the pastures of camels. After becoming caliph, Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه, first had to face the Khwarij. When the truce was signed in the last ten days of Rabia al-Awwal 41 Hegira and people in general took the oath at the

hands of Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه. Farwa bin Naufil Ashjai, a Khwarij along with 500 other Khwarij readied themselves to oppose him, left Kufa and camped at a place named Nakhlia.

Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه instead of taking strong measures against them acted with commonsense. He assembled the Kufis and exhorted them. He said, "These are your own kith and kin. You yourselves should make them understand and acquaint them with the horrible consequences of opposition or fighting." The people of the Ashja tribe were so impressed that they went and brought Farwa bin Naufil Ashja as a captive. The Khwarij made Abdullah bin Abil Hausa their leader and they did not show any inclination towards reconciliation. At last, the Kufis fought with them and Abdullah was killed. After that, their number was reduced to only 150. Then they chose Abu Hausa Asadi as their leader. They were also appealed to for reconciliation, but they preferred to die fighting and paid no heed to death. Finally, Abu Hausa and his associates were killed while fighting and some of them fled to different towns of Iraq and Iran. That was the first confrontation that Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه had in Kufa after becoming caliph. Also, he became aware of different groups of Khwarij, which were present in the towns all over Iraq.

Appointment of Officials

Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه had already given the governorship of Egypt to Amr bin Al-Aas رضي الله عنه. Now on becoming the caliph of the whole Islamic world he appointed Sayeed bin Al-Aas and Marwan bin Hakam رضي الله عنهما governors of Makkah and Madinah respectively. Sayeed and Marwan رضي الله عنهما both were his relatives. He deputed them in Makkah and Madinah so that in these key cities of the Islamic world, no opposition group might rise up and to eliminate the possibility of any conspiracy. He did not go for Hajj every year he would appoint one of them as the Amir of Hajj. He was also very alive to the possibility that either of them could take advantage of the centrality and importance of Makkah and Madinah to gain power and influence. Because of this, he used to interchange their posts every year. After taking the ba'it for his Caliphate in Kufa, Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه made Mughira bin Shoba رضي الله عنه the governor of Kufa and

instructed him to crush the sedition of the Khwarij at any cost. He sent a letter to the governors of the remaining provinces and territories to take ba'it from the people on his behalf and consider themselves assigned on his behalf. In Persia Ali bin Abi Talib رضي الله عنه had deputed Zeyad bin Abi Sufyan رضي الله عنه who was considered to be from amongst partisans of Ali. Zeyad was known for his intelligence all over Arabia and had been ruling over Persia very successfully. Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه thought that if Zeyad betrayed him and made anyone from the progeny of Ali رضي الله عنه the caliph and took ba'it at his hand and rebelled against him (Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه.), then it would pose a major problem. Therefore, he gave the priority to a plan to bring him under his control.

Zeyad bin Abi Sufyan رضي الله عنه

Zeyad's mother Sumayya was the slave of Harith bin Kilab Thagafi. People had doubts about who his real father was. In fact, Abu Sufyan married Sumayya before embracing Islam and Zeyad was born of them. Zeyad resembled Abu Sufyan but the members of Abu Sufyan's family and Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه did not accept Zeyad as Abu Sufyan's son. When Zeyad heard that Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه was recognized as the caliph, he hesitated in taking ba'it, (the oath of allegiance) and accepting Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه as the caliph. At that time, Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه thought it wise to give a latter of protection to Zeyad's friend Mughira bin Shoba and send him to Zeyad and include him in his family and lineage by accepting him as Abu Sufyan's son. Mughira took the letter to Zeyad in Persia attested all the accounts of the treasury and brought him to Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه. Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه received him warmly and accepted him as his brother. His name was officially written in all papers as ibn Abi Sufyan. Ali bin Abi Talib رضي الله عنه was sure that Zeyad was Abi Sufyan's son because Abi Sufyan once in his presence at a meeting with Umar bin Khattab رضي الله عنه had admitted him as his son and so Umar رضي الله عنه made Zeyad the governor of Persia. Now Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه gave him greater honor, promoted him and made him the governor of Basra and instructed him to set and keep the people of Basra on the right path. Having arrived in Basra, Zeyad

assembled the inhabitants of Basra in the Central Mosque and made a grand and impressive speech. The people then had grown very undisciplined. Theft, robbery and sedition were rampant everywhere. Immediately after his arrival in Basra Zeyad instituted martial law and ordered that whosoever went out of his house or was seen in the field at night would be killed without any trial. That order was strictly complied with and in a few days the people of Basra became humble.

Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه after making Zeyad and Mughira governors of Basra and Kufa respectively was relieved of pressure from the Iraqi and Persian fronts because all the provinces of Iran were under Kufa and Basra.

Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه extended Zeyad's jurisdiction up to Persia, Jazirah, the northern section of land between the Tigris and Euphrates rivers,, and Sajistan . By including all these places in the jurisdiction of the governor of Basra, he had put an end to all possible sedition in the eastern territories. The Khawarij used to raise their heads off and on in rebellion in Iraq and Persia but Zeyad and Mughira together stamped them out very boldly and efficiently and did not allow any critical situation to be created, which might add to Amir Muawiya's رضي الله عنه troubles. Zeyad used not only strong measures in his jurisdiction but also behaved mildly and made allowances as the situation demanded. Once it was reported that Abul Khair, who was a brave and intelligent man, turned friendly to the Khawarij, Zeyad at once called for him and sent him back by making him an official of Jundi Saboor and thus he averted any future danger very wisely.

The governor of Egypt Amr bin Al-Aas رضي الله عنه died in 43 Hegira. Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه appointed his son Abdullah bin Amr its governor in his place. That same year when the Khawarij in Kufa saw that Mughira did not behave harshly like Zeyad and sometimes over looked the people's weak points, hatched a conspiracy for rebellion. Had Zeyad been in place of Mughira, the Khawarij would not have dared such a bold step. Zeyad knew the Khawarij very well and the inhabitants of Basra were humbled as mentioned earlier. Under the command of Masturad bin Alqama more than three hundred Khwarij left Kufa on 1 Shawwal 43 A.H., which corresponded to Eid al-Fitr (the celebration after the month of fasting and one of the two official

Muslim holidays). Mughira sent an army of three thousand soldiers after them. In ensuing battle, the three hundred Khawarij defeated the three thousand soldiers from Kufa.

More men were sent and they also met the same fate. Al last, under the command of Ma'qil bin Qais a large army set out. As a consequence, Ma'qil bin Qais and Masturad bin Alqama were killed while facing each other and all the Khawarij except five were exterminated, the impact of this event was so great that Mughira bin Shoba paid more attention and was more cautious about the threat of the Khawarij .

The northern borders of Syria always faced danger from the Roman Empire. There was also the danger of a naval attack on the Syrian coast. Egypt and North Africa were also under constant attack by the Romans. Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه after settling the eastern problems, spent all his energy and resources confronting the danger from the Romans. He prepared a naval force and enhanced the salaries of the sailors to attract others to join. He had two thousand war boats prepared, made Junada bin Umayya the Admiral. He made the army more powerful, arranged separately the defensive and offensive armies besides enhancing the supply links. He divided the army into two parts. The first was called Shitiwi, meaning winter forces and the second was Saifia, meaning summer forces. In both seasons the army kept a strict vigil on the borders by eliminating and suppressing the Roman forces. The naval forces made the Island of Cyprus its headquarters, they dispossessed the Roman forces from the Mediterranean Sea and made the Egyptian and Syrian coasts safe from enemy naval invasion. The adjoining provinces of Sajistan like Rehaj were conquested. In the same year, the Islamic army made advances towards Barqah, (historic region of North Africa and Sudan) and thus the area of Islamic rule was considerably extended.

Invasion of Constantinople

In 48 A.H. after taking stock of the Roman emperor's power, Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه thought it necessary to launch a naval attack on the Roman capital of Constantinople and put an end to the air of invulnerability they enjoyed and shatter the future ambitions of the

Christians in such a way that they would not dare to even look towards the Islamic borders. He made up his mind to invade Constantinople and made a declaration in Makkah and Madinah that the Muslims were going to attack Constantinople. Since the Companions knew the Prophet's ﷺ tradition, "The first army that attacks the city of the Roman emperor, would be forgiven," the illustrious Sahabas like Abdullah bin Umar رضي الله عنهما, Abdullah bin Zubair, Abdullah bin Abbas, Husain bin Ali, and Abu Ayyub Ansari رضي الله عنهم, gladly participated in the hope of getting redemption. A large army was prepared and he sent it to Constantinople under the command of Sufyan bin Auf and a part of the army was commanded by his son Yazid who was an officer of the summer forces, this army proceeded by sea. Another part moved towards Constantinople by the land route. The Muslims laid siege to the city, because the ramparts and the location of the city were extremely strong, the siege and the attacks were unsuccessful. A few great and lion-hearted men from the Muslim side were martyred.

Abu Ayyub Ansari رضي الله عنه died during the siege and was buried under the city's ramparts. Due to severe cold and natural impediments, the Muslims returned without conquesting Constantinople. Although the invasion was a failure and the city could not be brought under the control of the Muslims, the consequences of the invasion achieved an important objective. The Roman emperor and his army considered themselves as lucky to avoid conquest and they did not want to provoke another attack and put themselves in future danger so the Romans ceased to attack the Islamic borders and all the provinces under dispute between the Muslims and the Christian finally came under the control of the Muslims.

In 50 A.H., Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه made Oqba bin Nafi the commander in chief of Egypt, Barqah and Sudan, and afterwards sent ten thousand more soldiers, he instructed his commander to advance westward and capture all of North African. The Berbers used to obey the Muslims whenever the Islamic army arrived there but as soon as they found the Muslims relaxed and engaged somewhere else, they rebelled and asserted their independence. Oqba bin Nafi passed through Egypt and Barqah and invaded Tunis and Tripoli and after capturing all these provinces, advanced towards Tlemcen, in the

northwestern part of modern day Algeria near Morocco. In the same year the administrator of Makran, (the coastal area of modern day Pakistan and Iran) and Baluchistan, (western most province of modern day Pakistan), Abdullah bin Sawar, attacked Sindh, (province of southeastern Pakistan), in order to discipline the Sindhis. The Sindhis, who were fully prepared, faced him firmly. Abdullah bin Sawar was martyred in the battle. Mahlab bin Abi Safra was determined to be victorious and captured a large part of Sindh.

Yazid the Heir Apparent

During the same year, 50 A.H., Mughira left Kufa and came to Damascus and told Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه that he had seen the events of Uthman bin Affan's رضي الله عنه martyrdom in Madinah and all those scenes of the subsequent horrors were passing before his eyes, the malicious kinds of upheaval and disturbances that it created were for the sake of gaining the Caliphate. "So I think is proper that you should nominate your son, Yazid to be Caliph after you and in it lies the security and welfare of the Muslims". Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه had never planned to make his son the caliph. Mughira's words turned his attention to it and gave him this idea. He said to Mughira, "Is it possible that people would take ba'it for the Caliphate of my son?" Mughira said, "This is quite possible. I shall persuade the people of Kufa. Zayed bin Sufyan will force the people of Basra and in Makkah and Madinah Marwan bin Hakam and Sayeed bin Aas will make the people do so and as for Syria, there is no possibility of any opposition." Hearing this Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه sent Mughira to Kufa to execute the plan. This same incident has been found recorded elsewhere as follows: "Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه wrote to Mughira bin Shoba, the governor of Kufa, "that you should been yourself deposed immediately after reading this letter." However, when that letter was received by Mughira, he delayed its execution. When he reached Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه, he enquired about the cause of delay in execution of his orders. Mughira said, "I was engaged in getting ready for a plan." Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه said, "What was that plan?" Mughira said, "I was taking ba'it from the people for the future Caliphate of your son. Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه was pleased to hear that and sent him back to Kufa. When Mughira arrived in Kufa, the Kufis asked him

about the affair, he said, "I have thrown him in such a mire that he won't come out of it until doomsday." It is clearly known that it was Mughira bin Shoba who was instrumental in persuading Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه for the idea of making his son the future Caliph, which led to it becoming the convention of the reign of succession among the Muslims, that the son succeeded his father or king and the practice of selection by consultation was done away with. Yazid was Amir Muawiya 's son and it was only natural for a father to love his son and try to enhance his prestige and make him king. Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه may to some extent be taken as helpless or weak but no excuse can be offered on behalf of Mughira bin Shoba.

Mughira arrived in Kufa, called all the noblemen and those who were influential among the Arabs to him and tried to convince them to accept Yazid as the heir apparent. The influential people of Kufa showed willingness and agreed with the intention of saving the Muslims from all kinds of riots and disturbances and that the Amir ul-Muminin should nominate his son to be Caliph after him. Mughira then sent a delegation of illustrious Kufis along with his son to Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه. It called on him and expressed its willingness that ba'it for Yazid's caliphate should be taken. The arrival of that delegation strengthened the intention and wish of Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه, which Mughira had already created in his mind. He saw the delegation off with great honor and said to them, "When the time comes ba'it from you will be taken." Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه was a very far-sighted and scrupulous man. He wanted to know whether the majority of the Islamic world agreed to his view or not. He then wrote to Marwan bin Hakam, the governor of Madinah, and Zeyad bin Abi Sufyan, the governor of Basra: "I have grown old. I do not want any riots or disturbances to break out among the Muslims for the sake of taking the caliphate. I want that in my lifetime I should nominate someone to be caliph after me. Among the elders, I do not see anybody who would be suitable and among the young, I suppose my son, Yazid, seems to be the best. You should consult people and make consultation about it cautiously and influence them to take ba'it for Yazid's caliphate in the future. When the letter was received by Zeyad bin Abi Sufyan the governor of Basra, he showed it to a man of rank named Obaid bin Kâb Numairi and told him, "In my opinion

Amir ul- Muminin has taken a hasty step in this affair. He has not thought over it deeply because Yazid is a youth who leads a life of entertainment. People know very well that he is fond of touring and hunting and so they would certainly cause hesitation in taking ba'it. Obadiah bin Kâb said to him, "You need not express your disagreement to the Amir ul- Muminin's view. Simply send me to Damascus and I shall see Yazid and make him see reason and that he should reform himself so that there will not be any hitch in the way of taking ba'it for him. I am sure he will accept this advice. When his conditions undergo a pleasant change, the people will also not hesitate in taking ba'it, and the Amir ul-Muminin's wish will be fulfilled."

Zeyad appreciated the idea and immediately sent Obaid to Damascus. Obaid made Yazid understand all the subtleties of the matter and Yazid respected this advice, he reformed himself remarkably and silenced the people on this point.

When the letter reached Marwan in Madinah, he assembled the noblemen there and read to them this much, "the Amir ul-Muminin has the intention of saving the Muslims from all possible riots and disturbances by nominating someone to be caliph after him." All appreciated the idea and expressed their willingness to support it. A few days after Marwan again assembled the people and read to them, "Another letter from Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه has come from Damascus. He has written that in view of the betterment of Muslims he has nominated Yazid as the heir apparent." At this time Abdur Rahman bin Abi Bakr, Abdullah bin Umar, Abdullah bin Zubair and Husain bin Ali رضي الله عنهم expressed great resentment. They said, "This selection has been made not for the welfare of the Muslims but for their annihilation because by this way the Islamic Caliphate will resemble the Roman and Persian empires in which the son succeeds his father to the throne this selection is against the spirit of Islam."

As a parenthesis, here attention should be drawn to the fact when Marwan bin Hakam proclaimed in Madinah Amir Muawiya's intention, Imam Hasan رضي الله عنه had died a few months before. The people generally knew that at the time of reconciliation with Imam Hasan رضي الله عنه, Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه in accordance with efforts made by Abdullah bin Amir, was ready to have the declaration that

Imam Hasan رضي الله عنه should be made Caliph after him included into the treaty of compromise although Imam Hasan رضي الله عنه did not have it mentioned in the treaty of peace. The people thought that although the future Caliphate of Imam Hasan رضي الله عنه did not find mention in the treaty, the Islamic world would agree to his Caliphate. When Marwan bin Hakam first read Amir Muawiya's letter in Madinah, most of the people felt that it was due to Imam Hasan's death that Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه had the idea in his heart to nominate some one, since Imam Hasan رضي الله عنه had died and he was considered to be the next logical choice, another nominee should be chosen as the future caliph. Their thinking was based on Amir Muawiya's nobility and love of justice, this created a ray of hope in the hearts of those who considered themselves to be worthy of the caliphate. When Marwan made the second proclamation about Yazid, the concept created by his first proclamation, suddenly dissipated and immediately various kinds of doubts were being expressed. Some people went to the extent of speculating that it was Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه who had Imam Hasan رضي الله عنه poisoned. Before the proclamation of Yazid's nomination, no one harbored any thought connecting Imam Hasan's death to Amir Muawiya 's رضي الله عنه efforts or intention.

Here it is pertinent to draw the attention of the respected readers that Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه was absolutely impeccable concerning any involvement in the poisoning of Imam Hasan رضي الله عنه and that it was Mughira bin Shoba who after Imam Hasan's death drew Amir Muawiya's رضي الله عنه attention to Yazid's nomination. He himself had never thought about it.

Just as Mughira bin Shoba was instrumental in getting Yazid nominated as the future Caliph, he also did his best to supervise this endeavor to that end. Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه was silent to the resentment expressed by the people of Madinah and the Hijaz which he came to know through Marwan's letter and thought how to persuade the people of Madinah to his point of view. At that time, he received the news that Mughira bin Shoba رضي الله عنه died in Kufa. That was in 51 A.H. Hearing this news he handed over the government of Kufa to Zeyad bin Abi Sufyan and Zeyad came to be known as the governor of Iraqain (the two Iraqs).

Zeyad bin Abi Sufyan in Kufa

In handing over to Zeyad bin Abi Sufyan the governorship of Basra and Kufa the practical benefit was that he could persuade all the people of Iraq to take ba'it for Yazid's caliphate and nobody else could have performed this task so well. Besides, Mughira was somewhat soft hearted and forgiving. However, Zeyad bin Abi Sufyan was more familiar with the nature of Iraqis. He knew that if they were not dealt with sternly, they could not be expected to be on the right path. That was why the tenure of his rule was highly successful and he was the first person who was made the governor of Kufa and Basra both and later on the whole of Iran and Khorasan up to Turkistan was handed over to him. Zeyad bin Abi Sufyan made Samura bin Jundub his deputy in Basra and he himself, along with two thousand people, set out for Kufa. When he started giving the Khutba (the Friday sermon) in the Central Mosque in Kufa, the Kufis who were accustomed to humiliate their officers and disobey the government officials, started mocking him, they began to shower pebbles over him. He stopped the Khutba and ordered his men to surround the mosque and not to let anyone out of it. Then he sat in the chair at the door of the mosque and by calling four persons at a time, began to ask whether they had thrown the pebbles. Thirty people were found to have done so. He let off the others and had the hands of the thirty guilty ones cut off. Similar punishments were awarded to the other Kufis for their faults. Consequently, in a matter of days they were humbled. Zeyad began to live in Kufa and Basra alternatively for six months each.

Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه, issued a declaretion to all his officials to the effect that they should narrate Yazid's good traits and send delegations of the influential people of their respective territories to him (Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه) in order that he might also talk to the people regarding Yazid's ba'it. Afterwards, delegations from all the territories arrived in Damascus. Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه talked to them separately and then arranged a meeting and asked them t attend it. He then stood up and read a Khutba in which after praising Allâh and the Prophet ﷺ, dwelt at length on the virtues of Islam, rights and duties of caliphs, obedience to the rulers and duties of the masses.

He then talked about Yazid's manliness, generosity, wisdom, thinking power and his ability for administration. At the end, he expressed his wish that they should take ba'it for Yazid's caliphate. Among the delegates from Madinah was Mohammad bin Amr bin Hazam, he stood up and said, "Amir ul- Muminin ! You are going to make Yazid Caliph but kindly think over it a little that you will have to answer to Allâh on the Day of Judgement for this act of yours." Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه said, "I am thankful to you that you wished me well according to your view. But the fact is that there in none but young boys at this hour and my son among them deserves it most." Then Dhahak bin Qais stood up and in an eloquent speech, he strongly supported Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه. Then a few more persons stood up and all of them supported him. Ahnaf bin Qais from Egypt was also there. When the series of speeches came to an end, Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه turned to Ahnaf bin Qais and asked why he was silent. He said, "If I tell a lie, I fear Allâh; if I speak the truth, I fear you. Why do you consult us on this issue? You know Yazid better than us and at your insistence, we are ready to take ba'it." Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه took those words to be a sign from God and he pleased Ahnaf afterwards by rewarding him greatly. Thus enriched with good rewards the foreign delegates returned highly pleased. Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه was very much perturbed about the people of Hijaz, Makkah and Madinah because it was there that the people might oppose him boldly. At the end of 51 A.H., he thought of going for the Hajj, thinking that he might be able to convert the people of Hijaz to his own opinion. Consequently, he first went to Madinah. Hearing of his arrival Abdullah bin Zubair, Abdullah bin Umar, Abdullah bin Abbas and Husain bin Ali رضي الله عنهم went to Makkah. Having reached Madinah, Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه amply rewarded the people and won them over his to side and instructed Marwan bin Hakam to enhance their daily allowances, give them loans from the state treasury and not insist on its collection in order to avoid opposition and in this way oblige them. Then he proceeded to Makkah. Reaching there, he called the four persons mentioned who objected to him and talked about Yazid's ba'it. Abdullah bin Umar رضي الله عنه said, "I can admit this much that I will accept as Caliph the man on whom there is a popular consensus. Even if a slave is made caliph I shall obey him

and not part with the Jamat." Abdullah bin Zubair رضي الله عنه said, "I put before you a few points. You are at liberty to choose whichever suits you (1) You must act upon the *Sunnah* of the Prophet ﷺ and leave the issue of Caliphate without nominating anyone on the Muslims so that they might elect the caliph whom they want. If you do not like it, then you act upon the Sunnah of Abu Bakr رضي الله عنه and depute to your post a man who comes neither from your tribe nor your family and if this is also not to your liking, then emulate Umar bin Khattab رضي الله عنه by nominating six persons who are neither of your family or tribe nor your own son. Those six persons should be at liberty to choose anyone as caliph from among themselves. There is no fourth alternative except these three to which we may agree." Others also seconded Abdullah. After Hajj Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه, took *bay'ah* for the caliphate of Yazid from all the people of Makkah except the four persons mentioned above. He gave money to the general people. There is no doubt that Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه, in order to convert the people to his opinion, used his wealth and it is just possible that he might have had the conviction that Yazid's nomination was really beneficial to the world of Islam and its harmful aspect might have been hidden from him. When he returned to Damascus after Hajj, he heard of the demise of Abu Musa Ashari رضي الله عنه in Kufa. Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه had already made Zeyad the ruler of Basra and Kufa and moreover the area up to Sajistan was under him. Now he thought it proper to put under Zeyad's control all the eastern countries up to Sindh, Kabul, Balkh, Khorasan and Turkistan. Zeyad's stature became so high that he began to appoint the governors of Persia and Khorasan according to his own choice and depose who ever he wanted. Zeyad managed and administrated these eastern countries very efficiently and did not give any chance to the Khwarij to rebel. Zeyad was a great asset and help to Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه and he was fortunate to have had such an able and qualified person at his disposal. If Zeyad had not been able to maintain peace in the eastern territories, uprisings of the Khwarij and mischief of the Munafiqin, (hypocrites) would not have given him enough time to make the many arrangements for Yazid's *bay'ah*. Besides, the impact of disturbances in the eastern territories would also have had a bad affect on the western territories and would not have given him any

peace and security to accomplish his other projects.

Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه had made Maslama bin Mukhallad governor of Egypt and Africa after Abdullah bin Amr. Oqba bin Nafe Fihri who was advancing towards the west, Tripoli, Tlemcen and Morocco and whom Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه himself had deputed on that expedition was now brought under the command of the Egyptian governor Maslama bin Mukhallad. Makkah and Madinah were under the governorship of Sayeed bin Aâs and Marwan bin Hakam. Syria and Palestine were under the direct administration of Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه. Oqba bin Nafe Fihri in view of the requirements of North Africa, laid the foundation of the city of Qairwan by cutting down the forest. The cantonment for Africa at Qairwan was as indispensable to North Africa as Basra and Kufa was to Iraq.

As soon as the population of Qairwan reached its peak in 55 A.H., Maslama bin Mukhallad deposed Oqba bin Nafe and appointed his slave Abul Muhajir the commander-in-chief. Oqba bin Nafe then was reassigned to Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه in Damascus. When the great advisers like Marwan, Sayeed, and Oqba and the valiant chiefs from the Arabs were assembled in Damascus and while Zeyad bin Abi Sufyan kept the flag of victory flying over the Islamic cities, the *bay'ah* for Yazid was taken by the whole Islamic world in 56 A.H. Only four persons, Abdullah bin Zubair, Abdullah bin Umar, Abdullah bin Abbas and Husain bin Ali رضي الله عنهم did not take the *ba'it*. Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه left them on their own and did not think it proper to force them.

The death of Zeyad bin Abi Sufyan

In 53 A. H., Zeyad bin Abu Sufyan died of plague. His death dealt a hard blow to Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه. Zeyad had requested to be made the governor of the Hijaz and the rest of the Arabs besides Iraq and Persia. Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه granted his request. However, the inhabitants of the Hijaz were extremely terrified when they heard this and they went to Abdullah bin Umar to seek a way to be safe from Zeyad's rule. They made a Du'â (prayer or supplication to Allah) by turning their faces to Ka'bah and all

together, they said Amên. That prayer resulted in the appearance of a pimple on Zeyad's finger ultimately leading to his death. He died in Kufa during the sacred month of Ramadan. Zeyad had given the governorship of Kufa to Khalid bin Usaid on his own accord. When he died, his son Obaidullah was 25 years old. Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه asked him about the governorships that his father had given to the people. Abdullah replied that Samura bin Jundub was made the governor of Basra and Khalid bin Usaid was appointed governor of Kufa, Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه asked him "What governorship did you get?" Obaidullah said, "I have not been given the governorship of any territory." Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه said, "Since your father did not give you the governorship of any territory, I shall also not make you the governor of any territory either." Obaidullah said, "What greater humiliation is there for me than that neither my father appointed me governor nor you, my uncle would do so." Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه pondered over it for some time and then he appointed him supreme officer of Basra, Khorasan (northeastern Iran, southern Turkamanistan, and northern Afghanistan) and Persia. Sayeed bin Uthman bin Affan رضي الله عنه had taken *bay'ah,* (oath of allegiance) for Yazid. When he came to know that Abdullah bin Zubair, Abdullah bin Abbas, and Husain bin Ali رضي الله عنهم, did not take the *bay'ah,* he said, "My father was not inferior to the fathers of these people. I have unjustly taken *ba'it* for Yazid." Then he went to Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه and said to him, "My father had not done any wrong to you. Tell me what is your obligation on me?" Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه then took away the province of Khorasan from Obaidullah bin Zeyad and gave it to Sayeed bin Uthman. He then made Muhallab bin Abu Sufra Sayeed's helper and commander-in-chief. He sent Marwan and Sayeed to Madinah and Makkah to govern.

No sooner had Zeyad bin Abi Sufyan died than the Khawarij raised their heads and Obaidullah bin Zeyad, immediately after taking over the reins of Basra, had to face them. The groups of Khawarij started launching attacks incessantly and up to the time of Amir Muawiya's رضي الله عنه death, Obaidullah bin Zeyad remained engaged in disciplining and humbling them.

The death of Aisha رضي الله عنها

After the death in 58 A. H., Ummul-Muminin Aisha رضي الله عنها was buried in Jannat al-Baqi. She used to oppose Marwan because his deeds were not good.

In 59 A. H. Abu Huraira رضي الله عنه died. He often made the Du'â, "O Allâh! I seek your protection against the rule of young boys." His prayer was accepted and he died before 60 A. H.

The death of Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه

Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه, fell ill in the beginning of Rajab 60 A. H. During that illness when he was sure that his time had come, he called for Yazid. Yazid at that time was on a hunting trip or expedition outside of Damascus. At once, a messenger was sent to bring him. When Yazid came, he addressed him thus:

"O my son! Listen to my words attentively and answer my questions. Now the Decree of Allâh, the time of my death, has come. Tell me, how do you want to treat the Muslims?"

Yazid said, "I shall follow the Book of Allâh and the *Sunnah* of the Prophet ﷺ."

Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه said, "You should also follow the *Sunnah* of Abu Bakr رضي الله عنه who fought with the apostates and died such a death that people were pleased with him."

Yazid said, "No, I shall follow the Book of Allâh and the *Sunnah* of the Prophet ﷺ."

Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه said again, "O my son! Follow the conduct of Umar bin Khattab رضي الله عنه he populated cities, improved the capability of the army and distributed the spoils of war among the soldiers."

Yazid said, "No, following the Book of Allâh and the *Sunnah* of the Prophet ﷺ is enough."

Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه said, "O my son! Follow the way of Uthman

bin Affan رضي الله عنه he did good to the people during his life time and was generous."

Yazid said, "No, the Book of Allâh and the *Sunnah* of the Prophet ﷺ are enough for me."

When Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه heard him, he said, "O my son! Your talk has convinced me that you will not follow my advice. You will go against my will. O Yazid, don't be proud that I have made you my heir-apparent and the people have taken the oath of allegiance for your succession. You have no danger from Abdullah bin Umar رضي الله عنهما because he is weary of this world. The Iraqis will certainly put Husain bin Ali رضي الله عنه against you. If you gain victory over him, don't slay him and give due regard for kinship. Abdullah bin Zubair رضي الله عنه is a deceitful person. If you get the better of him, slay him. Always accommodate the inhabitants of Makkah and Madinah. If the Iraqis want a change in their functionaries, keep changing them for their pleasure. Regard the Syrians as your helpers and rely on their friendship."

Yazid then left and rejoined the hunt party. Amir Muawiya's condition started deteriorating day after day until he breathed his last on Thursday, 22 Rajab 60 A. H. He was 70 years old at the time of his death.

He had in his possession some hair and a nail of the Prophet ﷺ. At his death, he left in his will that these should be put into his mouth and on his eyes. Dhahak bin Qais led the funeral prayer. He was buried in between Bab Jabia (Jabia gate) and Bab Sagheer (Sagheer gate) in Damascus.

A Glance at Amir Muawiya's رضي الله عنه Caliphate

The 20-year-long reign of Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه must be called successful because during that period none of the claimants to the caliphate or his rivals dared to rebel against him. During his reign, the Islamic territory expanded in all the four directions. No Islamic territory or province remained apart from his government. No rebellion of any consequence broke out. No robberies and disorder, which were found in Iraq and Iran during Ali's time, existed any

more. The Muslims began fighting naval battles and even the Romans and the Christians acknowledged their superiority as a naval power. During his age, Zeyad bin Abi Sufyan and certain other governers justified the continued subjection of the Iraqis and Iranians to coercion and violence. If the Iraqis and Iranians were not dealt with harshly, it would have been considered an injustice and taken as negligence of the part of Amir Muawiya. It was he who first appointed postmen and established a system and organization and called it the postal department. He was the first who invented the system of putting a seal on orders and keeping a copy of every order preserved in the caliph's office. His seal contained the inscription "لكل عمل ثواب", for every deed there is a reward. Until his time, the cover on the Ka'bah was put on top of the old covers. He had all the old covers removed and gave instructions that whenever a new cover was put on, the old cover should be removed. He was the first in Islam to introduce the system of keeping watchmen and door keepers. He was also the first to establish the registry department. He was the first to have ships built and prepare a naval force.

Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه, no doubt, wanted to establish his rule and for his clan and family to have superiority in power over Banu Hashim. However, in fulfilling his wish, he did not want to give a chance to any of the enemies of Banu Umayyah and Banu Hashim or the enemies of Muawiya and Ali to perpetrate a reign of terror or to harm the Islamic government. That is why once when Ali and Muawiya رضي الله عنهما were in opposition, a huge Christian army was planning to attack on the eastern provinces of Iran, which was under Ali's rule and they wanted to take advantage of the disunity among the Muslims. Ali رضي الله عنه was incapable of defending these places, which were targeted to come under attack by the Christians and if the Christians attacked, a large of part of the Islamic territory would have been lost. The Christians were aware of the difficulties Ali رضي الله عنه was facing and therefore felt there would be no threat from Amir Muawiya's side as they had been following the mutual opposition between Muawiya and Ali and their use of force against each other. They expected that Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه would like them to attack Ali رضي الله عنه. However, as soon as Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه heard that news, he, contrary to the expectations of the Christian emperor, wrote

to the emperor, "You should not be deceived by our infighting. If you turn towards Ali رضي الله عنه the first chief who advances to punish you under Ali's flag, will be Muawiya." The impact of that letter was far more than an army and the Christians gave up the idea.

The nature of the difference or opposition that existed between Ali رضي الله عنه and Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه was not as is conceived by the Muslims of today, which is due to their ignorance and lack of understanding of the facts. In order to arrive at a correct judgment, we must not forget the fact that Ali's brother Aqil bin Abi Talib رضي الله عنه was Amir Muawiya's friend and Zeyad bin Abi Sufyan, ther brother of Amir Muawiya was appointed governor of Iran by Ali رضي الله عنه. Ali رضي الله عنه fully trusted Zeyad bin Abi Sufyan. Aqil bin Abi Talib used to admonish Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه in the open court and yet the latter always indulged him.

Answer to a doubt

Before closing the chapter on the caliphate of Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه, it is necessary to clear up a common doubt.

Ali رضي الله عنه was trained and tutored by the Prophet ﷺ and was included in his family and kept constant company with him. He was also his (ﷺ) cousin and son-in-law. Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه was the Prophet's scribe of the Revelations, his friend, his brother-in-law by virtue of being Umm Habiba's brother, and his Companion. Why did Ali رضي الله عنه and Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه oppose and fight each other? Again, why did a sizable number of illustrious Sahabah like 'Amr bin Al-Aâs, Talha, Zubair رضي الله عنهم and Aisha رضي الله عنها, participate in the infighting and opposition between them. On the surface there seems to be no difference between the infighting of these illustrious Sahabah and that of the people of today, then should it not be admitted that the Prophet's company did not produce in them the effect which we expected them to imbibe?

The answer to this doubt or objection is not hard to understand. There is not doubt that the Sahabah as whole were certainly the stars of Hidayat (guidance) and the Prophet's company undoubtedly impressed upon them as much as it was expected. It is our lack of

understanding and the short sightedness of our hearts that causes us to harbor such doubts. It should be noted that the Shari'ah, the Islamic legal system, which the Prophet ﷺ brought contains fully all the principles for the welfare and prosperity of mankind. He (ﷺ) fulfilled his obligation of instruction and propagation of this complete and perfect Shari'ah. After him, there would come no other Shari'ah until the end of this world. As this Shari'ah is enjoined on us until the Day of Judgement, and mankind needs it for its reformation and welfare, therefore there must be a protection for this grand Shari'ah from the degeneration that befell other Shari'ahs (systems of law). Therefore, for the satisfaction of mankind Allâh Himself has said:

"We have, without doubt sent down the the Message and We will assuredly guard it (from corruption)." It is clear that Allâh Himself will keep providing protection to it in accordance with the requirements of the time. During the last one thousand four hundred plus years, we have seen how Allâh Himself made arrangements for its safeguard. Just as we did nothing to propose and provide protection to ourselves when we were in our mother's wombs, just as we did not advise Allâh to raise vapor out of the sea, make clouds, blow wind and send down rain to keep our fields green, similarly how are we justified in proposing ways and making arrangements for the protection of the Islamic Shari'ah and dare to force Him to adopt a particular way and use the tools of our choice? We can wish ready made bread would rain down from the heaven, and cooked meat, fish or vegetable dishes be raised from the earth but Allâh cannot be our subordinate. He turned the seawater into vapor with the scorching rays of the sun, then the high air bore it and took it to another place, then its heat and freezing power created changes and caused the rain. Then the peasants made the land soft with the help of their oxen and equipment, and sowed seeds. Plants grew and they were looked after. When they ripened, they were harvested. Grain and chaff were separated. Then the grain was ground in a mill. It was kneaded and then by using a particular technique, bread was prepared. Contemplate it and see how in providing a loaf of bread Allâh has chosen a prolonged and complex process. It would only be our foolishness if we blame Allâh and prefer our proposed short cuts. Calling Allâh's work lengthy is nothing but our shortsightedness

because the countless benefits, which are present in this complicated process and series of efforts, are hidden from our short sight and imperfect understanding.

Keeping this concept in mind and you contemplate it, you must admit that the venerable Sahaba's internecine conflicts were in reality arrangements made by Allâh for the safety and protection of the Shari'ah, confirmation of the wisdom. The significant point is that the differences of opinion among Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه, Ali bin Abi Talib رضي الله عنه and other illustrious Sahabas were based on their Ijtihad (the pronouncement or understanding of the learned on an issue when Qur'an, Hadith, and Sunnah have not clarified this issue). If any of them were wrong, it was not intentional. None of them were the type of Muslims who could be persuaded to knowingly oppose the Islamic Shari'ah, Allâh's Commands or the Prophet's sayings.

Whatever Ali bin Abi Talib رضي الله عنه did he thought it was right. Similarly, what Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه has done, he did it thinking himself justified. The same was the case with the other Sahabah. Whosoever they found justified, they favored that one, and all these occurrences happened in accordance with the Will of Allâh. By creating these inner conflicts and disputes, Allâh reserved a group of Sahabas for these affairs while the other group, disliked all of the dissension and infighting and cut themselves off from governmental affairs and took to an ascetic life. When there were no internal disputes, all efforts of the Sahabas were put into resisting and facin the disbelievers and making victories on the battlefield. The regimes of Abu Bakr and Umar bin Khattab رضي الله عنهما, were full of such skirmishes and battles. All the Sahabas had their eyes fixed on the battlefield and the conquesting of territory. Though during the caliphate of these two Sahabas, the work of the compilation of the Qur'ân was done, it should have been completed at the beginning of the period. However, it was not feasible at that time for the required group of illustrious Sahabas to retire from jihad and concentrate all their attention and energy on ordering and organizing the Fiqh (science of the application of the Shari'ah), and protecting and propagating the Prophet's traditions. Madinah Munawwara had turned into a military cantonment with a camp that had its ruler sitting on a mat and before whom was always spread the maps of

war-strategies and great governors were seen engaged in determining specific martial policies and making plans and keeping watch on the movements of their commanders of the many armies that were deployed. As the circle of victories widened, these martial engagements increased, those who were teachers and gave lessons on the Shari'ah and explained its subtleties, became busy sharpening swords and straightening the feathers of arrows and making themselves prepared to face the blades of their enemies' spears. Those martial displays were very essential at that time in order to safeguard Islam and keep the Muslims fearless. During the caliphate of Umar bin Khattab رضي الله عنه, these necessary military requirements were done and Islam came to be known as a victorious religion and the greatest military power. After that, the immediate requirement was to protect the perfect system of Islam and all aspects of the Shari'ah, and make available to the group of venerable Sahabas, the Companions of the Prophet ﷺ, the opportunity and free time necessary to prepare a group of Taba'yeen, those who saw the Companions but did not see the Prophet ﷺ, in order to educate the future generations, and thereby preserving the Islamic way of life. Allâh with His Divine Power, created Abdullah bin Saba and his followers, a group of Jews appearing to be Muslims and made provision for the martyrdom of Omar رضي الله عنه, the battle of Jamal and the battle of Siffin each event after the other. The consequence was that many of the Sahabas who were .he conquering heroes of their enemies like Rustam and Asfandyar on the battlefield, put away their bows and swords and retired, and left the work of commanding military expeditions and became engaged in teaching. In the previous pages we have read how Sad bin Abi Waqas رضي الله عنه, the victor of Iran and under whose command the Muslims attained victory in the battle of Qadisiya, which had witnessed so much blood-shed, preferred to retire and take to tending flocks of goats and camels instead of participating in internecine disputes. This was also the case with many other Sahabas. When the series of victories stopped and internal differences appeared, many of the Sahabas began to regard the use of swords and arrows as bad. If this was not the case, there was no other possible way to remove them from the front row of the battlefield and bring them back to the rearguard.

Abdullah bin Umar رضي الله عنه was the one person whose caliphate the entire Islamic world would have agreed to but the internal clashes forced him to live a life of withdrawal. In this book, we have read the same names of certain people many times, who were somehow involved in these disputes. However, there were a great number of Sahabas who did not take part in them and so their names are not mentioned in connection with these historical events. This dignified group, during that tumultuous times, enabled the people, who visited them with great respect in their hearts, to understand the reality of the Islamic Shari'ah and acquainted them with the character of the Prophet ﷺ. Each of them became a teacher in their own right and became busy educating others in the understanding of the Shari'ah.

Madinah Munawwara was the cradle of the Muhajirin and Ansar and Makkah was the second center of Islam due to Ka'bah. As long as the Sahaba did not have time for learning and teaching, Madinah remained the capital. When Allâh wanted to use the Sahaba for teaching Islam, He shifted the capital of the caliphate from Madinah, and Madinah, which only a short time before, was the center of martial power and military cantonments turned into a Dar ul-Ulum (Center of Knowledge). If we critically and minutely read the books on *Hadith* and *Fiqh*, the truth will be revealed that the primary material on Hadith, Fiqh and Tafseer is the gift of that age during which there were differences among the believers.

Had these differences not appeared and had Amir Muawiya and Ali bin Abi Talib رضي الله عنهما not fought with each other, we would have been deprived of a major and essential part of the Islamic Shariah. But why did it start taking place? Allâh Himself is the Protector of this religion and He Himself makes provision for its safely. He decreed that there would be differences between Ali and Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنهما and the opportunities that followed.

Now we look at another aspect of this issue. Almost all the examples of obstacles, difficulties and complications that are possible for a government, sultanate or a system of culture to face, which have been witnessed in the world until now were present in the clashes between Amir Muawiya and Ali bin Abi Talib رضي الله عنهما. In view of the emergence of these hardships, the morals and efforts that have been

displayed by the various rulers, ruling dynasties and kings, the most praiseworthy and the best of these morals and efforts are those of the venerable Sahaba in such situations. The history of the world is replete with the rise and fall of governments and nations, successes and failures. No age or regime is free from cunningness, conspiracies or deceits. When we make research about these things, we find that the accounts of the clashes of Ali bin Abi Talib and Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنهما present the most honorable examples of all, and we can succeed by choosing the best style of functioning and the best guidelines for us. It is our blindness and misfortune that instead of making the Sahaba's differences in Ijtihad and the clashes of Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه and Ali bin Abi Talib رضي الله عنه a source of important lessons, insight and profit, we have turned them into tools for our disunity, bestiality, poverty and misfortune.

The lines mentioned above may raise the objection that the limitations of the writing of history have been trespassed. But I have already admitted that I am writing this book not as an atheist empirical historian but as a Muslim. I am a Muslim and it is for the Muslims that I have begun to write this book. Therefore, nothing can deter me from expressing this idea.

Now before closing the chapter on Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه we would like to quote the Honorable Syed Amir Ali, former chief justice of the High Court in Calcutta from his book entitled 'The History of Islam' using Masoodi as his reference: "Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه daily after Fajr prayer used to hear reports of the local superintendents of the military police or police captains. After that, he used to come to see the ministers, advisors, and chief associates of the government in connection with foreign expeditions. In this meeting the sub-ordinate court officials and administrators would read to him the reports and letters that came from the provinces. At Noon time he would come out of the palace to lead the prayer and sit down in the mosque itself. There he would listen to the complaints of the people, receive their requests and then go back to the palace and meet other dignitaries. Then he would take the midday meal and then take a short nap. After 'Asr prayer, he would meet the ministers, associates and advisors. He used to take supper in the court together with them all and give them

one more opportunity to see him and this ended the day's work." An interesting note about quoting the Honorable Amir Ali is that he has been considered as leaning towards the Shia faith and would in that case not normally attribute anything favorable to Amir Muawiya.

On the whole, during Amir Muawiya's regime, the series of conquests continued both within and without.

'Amr bin Aâs رضي الله عنه says: "I have not seen a man of greater perseverance and humility than Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه. One day it so happened that I was present in his court and he was sitting with a pillow at his back. He received a report that the Roman emperor was about to attack with a huge army. Having read that paper, he threw it to me. I read it and waited to watch his reaction. However, he kept sitting in the same posture. He said nothing. A few minutes after that another report came that Nayel bin Qais, the leader of the Khawarij, had collected an army and was about to invade Palestine. This report was also passed to me and he said nothing. I read it and kept waiting for his order all the more anxious but he continued to remain in the same position. There was no trace of any change on his face. It was not long when a third report came to the effect that the Khawarij captives at Mosul broke open the jail and fled away and that they were collecting near Mosel. Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه read it also and threw it towards me and kept sitting with the support of the pillow at the back. A few minutes more and then another letter arrived with the news that Ali bin Abi Talib رضي الله عنه with a large army, was about to launch an attack on Syria. That letter was also thrown towards me. He maintained his position as before".

"My patience grew thin. I said to him, 'Pieces of bad news are pouring in from all sides. What will you do now?' He said, 'Though the Roman emperor commands a big army, he will return after signing an agreement with me. Nayel bin Qais fights for the cause of his religion. He has captured a city and wants to keep it under his control. I shall spare him so that he might be pre-occupied with it. The Khawarij who fled from the jail cannot escape from Allâh's jail. But as for Ali's affair, we have to think and plan how to avenge Uthman bin Affan's blood.' Then he sat up and immediately issued orders for the settlement of each issue, and then sat down with the pillow at his back."

Having watched Amir Muawiya's رضي الله عنه pomp and grandeur in Syria, Umar bin Khattab رضي الله عنه observed, "Just as there are Kisra in Persia and Caesar in Rome, similarly there is Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه in the Arab land."

Yazid bin Muawiya

When Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه was the governer of the whole of Syria, Abu Khalid Yazid bin Muawiya bin Abu Sufyan was born in 25 A.H. or 26 A.H. His mother's name was Maisoon bint Bahdal who came from the tribe of Banu Kalab. He was very fat. His body was covered with a thick growth of hair. He was born into kingship and wealth. Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه was a very scrupulous and far-sighted man. He paid special attention to Yazid's upbringing and education. He sent him to Hajj as *Amir-ul-Hajj* (*Hajj* group leader) once or twice and gave him the command of an army. He was commander of a part of the army at the time of the attack and siege of Syria. He was very fond of hunting. At the time of Amir Muawiya's death, he was not present in Damascus. He was sent for by messenger but failing to realize the seriousness of his illness, he went back to his hunting expedition. He returned after several days and offered the funeral prayer at his father's grave. He was also well versed in composing poems. In Amir Muawiya's lifetime *bay'at* for him was taken. But most people were unhappy with for this. A few great persons in Madinah Munawwara even refused to take *bay'at* for him.

Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه committed a blunder by taking *bay'at* for Yazid in his lifetime that was probably the result of his paternal affection for him. But Mughira bin Shoba's blunder exceeded his, because the idea and the courage to act upon it came from Mughira bin Shoba's instigation. Hasan Basri has therefore said: Mughira bin Shoba created the opportunity of introducing a practice that put an end to consultation and the son started succeeding his father as king.

After Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه, the Syrians, without any hesitation, took *bay'at* at Yazid's hands. The people of other provinces also followed their officials and dared not refuse for fear of the government. Immediately after taking the reins in his hands, Yazid wrote to the officials of all the provinces to take *bay'at* from the people

in his name. On that occasion Madinah and Kufa were governed by Waleed bin Utba bin Abi Sufyan and Noman bin Bashir respectively both were noble-minded and peace-loving persons; compared to other officials, they were less strict.

When Yazid's instructions were received in Madinah, Waleed bin Utba called the influential people of Madinah and read Yazid's letter to them. Imam Husain رضي الله عنه heard of Amir Muawiya's death and expressed his sense of grief and prayed for his forgiveness and asked Waleed not to make haste in taking his *bay'at* for Yazid. "I shall think it over and then decide." Marwan bin Hakam, the former governor of Madinah and advisor to Waleed bin Utba, encouraged Waleed to take Imam Husain's ba'it then and there and not to let him go. But Waleed did not agree with Marwan's counsel and postponed it to the next day.

Abdullah bin Zubair رضي الله عنه did not come to take *bay'at* for Yazid. He was called but he refused to come and asked to be granted time for one night. Waleed allowed him. Finding the situation compelling he, along with his family, departed from Madinah and leaving the main road, he set out along a little known path. The next day Marwan and Waleed took thirty armed persons with them and went to arrest ibn Zubair. But they did not find any trace of him. They returned in the evening because the whole day was spent in searching for ibn Zubair رضي الله عنه, no one thought of Imam Husain رضي الله عنه. The next night Imam Husain along with his family also left Madinah. The next day when the news of Imam Husain's flight broke out, Waleed said, "I shall not chase Imam Husain. It is possible that he might take up arms and then I might have to stain my hands with his blood which I do not want to do at any cost." Waleed, after the departure of these two persons, took ba'it of the people of Madinah for Yazid, there was no danger from Abdullah bin Umar رضي الله عنه because he never wished to be caliph. Yazid also issued instructions that if Abdullah bin Umar رضي الله عنه refused to take *bay'at* he should not be forced. Therefore, no one asked him to take the *bay'at*.

Abdullah bin Umar and Abdullah bin Abbas رضي الله عنهما went to Makkah after a few days. Yazid had already sent Harith as an official to Makkah.

Abdullah bin Zubair and Husain bin Ali رضي الله عنهما entered Makkah at the same time. Immediately after seeing him Abdullah bin Safwan bin Umayya who was among the nobles of Makkah, took *bay'at* at his hands. Then about two thousand noble men and the influential people of Makkah followed suit by taking *bay'at* at Abdullah bin Zubair's hands. Abdullah bin Zubair رضي الله عنه put Harith under house arrest and took over the rule of Makkah. Imam Husain رضي الله عنه was also present in Makkah. He neither took ba'it for Zubair's nor did Zubair رضي الله عنه take *bay'at* for Imam Husain nor did he want to take ba'it from any of the members of his family. When Abdullah bin Umar رضي الله عنه and Abdullah bin Abbas رضي الله عنه visited Makkah, Abdullah bin Zubair did not wish them to take ba'it from him. Abdullah bin Zubair رضي الله عنه spent most of his time praying at the Ka'bah. Except for these few persons, the whole of Makkah took ba'it for him.

Abdullah bin Zubair رضي الله عنه often met Imam Husain رضي الله عنه and consulted him. It seems that Abdullah bin Zubair رضي الله عنه did not take *bay'at* from the people for the caliphate but took *bay'at* with the intention that Yazid should not be accepted as caliph and as long as the caliph was not selected unanimously by the Islamic world, he should be recognized as the governor of Makkah to maintain law and order. But Imam Husain رضي الله عنه did not appreciate Abdullah bin Zubair رضي الله عنه being in power in Makkah so he and the members of his family did not join him when he led the prayer.

Following these events, Marwan wrote to Yazid about how Abdullah bin Zubair and Husain bin Ali رضي الله عنهما left Madinah and that the people of Madinah took ba'it. Yazid at once removed Waleed bin Utba and sent Amr bin Sayeed bin Aâs as the governor of Madinah. Amr bin Sayeed came and took control of the government of Madinah. Waleed bin Utba left Madinah and went to Yazid.

Harith bin Khalid was present in Makkah and did not venture out of his house, he sent Yazid the details concerning the capture of Makkah by Abdullah bin Zubair رضي الله عنه and his own captivity. Becoming aware of the conditions prevailing in Makkah Yazid wrote to Amr bin Sayeed: "Go to Makkah and arrest Abdullah bin Zubair and send him to me in chains." Amr bin Sayeed sent a strong army to Makkah. There was a confrontation and Abdullah bin Zubair رضي الله عنه was

victorious. The commander of the Madinah army was caught and imprisoned.

The inhabitants of Kufa, since the time of Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه used to write to Imam Husain رضي الله عنه repeatedly to visit Kufa where they would take ba'it for his caliphate. Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه knew more about the nature and habits of the people of Kufa, and at the time of his death, told Yazid as part of his last testament not to be cheated by them. Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه also told Yazid that the inhabitants of Kufa would certainly encourage Imam Husain رضي الله عنه to rebel. If such a situation arose and he got the better of Imam Husain, he should treat him respectfully and leniently. Since Makkah was under the control of Abdullah bin Zubair, Imam Husain's thoughts were concentrated on Kufa. When Noman bin Bashir, the governor of Kufa, received Yazid's letter and the news of Amir Muawiya's death spread, the supporters of Banu Umayyad took ba'it with Noman bin Bashir for Yazid. But the supporters and followers of Ali رضي الله عنه and Husain رضي الله عنه, who had been trying to bring Husain رضي الله عنه to Kufa, hesitated in taking ba'it for Yazid and collected at Sulaiman bin Sard's house. All agreed that Yazid should not be recognized as caliph and Imam Husain رضي الله عنه should be brought to Kufa. While the secret consultation was going on, they heard that Imam Husain رضي الله عنه left Madinah and that the Makkan had selected Abdullah bin Zubair رضي الله عنه instead of Imam Husain رضي الله عنه and that Imam Husain رضي الله عنه had arrived in Makkah and furthermore that he had not taken ba'it for Abdullah bin Zubair. Therefore, they sent a letter to Imam Husain رضي الله عنه stating:

"We are your father's admirers and enemies of Banu Umayyah. We fought Talha رضي الله عنه and Zubair رضي الله عنه in support of your father. We created havoc in the battle of Siffin and made the Syrians acknowledge our superiority in valor. Now we are prepared to fight along with you also. Please leave for Kufa as soon as you read this letter. Come here so that we might kill Noman bin Bashir and hand over Kufa to you. One hundred thousand fighters are present in Kufa and all of them are ready to take *bay'at* for your caliphate. We believe that you are the rightful and worthy caliph. Yazid does not deserve to be caliph

in comparison with you. This is the time. Do not delay in the least. We want to make you caliph of the entire Islamic world by killing Yazid. Our elders have even stopped standing in prayer behind Yazid's official, Noman bin Bashir because we think you and your deputies to be worthy of the *Imamat (Islamic leadership)*."

When letters with similar contents started reaching Imam Husain رضي الله عنه in quick succession in Makkah, he called his cousin Muslim bin Aqil, whose father Aqil bin Abi Talib was one of Amir Muawiya's chief associates and advisors, and said to him:

Please go to Kufa secretly as my deputy. Live there privately, among the people of Kufa and take ba'it from them on my behalf secretly. Write to me the number and a few of the important names of those who take *bay'at* for me. Try to keep yourself concealed, and encourage those who take *bay'at* for me, and do not to start fight unless I am present.

Muslim bin Aqil, taking all precautions that Abdullah bin Zubair رضي الله عنه should not become aware of his movements, left Makkah. He thought a little on the way and wrote to Imam Husain رضي الله عنه: "I do not visualize that the consequences of these actions will be good. Please excuse me and send somebody else to Kufa in my place." Imam Husain رضي الله عنه wrote back to him, "Do not be a coward. You alone must go to Kufa." Muslim bin Aqil therefore continued to Kufa and in Kufa he stayed at Mukhtar bin Obeida's house. At once, the news spread among the follower's of Ali the group after group began to arrive and take ba'it. Muslim bin Aqil wrote to Imam Husain رضي الله عنه that he reached Kufa safely and how on the first day twelve thousand people took ba'it. On the very first day including 12,000 people Sultan bin Sard, Musaiyeb bin Najia, Raqata bin Shaddad, Hani bin Urwah took *ba'it* for Husain bin Ali رضي الله عنه. Two persons named Qais and Abdur Rahman reached Imam Husain رضي الله عنه with a letter stating: "When you come and start taking ba'it openly, hundreds of thousands of people will take ba'it for your caliphate." Imam Husain رضي الله عنه was very pleased to read this letter and immediately sent back the bearers of the letter with word that he would be coming to Kufa very soon. Now Imam Husain رضي الله عنه thinking that a good number of

supporters of Ali رضي الله عنه lived in Basra, sent a confidant of his with a letter to Ahnaf bin Malik and letters to the nobles of Basra, stating that they should take ba'it and proceed to Kufa at once.

When the news of Muslim bin Aqil's arrival in Kufa and people taking ba'it spread, Abdullah bin Muslim Al-Hadharmi called on Noman bin Bashir and said to him, O Amir! You should not show slackness in the caliph's affairs. Several days have passed since Muslim bin Aqil arrived in Kufa and he has been taking *bay'at* for the Caliphate of Imam Husain رضي الله عنه. You should kill Muslim bin Aqil or arrest him and send him to Yazid and punish those who have taken ba'it." Noman bin Bashir رضي الله عنه said, "I do not want to expose the work which they are doing secretly. I shall not attack them unless they come out for a fight." Hearing this Abdullah wrote the following letter to Yazid.

> Muslim bin Aqil رضي الله عنه has arrived in Kufa and has been taking ba'it for the caliphate of Husain bin Ali رضي الله عنه and the people have been responding favorably. Husain bin Ali رضي الله عنه is also expected to come. Noman bin Bashir is showing weakness in this affair. If you want to keep Kufa under your control, send some strict governor to Kufa so that he might slay Muslim bin Aqil and suppress the ba'it and stop Husain bin Ali رضي الله عنه from entering Kufa. If you delay, then deem Kufa to have gone out of your control.

Ammara bin Oqba bin Abi Moeet also sent a letter to Yazid of similar content. These letters made him thoughtful and disturbed him very much. There was a man named Sarjoon who was a liberated slave of Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه. Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه used to seek his counsel on some complicated and important affairs to his great advantage. Yazid called him, and showing him Abdullah bin Al-Hadhrasmis letter he sought his opinion. Here at this point, as a parenthesis it is worth mentioning that Yazid had always been displeased with Zeyad bin Abi Sufyan. After Zeyad, he resented and hated Obaidullah bin Zeyad. Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه made Obaidullah bin Zeyad the governor of Basra. Yazid was thinking of removing him from that post and installing somebody else instead. When the horrible news from Kufa came, Yazid consulted Amir Muawiya's liberated slave, he said:

"At this moment, Iraq is about to go out of your hands. If you want to save Iraq, none other than Obaidullah bin Zeyad can help you. I know that you will dislike my counsel. But who ever other than Obaidullah bin Zeyad you send to Kufa as governor, he will not be able to save it. Furthermore, just as Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه had assigned the governorship of both Basra and Kufa together similarly you should also assign him the dual charge and you need not select any other governor for Basra."

Yazid hesitated a moment after hearing this advice, and then wrote instructions to Obaidullah bin Zeyad.

"I hereby assign you the governorship of Kufa along with that of Basra. You should leave someone as your deputy in Basra and go to Kufa at once Muslim bin Aqil has been there taking ba'it for Imam Husain رضي الله عنه. Make him a captive or kill him and if those who took ba'it from him, refuse to recant their ba'it they should be put to death and by this way we will ward off all further dangers."

Obaidullah bin Zeyad was sure that Yazid was going to remove him from the governorship of Basra. He was surprised to read the contents of the letter. He was pleased as well as wary because that order obviously indicated a danger that Yazid might be trying to get him out of Basra by this pretext. Yet, he thought it necessary to obey the order. He made up his mind to leave his brother Uthman bin Zeyad in his place in Basra and he set out for Kufa the next day. Meanwhile Mundhir bin Al-Harith came running to him saying that Husain bin Ali's messenger had come and had been taking ba'it for Imam Husain رضي الله عنه and was doing it secretly. Obaidullah bin Zeyad through deception arrested Imam Husain's messenger and the next day collected the people and made this speech.

Husain bin Ali's emissary has come to Basra with his letters to a number of people here. I have arrested them. I have extracted the names of those people here who have received these letters and I have also prepared a list of those who have taken ba'it for Imam Husain رضي الله عنه. You know I am Zeyad bin Abi Sufyan's son. Muslim bin Aqil رضي الله عنه is in Kufa. I am going to him. I shall kill all those have taken ba'it

at his hands. If the whole of Kufa has entered into his ba'it, I shall spare none. At this moment, I make a concession to you that except for Husain bin Ali's emissary, I will not say anything to anybody. But if anyone speaks anything after I have left, it will not be good for him.

Saying this he brought Imam Husain's messenger and killed him in front of them all. No one made a sign indicative of disapproval. Satisfied with this act, he went to Kufa. Imam Husain رضي الله عنه sitting in Makkah thought that the people were taking ba'it for him in Basra but instead his messenger was actually being killed. Obaidullah bin Zeyad reached Qadisya and left his cavalry there, and along with his father's liberated slave rode a camel and rushed to Kufa and entered it in between Maghrib and Isha time. He purposely put on a turban like the people of the Hijaz. In the mean time, the people were waiting for the arrival of Imam Husain رضي الله عنه. The dominance of the followers of Ali and Husain were too great and Noman bin Bashir locked the doors of his court on that same evening, he sat with a selected few of those close to him and posted slaves at the door with instructions to first ask any visitor's name and address and if they deserved entry, they should be let in, if not, they should be refused. When Obaidullah bin Zeyad entered Kufa, the people thought that the man for whom they were waiting for, Imam Husain رضي الله عنه had arrived in Kufa. Wherever Obaidullah's camel passed by, the people they said: "Peace be upon you, O son of the Prophet صلى الله عليه وسلم." Obaidullah reached the court on his camel. He found the door closed. He knocked at the door and said nothing. Noman bin Bashir رضي الله عنه was sitting on the roof with his friends. He rose and coming to the edge of the roof, looked down. As the entire city was awaiting Imam Husain رضي الله عنه, he also mistook Obaidullah to be Imam Husain رضي الله عنه. He said, "O son of the Prophet صلى الله عليه وسلم! Please go back and don't create an evil disorder. Yazid will never hand over Kufa to you." Noman's friends who were sitting on the roof said to him, "Please don't be impolite to Imam Husain رضي الله عنه. At least open the door and let him in because he is coming from a journey directly to you as your guest." Noman bin Bashir said, "I do not like to give the people any chance to say that during Noman's regime Imam Husain was slain in Kufa." Obaidullah took off his turban and said, "O unfortunate one! Open the door at least." Hearing Obaidullah's voice, they at once recognized him. They

opened the door and then dispersed. He entered and after some time, his army, which he had left behind, started entering Kufa. At the same time, Muslim bin Aqil رضي الله عنه, was informed of the arrival of Obaidullah bin Zeyad's army. He left the house where he had been staying, which was known to the people, and took refuge in Hani bin Urwa's house. By that time, the number of people who had taken ba'it at his hands in Kufa, had reached eighteen thousand. The next morning Obaidullah bin Zeyad spoke to the crowd and read Yazid's orders that came from Basra. Obaidullah said:

"My father is well known to you and also the style of politics that he used to practice. All his features are present in me. You know me also and I fully know the names, houses and freed slaves of each of you. You cannot hide anything from me. I don't like to shed blood in Kufa and kill you. I know that you have taken *bay'at* for Husain bin Ali رضي الله عنه at Muslim bin Aqil's hands. I give protection to all of you provided you recant your ba'it and don't give shelter to those who are bent upon revolting otherwise every giver of shelter will be killed at his own door."

After this speech, Obaidullah asked about Muslim bin Aqil's whereabouts. No one answered. At last he was informed by his spies that he was hiding in Hani bin Urawa's house. Obaidullah gave a purse of three thousand dirhams to Maqal, a liberated slave of the Tamim tribe and and was unknown to anynone in Kufa, and told him to call at Hani bin Urwa's house and tell him, "I have to tell you something in private" and when in private tell him: "Such and such person of Basra has sent me to you and has given me three thousand dirhams to give to Muslim bin Aqil in Kufa and tell him that I have received a letter from Imam Husain from Makkah which asked me to go to Kufa on such and such date and that on that same date Imam Husain رضي الله عنه would also reach Kufa. Don't worry we shall enter Kufa along with Imam Husain رضي الله عنه and take this three thousand dirhams as a gift from us for your needs. So, please take me to Muslim bin Aqil so that I may give all these messages and this money to him and leave Kufa at once because Obaidullah bin Zeyad has arrived and as he knows me, I am in danger of being arrested".

Maqal took this purse and called on Hani. He was sitting at his door.

Hearing his message, he took him to Muslim bin Aqil. Muslim bin Aqil was glad to receive the purse and hearing the message saw Maqal off. Maqal came direct back to Obaidullah and told him that he had given the purse to Muslim bin Aqil and that he had talked to him. He was present in Hani's house. Obaidullah bin Zeyad called Hani and inquired about Muslim bin Aqil's whereabouts. He called Maqal and made him repeat his statement in front of everybody. Hani was ashamed and said,

"Yes, Muslim bin Aqil has taken refuge with me but I cannot bear the insult of handing him over to you".

Obaidullah arrested Hani then and there. The news spread in the city that Obaidullah killed Hani. Hani's women folk started lamenting. When Muslim bin Aqil witnessed all of this, he could bear it no more, he came out with sword in hand and he called all those who had taken *bay'at* at his hands. Only four thousand people out of eighteen thousand collected. He called the rest also but each of them answered. "At the time of ba'it it was agreed that we would not fight until Imam Husain رضی اللہ عنہ arrived. You should also wait and watch until he comes." As Muslim bin Aqil came out, he could not go back into hiding again. He surrounded Obaidullah bin Zeyad with the four thousand people who responded to his call. Obaidullah bin Zeyad was at the governor's headquarters with thirty or forty people. They climbed on the roof and started showering arrows on those surrounding the place. The relatives and friends of Muslim bin Aqil's supporters began to persuade them to desist from their self-destruction. In short, all of them parted little by little until only thirty or forty supporters remained with Muslim bin Aqil.

Muslim bin Aqil and Hani bin Urwa Murdered

Muslim bin Aqil رضي الله عنه in this situation fled from the place and took refuge in someone's house in Kufa. Obaidullah bin Zeyad sent Amr bin Jarir Makhzumi to arrest him. Seeing no way out Muslim bin Aqil رضي الله عنه drew out his sword. But Amr bin Jarir said to him, "Why do you ruin your life unnecessarily? Just surrender yourself to me and at my own risk, I will take you to Obaidullah bin Zeyad and promise that I shall get you pardoned." Muslim bin Aqil رضي الله عنه laid down the

sword and put his hands into those of Amr. He took him to Obaidullah. Obaidullah imprisoned him in the same room in which he had imprisoned Hani bin Urwa. The next day about ten thousand people who had taken *bay'at* collected and surrounded Obaidullah bin Zeyad's house. They demanded that Muslim bin Aqil and Hani bin Urwa should be released willingly otherwise, they would snatch them away by force. Obaidullah bin Zeyad ordered them to be taken to the roof and executed before their eyes. Both were therefore killed. Seeing the execution all of them dispersed as if they had only come for the purpose of getting their leaders killed. Obaidullah ordered the gate of the palace to be opened, their bodies were hung on a stake and their heads were carried off to Yazid in Damascus. Yazid wrote to Obaidullah bin Zeyad, "Imam Husain رضي الله عنه has set out from Makkah and is about to reach Kufa very soon. Protect yourself fully and depute the army to stop him on the way so that he may not reach Kufa."

Imam Husain رضي الله عنه Leaves Makkah

Imam Husain رضي الله عنه prepared himself to leave Makkah. When everything was ready and the news spread that he was going to Kufa, all those who had love and sympathy with him came and insisted on his giving up his intention and tried to make him understand that leaving for Kufa was not free from danger. First Abdur Rahman bin Harith came and requested him not to go to Kufa because the governor of Iraq, Obaidullah bin Zeyad was present there. The inhabitants of Kufa are greedy and it is just possible that those who called you might come out to fight against you. Abdullah bin Umar رضي الله عنه came and said to him, "Don't go out of Makkah to take ba'it and leadership, Allâh gave the Holy Prophet صلى الله عليه وسلم the option to select either this world or the Hereafter. He chose the Hereafter. You also belong to the family of the Prophet صلى الله عليه وسلم. Don't yearn after this world. Don't let yourself be contaminated with worldly filth."

Having exhorted thus Abdullah bin Umar رضي الله عنه burst into tears. Imam Husain رضي الله عنه also began to weep but refused to act upon his advice. Being helpless Abdullah bin Umar رضي الله عنه parted from him. Then Abdullah bin Abbas رضي الله عنه said to him,

"Don't leave Makkah. Don't be away from the House of Allâh. Your

respected father preferred Kufa to Makkah and Madinah but don't you know how the inhabitants of Kufa treated him? They martyred him. They robbed your brother Hasan رضي الله عنه, and ultimately poisoned him to death. You must not rely on them. Neither their *bay'at* nor their promise is believable nor are their letters and messages trustworthy." Hearing this Imam Husain رضي الله عنه said, "You are a hundred percent justified in what you say. But Muslim bin Aqil's letter has come. Twelve thousand people have taken ba'it. Before that one hundred and fifty letters from the noblemen of Kufa have also come. Now there is no danger. My visit to that place is the right thing." Hearing this Abdullah bin Abbas رضي الله عنه said, "All right, at least let this month of Dhul Hijja end and the new year begin and then think of undertaking the journey. Now the season of *Hajj* is approaching and people from a far are coming to Makkah, and you are leaving Makkah and going out only for the sake of ruling over the worldly people and bringing into your possession the fortunes of the world. It is proper for you to participate in the Hajj and let the people return after performing Hajj, and even after that if you think it necessary, then you may set out." Imam Husain رضي الله عنه said, "The issue is such as I cannot defer it. I must set out at once." Abdullah bin Abbas رضي الله عنه said, "Well, if you don't agree with me, at least don't take the women and children with you because the inhabitants of Kufa are absolutely unreliable. It was the duty of the twelve thousand people who have taken ba'it for your Caliphate to have first turned Yazid's administrator out of Kufa, taken the treasury in their possession and then called you. But in the present situation, it seems that they are incapable of doing anything against Yazid's administrator in Kufa. Now as they have neither the treasury nor the courage to drive the administrator out, this administrator might frighten or tempt them and use them according to his own will, and it is just possible that these people who are calling you, might jump onto the battlefield on Yazid's side to fight against you. Considered from this angle your life seems to be in danger. If women and children are also with you, then, just as Uthman bin Affan رضي الله عنه was slain under the very eyes of the members of his family similarly your family will also have to witness you being murdered and there is apprehension of their becoming slaves and slave girls after being arrested by your

enemies." When Imam Husain رضي الله عنه did not accept his advice, he said, "If you are so much interested in leadership and the caliphate, first go to Yemen. Your sympathizers also live there in good number. The chain of mountains can also be of great help in your protection. If you want the kingdom of Hijaz, you can get it very easily." At last, Abdullah bin Abbas رضي الله عنه became quite helpless and Imam Husain رضي الله عنه did not accept even a single piece of his advice. Then Abdullah bin Zubair came and said to him, "Don't try to go to Kufa. Ever since your intention to visit Kufa has spread in Makkah, I have been hearing some people say that Abdullah bin Zubair رضي الله عنه will be very glad if Husain bin Ali رضي الله عنه leaves because there would remain no rival in Makkah. I therefore, and in order to prove such misguided people wrong, request you with all sincerely to accept the kingdom of Makkah and out-stretch your hands so that I may take ba'it on them and go out into the battlefield to fight in obedience to your command." Imam Husain said, "Now I have informed them and have made up my mind to leave. I cannot postpone it any longer."

On the 3rd of Dhul Hijja 60 A.H. Munday, Imam Husain رضي الله عنه along with the members of his family left Makkah. On the same day Muslim bin Aqil رضي الله عنه was slain in Kufa. When Imam Husain رضي الله عنه was leaving Makkah, Amr bin Sâd bin Al-Aâs رضي الله عنه and other noblemen of Makkah came and wanted to stop him. They said, "If you do not agree, we will stop you by force and face you." Imam Husain رضي الله عنه said, "Do whatever is in your power to do and fulfill your wish of fighting with me also." Hearing this all of them opened the way and left. At the time of departure Abdullah bin Abbas رضي الله عنه said to him, "I would have lain down before your camel so that it could not go ahead without trampling upon me. But I know that you will not stop even then and desist from the intention of going there." After he left Makkah, they met a caravan at Tan'lem, which was taking gifts to Yazid from the administrator of Yemen. He stopped that caravan and took some goods from it and moved on. In between Makkah and Kufa at Safah, he came across Farzdaq, the well-known Arabic poet, who was coming from Kufa. When Farzdaq left Kufa, Obaidullah bin Zeyad had not yet entered it. When Imam Husain رضي الله عنه made queries about the people of Kufa, he said, "Their hearts are with you but their swords cannot be flags in your support." He had

not gone far when Abdullah bin Jafar's letter, sent through his sons Aun and Mohammad from Madinah, reached him in which he requested him, in the name of Allâh, to desist from going to Kufa and come to Madinah instead because he apprehended danger to his life and because of this he must not be hasty in the matter. The messenger also handed over to him the letter from the governor of Madinah that said that if he wished to go to Madinah and settle there, he would be given all protection. But Imam Husain رضي الله عنه absolutely refused to return. He took Mohammad and Aun along with him and asked the escort, an inhabitant of Basra, to bring him to Kufa as soon as possible, so that he might enter the city before Obaidullah bin Zeyad's arrival there and because the people there were anxiously waiting his arrival. By chance on the same day Yazid's letter was also received by Obaidullah bin Zeyad asking him to protect himself and depute armed forces on every road and path because Imam Husain رضي الله عنه might be moving towards him and that he should be stopped from reaching Kufa. Imam Husain رضي الله عنه on the other hand, went ahead thinking that people were taking ba'it at Muslim bin Aqil's hands everyday and the group supporting him would be getting bigger. But the reality was that in Kufa Obaidullah bin Zeyad was busy selecting armed personnel for his arrest or execution. After a few days journey he met Abdullah bin Mutie. Finding out his intention, he insisted to stop Imam Husain رضي الله عنه from executing his plan and tried to make him swear to turn back to Makkah. He tried to make him understand that he should not be deceived by the Iraqis because if he wanted to take the caliphate from Banu Umayya, they would instantly kill him and feel encouraged in killing every Hashmite every Arab and every Muslim who supported him, and by destroying himself, he could dishonor Islam, the Arabs and the Quraish. But his speech was ignored by Imam Husain رضي الله عنه and he continued his journey to Kufa. From Hajr through Qais bin Mishar he sent a letter to the people of Kufa that he had reached near and that they should continue to wait for him. As soon as Qais reached Qadisiya, he was arrested by ibn Zeyad's soldiers. He was taken to him with the letter. He had him taken up to the roof of the palace of the Amir and thrown down. Qais died on the spot. Again, from the next stage of his journey, he sent his foster brother Abdullah bin Yaqtur, with a letter. He also met the same

fate. When that caravan reached Salba, they found out that Muslim bin Aqil رضي الله عنه had been killed in Kufa, and that not even a single supporter of Imam Husain رضي الله عنه was left in Kufa. That news threw a pall of gloom over the entire caravan and it intended to retrace its steps because in moving towards Kufa there was strong probability that the caravan would meet the same fate which Muslim bin Aqil had met. Hearing this Muslim bin Aqil's sons said, "We must not go back. We will avenge Muslim bin Aqil's murder or we will die as he died. Secondly, Husain bin Ali رضي الله عنه is not like Muslim bin Aqil رضي الله عنه. When the people of Kufa see him, they will accompany him and arrest Ibn Zeyad." Several honored people were with the caravan and had joined it on the journey, they kept multiplying at each stage. However, after the news moved through the caravan the people of the tribes began slowly and gradually to take leave until only the members of Husain bin Ali's family and tribe were left. They were said to number seventy or eighty by some sources and about two hundred and fifty by other authorities.

The Disaster at Karbala

Obaidullah bin Zeyad named Amr bin Sâd bin Abi Waqas the governor of Rayy and gave him four thousand soldiers to keep watch on all paths and roads into Kufa and to find out by which route Husain bin Ali رضي الله عنه was coming and where was he camping. He also gave Hur bin Yazid Tamimi one thousand soldiers and put him on patrol. Amr bin Sâd started collecting information of different sources while he was camped at Qadisiya. Husain bin Ali رضي الله عنه was in a dilemma and in that state, he reached Saraf. When he moved forward, Hur blocked him with his one thousand soldiers. Imam Husain رضي الله عنه went forward and said to him, "I have come here at your call. If you stick to your pledge, I will enter the city otherwise I shall go the way by which I have come." Hur said, "I have been ordered by Obaidullah bin Zeyad to stay with you and take you to him in our custody." Husain رضي الله عنه said, "It is impossible to bear the humiliation of going to him in custody." He then wanted to go back. Hur, out of fear of Ibn Zeyad, wanted to stop him and stood with his army on the way of his retreat. Imam Husain رضي الله عنه moved to north

and reached Qadisiya. He became aware that Amr bin Sâd, along with a large army, was camping there. Hur followed Husain bin Ali رضي الله عنه. Following this discovery, Imam Husain رضي الله عنه left Qadisiya and after covering ten miles halted at Karbala. Amr bin Sâd was informed of his arrival and set out with his army and following him arrived at Karbala. After camping in same vicinity Amr bin Sâd left his army and came toward Imam Husain's camp and called for him. After exchanging greetings, Ibn Sâd said,

"Undoubtedly, you deserve the caliphate more than Yazid does but it is not the intention of Allâh to let both prophethood and caliphate come into your family. You have seen the circumstances and conditions of Ali bin Abi Talib رضي الله عنه and Hasan bin Ali رضي الله عنه. If you give up the thought of this sultanate and rule, you can easily become free otherwise your life will be in jeopardy and we have been ordered to arrest you."

Imam Husain رضي الله عنه said,

"I put three alternatives before you, you may choose any of them for me.

1. Let me go the way I came so that I may remain absorbed in prayer in Makkah.
2. Let me move to any border so that I may be martyred while fighting with the unbelievers.
3. Leave my way free and let me go to Yazid in Damascus. For your satisfaction, you may follow me. I shall go to Yazid and settle my affairs directly with him as my elder brother Imam Hasan رضي الله عنه did with Amir Muawiya.

Amr bin Sâd was very pleased to hear what he said and replied that he was not in a position to give him the final reply in this matter. He further said that he would inform Obaidullah bin Zeyad at once, and he was sure that he would agree to any of the three points. Amr bin Sâd was camped on the same plain he wrote to Ibn Zeyad a detailed account of the meeting, this took place on Muharram 2, 61 A.H. Obaidullah bin Zeyad was overjoyed reading Amr bin Sâd's letter. He said, "Imam Husain رضي الله عنه has spoken in a way that will put a stop

to all evil disorders and by going to Yazid he will take ba'it (the oath of allegiance), and then there will be no longer any danger." Shimr Dhul Jaushan was present there at the time. He said, "O Amir! You have an opportunity now. You may kill the Imam without hesitation. No one will blame you. However, if he goes to Yazid, you will no longer be honored and respected in comparison to him and he will be able to enjoy a greater status than you."

When Ibn Zeyad heard this, he wrote to Amr bin Sâd.

> "All these three alternatives cannot be accepted. The one thing acceptable is: let Imam Husain رضي الله عنه surrender before me and take the oath of allegiance for Yazid at my hands as his deputy and then I shall send him to Yazid on my own."

On the receipt of this reply, Amr bin Sâd informed Imam Husain رضي الله عنه that he was helpless and said that Ibn Zeyad first wanted ba'it at his hands and did not agree to any other proposal. Imam Husain رضي الله عنه replied that it was better for him to die than take *bay'at* on Ibn Ziyad's hand.

Ibn Sâd was trying his best to avoid bloodshed. He wanted that either Imam Husain رضي الله عنه should accept Ibn Zeyad's conditions or Ibn Zeyad should let him go according to his wish. During the week long correspondences of refusal and insistence both Imam Husain رضي الله عنه and Ibn Sâd along with their men, remained camped on the field of Karbala. Imam Husain's men made their prayers with Ibn Sâd's soldiers and Imam Husain رضي الله عنه used to straighten the Saf (the rows of those praying). When Ibn Zeyad was informed of this, he became worried Ibn Sâd might conspire with Imam Husain رضي الله عنه. He at once called in a herald named Jowira bin Tamimi and gave him a letter for Ibn Sâd:

> "I ordered you to arrest Husain bin Ali رضي الله عنه. It was your duty to have arrested him and brought him to me. If you were unable to do so, you should have brought his head to me. I did not order you to join his company and promote friendly relations with him. Now it is better for you that immediately after reading this letter and without any hesitation either bring Husain bin Ali رضي الله عنه to me or fight with him, cut off his head

and send it to me. If you hesitate even a little, then the bearer of this letter, who is a military officer, has been ordered to arrest you and bring you to me while the army should remain camped there and wait for the next commander whom I shall send in your place."

Taking the letter Jowira reached Ibn Sâd on Thursday Muharram 9, 61 A.H. Ibn Sâd was sitting in his camp at that time. As soon as he read the letter, he stood up, mounted on his horse and ordered his army to get ready and said to Jowira, "Bear witness that as soon as I have read the Amir's order, I have complied with it." Then he set the rows of soldiers and taking Jowira along moved forward. He sent for Imam Husain رضي الله عنه and acquainted him with the contents of the letter and the herald. Imam Husain رضي الله عنه asked him to grant one days' time. Ibn Sâd looked towards Jowira who said that the next day was not far and that he should be granted the time. Ibn Sâd returned from the field and ordered the soldiers to relax because there would not be any fighting on that day.

After sending his order through Jowira, Obaidullah bin Zeyad thought that if Ibn Sâd showed slackness and Jowira made him captive the army would become bewildered and scattered without their commander and just possibly they might join Imam Husain رضي الله عنه. In that case, it would be very a difficult situation and Imam Husain رضي الله عنه would have time to escape to Makkah and get out of their reach. He at once called Shimr Dhul Jaushan to him and said I have sent Jowira with the order that if Ibn Sâd hesitated, he should be arrested and brought to me. I suspect him to be a hypocrite. If Jowira arrests Ibn Sâd, the army will be in the field without a leader and may falter and be lost. I can't find anybody else better than you for this task. Go to Karbala and if Ibn Sâd is arrested, take command of the army, fight with Imam Husain رضي الله عنه and cut of his head and bring it to me. If Ibn Sâd is not arrested and is hesitant in fighting, go and start it and finish the work at once." Shimr said to him, "I have a condition. You know that my sister Umm Lambeen bint Haram was Ali's wife who bore him four sons named Obaidullah, Jafar, Uthman, and Abbas. They are present on the plain of Karbala along with their brother Husain رضي الله عنه. Give me protection for their lives. Obaidullah

bin Zeyad at once had a paper brought to him and wrote *Aman* – pardon and safety, sealed it and gave it to Shimr and sent him off.

Jowira left at night and early on Thursday morning reached the army at Karbala. Shimr left in the morning and reached at Asr time (late afternoon). He briefed him with all that occurred. Shimr said, "I would not have granted him even a single moment. Either get ready at once or hand over the army to me." Ibn Sâd sat on the horse and taking Shimr with him, went to Imam Husain رضي الله عنه and told him that Obaidullah bin Zeyad had sent another messenger and that he was not ready to grant him any delay in the battle. Imam Husain رضي الله عنه said, "Subhan Allâh, What is the necessity of granting me time now? The sun is setting. Won't you defer the fight to tomorrow?" Hearing that Shimr thought it proper to wait until the next morning and both returned to their camps.

Water Banned

At night Obaidullah's order reached that if the fight had not started as yet the water sources must be captured and prohibited for Husain bin Ali رضي الله عنه and his companions immediately after the receipt of the order. If the army had come under Shimr's command, the latter should comply with it.

Amr bin Sad, immediately after receiving the order, assigned five hundred horsemen to Amr bin Al-Hajjaj and stationed him near the Euphrates. Imam Husain's companions had not brought and stored water for themselves that day and all their containers were empty. When they went to fill them up with water, they realized the enemy had occupied the territory by the river. Imam Husain رضي الله عنه sent his brother Abbas bin Ali رضي الله عنه along with fifty men to get water by force. However, the tyrants did not let them take it. Now the agony caused by the intensity of thirst started increasing. That agony was more excruciating than arrows and swords could cause. Imam Husain's young son Ali bin Husain (Zain al-Abedeen) was lying ill in a tent when he and his sister Umm Kulthum, saw that the enemies would attack them in the morning and all their present relatives would be killed and martyred, they began to cry. Hearing them cry, Imam Husain رضي الله عنه entered the tent and told them that their

enemies were camping nearby and would be pleased to hear them cry and the companions would feel discouraged and that they should not lament. He silenced them only after a great effort and came out and said that he was surely wrong in bringing children and women with him and that they should not have been brought. Then he called all his companions to him and said, "You may leave and go wherever you think best. No one will hurt you because the enemies are concerned with me. Your leaving would be a benefit for them. I allow you to save your lives." His companions said, "We will never part with you. We will sacrifice our lives for you and as long as we breathe, we will not let any harm come to you."

Later that same night, a man named Tarmah bin Adi who was visiting the vicinity and had heard about Imam Husain's plight said to him, "Please come along with me alone. I shall take you along such a route that no one will know you have left. I shall then take you to the Tribe of Tai and give you five thousand soldiers from my tribe. You may use them as you like." Imam Husain رضي الله عنه said, "I have just told them to leave me alone and go. They did not accept it. How is it possible now to leave them alone and depart and save my life?" His companions said, "As you have just said, they will not hurt us because they are your enemies. For this reason, you must depart and save your life. Imam Husain رضي الله عنه said, I shall never go to save my life without you." He therefore sent off that man with thanks.

The next morning Shimr and Amr bin Sad came onto the field after the marshalling of the troops in battle array. Imam Husain رضي الله عنه also issued the necessary instructions to his companions and assigned them their positions. Shimr called Obaidullah, Jafar, Uthman and Abbas onto the field and said to them, "Amir Ibn Zeyad has given you protection." They said, "Allâh's protection is better than that of Zeyad's." Shimr was left looking pathetic. According to some traditions at the time when the battle started on the morning of Muharram 10, 61 A. H. seventy-two people were present on the side of Imam Husain رضي الله عنه. Yet, other traditions fix them at one hundred and forty and another at two hundred and forty. If we accept the maximum number, two hundred and forty, even then Imam Husain's companions were only a handful compared to the thousands of strong

and well-armed soldiers of their enemies.

Imam Husain رضي الله عنه, set his companions in proper positions, gave them the necessary instructions and mounted on a camel and went to the troops of Kufa alone. He addressed them loudly and made a speech to them,

"O people of Kufa! I know quite well that this speech will not yield any results at this time and whatever you have to do, you will not desist from doing it. But I think it necessary to end by a plea to all for Allâh's sake and my excuse should also be made clear to you." He had hardly uttered these words when he heard the cries of women and children rising from his tents. He was very sorry to hear them. He interrupted his speech and said 'La haul ...' (There is no power except with Allah). He said, "Abdullah bin Abbas was justified in asking me not to take women and children with me. I committed a mistake when I did not agree with him." Then he went back and shouted to his brothers and sons to stop the women from crying and tell them to keep silent now and weep to their hearts content tomorrow. They pacified them and the women and children stopped crying. Imam Husain رضي الله عنه, again resumed his speech to the soldiers of Kufa thus:

> "O people! Let it be known to you who know me and also to those of you who do not know me that I am the grandson of Prophet ﷺ and the son of Ali bin Abi Talib رضي الله عنه. Fatima bint Prophet ﷺ was my mother and Jafar bin Abi Talib رضي الله عنه was my uncle. Besides this genealogical pride, I have also another pride to my credit: that the Prophet ﷺ called me the chief of the Youths of Paradise. If you do not believe me, you may have it confirmed by a number of the Prophet's ﷺ companions who are still living. I never broke a promise, I never missed a Salat, I neither killed a Muslim nor did harm to any one. If Jesus' donkey was still alive, the whole of Christendom would be busy feeding and taking care of it until the Day of Judgement. What sort of Muslims and followers are you who want to kill the grandson of your Prophet ﷺ? You have neither the fear of Allâh nor are you ashamed on behalf of the Prophet ﷺ. As I did not kill anybody in my life, I do not deserve to be subjected to

retaliation. Tell me how have you concluded shedding my blood to be lawful. Having retired from worldly pursuits and disputes, I was staying in Madinah at the feet of the Prophet ﷺ but you did not let me live even there. I was then engaged in Allâh's worship in the House of Allâh in Makkah. You people of Kufa did not let me take rest there and continued sending letters to me stating that you think me the rightful claimant to the Imamate (leadership), and want to take ba'it for my caliphate. When I responded to your call and came here, you revolted against me. If you want to help me even now, I want that you should not kill me and let me alone so that I may go to Makkah or Madinah and become absorbed in prayer and Allâh will judge in this very world who was right and who was wrong."

All kept silent on hearing the speech and no one answered. After waiting some time Imam Husain رضي الله عنه said,

"Thank Allâh I have pleaded with you and you could not offer any response."

Then he called some of them by name, Shabt bin Rabiya, Hajjaj bin Al-Hasan, Qais bin Al-Ashas, Hur bin Yazid Tamimi, and others! Did you not write letters to me and call me insistently to this place and now when I have arrived here, you are adamant on killing me."

When they heard that, they told him that they had neither written letters to him nor called him. Imam Husain رضي الله عنه took out their letters and read them each separately, telling them these were their letters. They replied that whether they wrote him letters or not, now they were sick of him. After hearing that Imam Husain رضي الله عنه got off his camel and got ready for the battle. Someone came out of the troops from Kufa and onto the battlefield for single combat however, his horse became so frightened that the fighter fell off and died. Seeing that Hur bin Yazid Tamimi, posing as if he were attacking, put his shield before him and came running on his horse to Imam Husain رضي الله عنه and threw away his shield. When asked to explain the purpose of his coming in this way, he said, "I am the man who kept you surrounded and prevented your return and forced you to camp in this

field. Now, in order to expiate my fault, I shall fight against the soldiers of Kufa in your support. Please make a du'a (prayer) for my forgiveness, Imam Husain رضي الله عنه was highly pleased and made a du'a, for him.

Shimr said to Amr bin Sad, "Why do you delay now?" The latter at once put an arrow into his bow and shot it towards Imam Husain's رضي الله عنه troops and said, "Bear witness that I have shot the first arrow. Then two Kufan soldiers moved forward for single combat. From Imam Husain's رضي الله عنه side a brave man came out and killed both of them. In this way, the combat continued and many of the soldiers from Kufa were killed. Then from Imam Husain's side the men one after another moved forward and started attacking their enemies and many lost their lives. Imam Husain's رضي الله عنه companions did not let the descendents of Abi Talib come onto the battlefield until they all had died one by one. Finally, Muslim bin Aquil's son was the first of the descendents of Abi Talib to advance. Then Imam Husain's son Ali Akbar attacked the enemy heroically and after killing many of them he fell martyred. His martyrdom was too much for Imam Husain رضي الله عنه, and he began to weep. After that his brothers Obaidullah bin Ali bin Abi Talib, Mohammad bin Ali bin Abi Talib, Jafar bin Ali bin Abi Talib and Uthman bin Ali bin Abi Talib attacked the enemies and after killing many they fell dead. In the end, Imam Husain's young son Mohammad Qasim attacked them but he also met the same fate. In short, for Imam Husain رضي الله عنه his own martyrdom and the other disasters at Karbala were not so great as his watching, with his own eyes, his brothers and sons being martyred and his daughters and sisters looking at such a gory and soul shattering sight. Imam Husain's companions and members of his family presented exemplary valor and displayed unprecedented loyalty and self sacrifice. None of them showed weakness or cowardice nor stood accused of disloyalty or of being hesitant. Imam Husain رضي الله عنه at the end was left alone. Besides the women, the only one left in the tent was Zain al-Abedeen who was only a child at that time. Obaidullah bin Zeyad, the tyrant had sent orders that Imam Husain's head be chopped off and his body be trampled by horses until all the limbs were completely broken.

The Martyrdom of Imam Husain رضي الله عنه

Left alone Imam Husain رضي الله عنه attacked the enemies so valiantly although none of his companions remained alive to observe the magnificence of his attacks. Amr bin Sad and Shimr were, saying to each other, "I have never seen such a brave and courageous man." The sum and substance of this tragic and soul withering tale is that Imam Husain رضي الله عنه received forty five wounds from arrows on his body but continued to face the enemy the entire time. According to another tradition, there were thirty-three wounds from spears and forty-three sword wounds in addition to those of the arrows. In the beginning, he was fighting on horseback but when the horse was killed, he began to fight on foot. None of his enemies wanted to kill Imam Husain رضي الله عنه with his own hands, rather all of them avoided and evaded him. At last, Shimr took six soldiers and attacked him. As a consequence, Imam Husain's left hand was chopped off and fell to the ground. Imam Husain رضي الله عنه wanted to attack them in response but his right hand was also so injured that he could not lift up the sword. Sanan bin Anas Nakhi speared him from behind and it passed through his abdomen. This spear wound caused him to fall to the ground. Sanan drew out the spear and with it Imam Husain's soul also was drawn out. *Inna lillahi wa inna ilaihi rajiun* (To Allah do we belong and to Him is our return).

Then Shimr himself or at his instance somebody else severed Imam Husain's head from his body and in compliance with Obaidullah bin Zeyad's order, twelve horsemen were chosen. They had his sacred trampled and they returned to the tent and arrested his family. When Shimr saw Zain al-Abedeen, the child, he wanted to kill him but Amr bin Sad prevented him from doing so. Imam Husain's head and his family were sent to Obaidullah bin Zeyad in Kufa. Considerable propaganda was made of them in Kufa. Ibn Zeyad called for the convening of his court and Imam Husain's head was presented to him on a platter. Seeing it, he uttered some impertinent remarks and then on the third day, he gave Shimr a division of soldiers and under his supervision, he sent the captives and the sacred head to Yazid in Damascus. When Ali bin Husain (Zain al-Abedeen) and all the women

reached Yazid and when he saw Imam Husain's head, he burst into tears in the open court. He abused Obaidullah bin Zeyad and said that he had never order Summayya's son to kill Husain bin Ali رضي الله عنه. Then addressing Shimr and the Iraqis he said that since he was always pleased with obedience, why did they kill Husain bin Ali رضي الله عنه. Shimr and his associates expected that Yazid would reward and honor them but he gave them nothing. On the contrary, he expressed his displeasure and ordered them to leave. Then he said to the courtiers: Husain's mother was better than mine, his grandfather the Prophet ﷺ is better than the other Prophets and is the chief of all of Adam's descendents. However, there was a quarrel between his father Ali رضي الله عنه and my father Muawiya رضي الله عنه. Similarly, we also fell out. Ali رضي الله عنه and Husain رضي الله عنه both used to say "Let he whose father and grand father was better be the Caliph." But they did not consider the verse of the Qur'ân:

> "O Allâh! Possessor of the kingdom, You give the kingdom to whom you will, and You take the kingdom from whom you will."(3:26)

Finally, it is known as to whom Allah has favored.

Then, having released the captives, he kept them in his palace as honored guests. When the women went into the palace, they found that all the women there were crying just as Imam Husain's sisters were crying for their brothers and relatives. After a few days of royal hospitality, the ruined caravan left for Madinah.

Yazid provided them with all kinds of financial assistance and promised Ali bin Husain (Imam Zain al-Abedeen) to give him any type of assistance whenever he contacted him.

Obaidullah bin Zeyad's Frustration

Obaidullah bin Zeyad hoped that after the killing of Husain رضي الله عنه he would be honored. But Yazid, after the incident of Karbala, appointed Silam bin Zeyad the governor of Khorasan, he also put under him some provinces that had been attached with Basra, and sent him to Kufa, and gave him a letter written to Obaidullah bin Zeyad asking him to assign to Silam six thousands soldiers of Silam's

choice. Obaidullah took this as a negative sign and began to express sorrow at Imam Husain's loss, saying if he had been living, Yazid would have needed him and not have reduced his rank and status but now when Yazid became safe he started to take territory and soldiers from under his control. When Silam took command of the Kufan army, he asked the chiefs how many of them wanted to accompany him to Khorasan. Each of them expressed his desire to go with him. At night Obaidullah bin Zeyad sent his messenger to the chiefs of the army and asked why they preferred Silam to him. They replied that with him they had to stain their hands with the blood of the family of the Prophet ﷺ while with Silam they would be getting a chance to declare 'jihad' against the Turks and the Mongols. The next day Silam along with six thousand selected soldiers, left Kufa and went to Khorasan. Obaidullah bin Zeyad after the incident of Karbala, received nothing in reward but shame and sorrow.

The Events in Makkah and Madinah

When Yazid ordered Amr bin Sad to leave Madinah and go to Obaidullah bin Zeyad in Kufa, he sent Waleed bin Utba again as the governor of Madinah in place of Amr bin Sad. It was Waleed bin Utba as the governor of Madinah who, at the insistence of Abdullah bin Jafar رضي الله عنه, had written a document to the effect that if Imam Husain رضي الله عنه came to Madinah, he would be given safety and protection. Abdullah bin Jafar رضي الله عنه sent that document along with his letter to Imam Husain رضي الله عنه through the hands of his sons Aun and Muhammad while Imam Husain رضي الله عنه was on his way to Kufa. In Makkah Yazid's rule was over thrown and Abdullah bin Zubair رضي الله عنه was in power. When the news of Imam Husain's martyrdom reached there, he collected the people and made a speech:

"O people! No other people are worse than Iraqis and among the Iraqis, the people of Kufa are the worst. They repeatedly wrote letters and called Imam Husain رضي الله عنه to them and took *bay'at* for his caliphate. But when Ibn Zeyad arrived in Kufa, they rallied around him and killed Imam Husain رضي الله عنه who was a pious, observed the fast, read the Quran and deserved the caliphate in all respects."

Saying that much Abdullah bin Zubair رضي الله عنه burst into tears. The

people told him that then no one deserved the caliphate more than he. They requested him to stretch out his hands for *bay'at* and their acceptance of him as their Caliph. In that way, all the Makkans took *bay'at* for Caliphate at his hands. When the news reached Yazid, he had a silver chain made and sent it along with two persons to Waleed bin Utba in Madinah, he was informed that he should go to Makkah to put the chain around Abdullah bin Zubair's neck and arrest him. Later on, Yazid was sorry because he knew Abdullah bin Zubair رضي الله عنه was not the type of man to let it be put round his neck. Utba on his own did not comply with that order. Yazid continued to think of a way how to overpower Abdullah bin Zubair رضي الله عنه and at the same time save the Ka'bah from bloodshed. In Dhul Hijja 61 A.H., people from all corners of Makkah started pouring in. Waleed bin Utba, the governor of Madinah, was sent as leader of the pilgrimage from Yazid's side. From Makkah Abdullah bin Zubair رضي الله عنه was also the leader of the pilgrimage. In short, both performed Hajj, with their respective groups and neither of them opposed the other. Waleed bin Utba began to plan how to please Yazid by arresting Abdullah bin Zubair رضي الله عنه. However, Abdullah bin Zubair رضي الله عنه found out about Waleed's plan. When he had finished the Hajj, he wrote a letter to Yazid:

"Though Waleed is your cousin, he is a great fool. He is spoiling everything because of his foolishness. You should make some one else the governor."

Yazid was very impressed by that letter. He thought that Abdullah bin Zubair did not harbor any ill feeling in his heart against him and that he was not opposed to him. As Marwan bin Hakam had also sent such complaints to Yazid against Waleed, Abdullah bin Zubair's letter did not create any doubt about the truth of the matter in his heart. He therefore dismissed Waleed bin Utba and sent another of his cousins Uthman bin Mohammad Abi Sufyan as governor of the holy cities.

Uthman bin Mohammad came to Madinah and started drinking, which displeased the people very much. Uthman came to Madinah as governor in Muharram 62 A.H. After a few days, he selected ten persons and sent them to Yazid in Damascus. The delegation consisted of Mundir bin Zubair, Abdullah bin Hanzla, and Abdullah

bin Amr bin Hafs bin Mughira among others. When they reached Damascus, they were received with great hospitality by Yazid. He gave to the first two, one hundred thousand dirhams each and to the rest ten thousand dirhams each and saw them off. They had seen Yazid holding singing and entertainment sessions and indulging in unlawful activities in Damascus. While returning, they all made up their minds to make an all out effort to oppose Yazid's caliphate. Nine persons came from Damascus to Madinah and one Mandir bin Zubair went to Kufa because Obaidullah bin Zeyad and Mandir bin Zubair were friends. He intended to go to Kufa to see Obaidullah. When Abdullah bin Hanzla, along with his companions, came to Madinah, the people gathered round him to know about the conditions in Damascus.

Opposition to Yazid's Caliphate

Abdullah said that Yazid did not deserve the caliphate in the least because he was seen indulging in unlawful acts and that it was doubtful if he was a Muslim. The Muslims should declare 'Jihad' against him. The people of Madinah told him that they heard that he was amply rewarded by Yazid. He replied that he accepted it simply because he had no power to oppose him. When they heard that, the people became very disgusted with Yazid. Abdullah bin Hanzla proposed the removal of Yazid. As a result of which, the Quraish made Abdullah bin Muti and the Ansars made Abdullah bin Hanzla their chiefs and denied and rejected Yazid's caliphate and rule. When Uthman bin Mohammad and all the Banu Umayyah, who numbered one thousand in Madinah, saw this, some of them went out of Madinah and some took refuge in the house of Marwan bin Hakam.

The people of Madinah arrested and imprisoned all the Banu Umayyah they could find. They said nothing to Marwan's son Abdul Malik who always lived in the service of Sayeed bin Almusayyeb the Schollor of Madinah and he rarely went out of the mosque and was considered to be a great devotee to religious practices, very pious and virtuous. Banu Umayyah informed Yazid in Damascus of the prevalent situation there. Yazid at once wrote to Obaidullah bin Zeyad that Mandir bin Zubair who had been to him in Kufa, should

immediately be arrested and imprisoned in order to prevent his entry into Madinah. As Obaidullah bin Zeyad was not pleased with Yazid because the latter did not value and honor him for killing Imam Husain, he sent Mandir away to Madinah at once and wrote to Yazid that Mandir had left for Madinah before he received his letter. After reaching Madinah, Mandir told Abdullah bin Hanzala and Abdullah bin Muti to take *bay'at* at Ali bin Husain's (Imam Zain al-Abedeen's) hands for caliphate. He then went to Ali bin Husain with a group. Ali bin Husain frankly refused and said that both his father and grandfather had lost their lives for the sake of the caliphate and that he dared not run the risk of doing such a thing and killing himself. Saying so he went to stay in a village outside of Madinah.

Marwan, who along with other Banu Umayyah was imprisoned in his own house, sent a message to Ali bin Husain (Imam Zain al-Abedeen) through Abdul Malik saying that what he did was quite right but he wanted some other help from him. He sent some valuable goods and members of his family to be looked after by him because there was no room for them in his crowed house, Ali bin Husain conceded to the request. Marwan bin Hakam, under the cover of a dark night, sent his family and some expensive goods to him in the village. Ali bin Husain (Imam Zain al-Abedeen) wrote to Yazid the detailed situation of what was going on in Madinah. He wrote about himself that he was loyal to him and trying his best to support and safeguard Banu Umayyah. Becoming acquainted with the situation in Madinah, Yazid called Noman bin Basheer Ansari رضي الله عنه and told him to go to Madinah and make the people see reason, tell them to stop their evil activities and not to create the possibility of bloodshed in Madinah. He also asked him to pressure Abdullah bin Hanzla and mention that he visited Yazid, received gifts and rewards, returned highly pleased from there but then turned to be his enemy after coming to Madinah. By undoing the *bay'at* and issuing the religious judgment of Kufr (declaring him an unbeliever) against him incited the people and in so doing did not act wisely. He further asked him to go to Ali bin Husain رضي الله عنه (Imam Zain al-Abedeen) with his message that his loyalty and achievements would certainly be honored and that he should tell the Banu Umayyah with him that they could not even suppress the 'fitna' (evil disorder) in Madinah by killing the two who created it. After

hearing about all these instructions, Noman bin Basheer رضي الله عنه mounted a female camel and proceeded to Madinah. There he tried to make the people understand that it was not in everybody's interest to make these problems, but in vain. Becoming frustrated he returned to Damascus and briefed Yazid with all that happened. Yazid called Muslim bin Oqba and ordered him to rush to Madinah along with one thousand selected cavalry and ask the people there to obey and in case of disobedience, fight them until they were humbled and disciplined.

Muslim bin Oqba replied that he was loyal but unwell at the time. Yazid told him that even in that state he was better than the other healthy persons and that no one else could do the job better than he. Compelled in this way, he selected one thousand soldiers and left from Damascus on the third day after he was ordered. Yazid, at the time of departure, urged him:

"Try to bring the people of Madinah to the right path with all possible soft measures. However, if you are convinced that such measures will not work, then I give you all the power not to be slow in causing bloodshed and slaughter. But be careful and see no harm is done to Husain bin Ali (Imam Zain al-Abedeen) because he is loyal and a supporter. I have his letter, which says that he has nothing to do with the uproar and rebellion. If your condition deteriorates and rendering you incapable of commanding the army, you may depute Haseen bin Numair in your place. You may also make him your deputy."

After sending the army, Yazid sent a messenger to Obaidullah bin Zeyad with a letter asking him to take an army from Kufa and invade Makkah and eradicate Abdullah bin Zubair's disruption. Obaidullah wrote back that it was beyond him to do both things: he had already killed Imam Husain رضي الله عنه and that he would not ruin and lay the Ka'bah to waste. That work should be entrusted to somebody else. When Muslim bin Oqba reached near Madinah with his army, the inhabitants of the city told Abdullah bin Hanzla that Banu Umayyah who were in Madinah would side with the enemies if the army of Damascus came and thereby cause civil war, which would inflict a great loss on them. Therefore they argued, it was better that they should all be put to death before the arrival of Muslim bin Oqba. Abdullah bin Hanzla replied that if they killed Banu Umayyah, Yazid

and Obaidullah bin Zeyad with the Syrians and Iraqis respectively would invade them and demand revenge. He said it was better that all the Banu Umayyah should be called, make them swear neither to fight with them nor help the invaders against them and after that they should be turned out of Madinah. All agreed to the proposal. The proposal was executed accordingly with the only exception of Abdul Malik bin Marwan who was granted full liberty to remain in the city. The people who were turned out of the city came across the army of Muslim bin Oqba in Wadi al-Qura. Muslim bin Oqba asked them from which side he should launch an attack on Madinah. They refused to answer him in view of their pledge and pleaded helplessness in assisting him. Muslim bin Oqba wanted to know whether there was anybody among them who did not take any pledge. They said that Abdul Malik bin Marwan was such a man and he was in Madinah. Muslim said that Abdul Malik was young while he needed an old and experienced man well versed in the strategies of war. They told him that this young man was better than an old man. Muslim bin Oqba therefore sent someone to Madinah and contacted him. Muslim bin Oqba was stunned to hear his counsel and implemented it. He reached near Madinah and sent a message to its people: The caliph, Yazid, considers you to be noble. He does not like to shed your blood. You must obey or we shall be forced to take our swords out of their sheaths.

Having sent the message, Muslim bin Oqba waited for three days. The people of Madinah prepared to fight. At last Muslim bin Oqba invaded Madinah from the Harra side. They people of the city fought them valiantly and repulsed the Syrian soldiers. However, due to Muslim bin Oqba's valor and experience, the people of Madinah were defeated. Abdullah bin Hanzla, Fuzail bin Abbas bin Abdul Muttalib, Mohammad bin Thabit bin Qais, Abdullah bin Zaid bin Asim, Mohammad bin Amr bin Hazm Ansari, Wahab bin Abdullah bin Zama, Zubair bin Abdur Rahman bin Auf, Abdullah bin Naufil bin Harith bin Abdul Muttalib and many other leaders of Madinah met their end in that battle. The victorious army entered Madinah. Muslim bin Oqba continued a general massacre with looting and arson for three days. That battle and massacre saw one thousand people dead, which included three hundred noblemen of the Quraish and the Ansar. On the fourth day, he stopped the massacre and ordered them

to take *'bay'at*. Those who took *bay'at* at Muslim bin Oqba's hands survived and those who refused were killed. It was on the 27th of Dhul Hijja 63 A.H. that Muslim bin Oqba entered Madinah as victor and issued the orders for a general massacre. On that very day, Mohammad bin Abdullah bin Abbas bin Abdul Muttalib was born. He is known as Mohammad Abul Abbas Saffah and is regarded as the first caliph of the Abbasids. Muslim bin Oqba made a hectic search of Mundir bin Zubair but he had escaped to Makkah.

The Siege of Makkah and Yazid's Death

Freed from Madinah, Muslim bin Oqba with his army, advanced towards Makkah. He was ill and on the way his condition deteriorated and when it turned more serious at Abwa, he called Haseen bin Numer and made him commander in chief in his place, and died. Those who fled from Madinah also gathered in Makkah. The Khawarij also thought it worthwhile to help Abdullah bin Zubair who had arrived in Makkah. That year all the people of the Hijaz had taken 'ba'it' for the caliphate of Abdullah bin Zubair. Haseen bin Numer taking his army arrived, near Makkah and sent a message to Abdullah bin Zubair رضي الله عنه to obey Yazid or he would invade Makkah. Abdullah bin Zubair رضي الله عنه made preparations for battle. His brother Mundir bin Zubair رضي الله عنه who came from Madinah was appointed chief of a section of Abdullah bin Zubair's army. It was he who first came out onto the battlefield and challenged the Syrians. In the initial fight, he killed several Syrians and then the full-fledged battle started. It continued until the evening without any tangible results. It started on Muharram 27th 64 A. H. The next day Haseen bin Numer set up a catapult on Mount Qubais and started targeting the Ka'bah and laid siege to Makkah. The siege and stone firing continued until Rabia al-Awwal 3, 64 A.H. On the 3rd of Rabia al-Awwal the Syrians made projectiles of cotton and sulfur and igniting them began to shower them on the Makkans. They burnt the Ka'bah's cover and blackened its walls. Two catapults were constantly launching stones and projectiles. It was difficult for the people of Makkah to venture out of their houses. The walls of the Ka'bah were broken under the impact of the flying stones and its roof caved in. The Syrians's that were making the siege became tougher, their total number after

reinforcements came to five thousand. The Syrians were continuing to launch stones on the House of Allah and the city while on the 10th of Rabia al-Awwal Yazid died at Hawarin at the age of 38 or 39 after governing for three years and eight months. The news of his death first reached Abdullah bin Zubair رضي الله عنه. He shouted loudly to the Syrians: O unfortunate ones! Why are you fighting? Your leader who had gone astray is dead.

Haseen bin Numer did not give credence to it but attributed it to one of Abdullah bin Zubair's strategies. However, on the third day Thabit bin Qais Nakhye came from Kufa and informed him of Yazid's death, he at once ordered the army to raise the siege and march. Before his departure, he sent a message to Abdullah bin Zubair رضي الله عنه, expressing his desire to see him at Batha.

In keeping with the terms of the agreement, Abdullah bin Zubair رضي الله عنه took ten persons with him and similarly ten persons accompanied Haseen bin Numer. Haseen said to him, "I am ready to accept you as caliph and take ba'it at your hands. I have five thousand Syrian warriors with me. They will also follow me. Please come to Syria with me and I shall persuade all the Syrians to take ba'it from you. All the people of Hijaz have already taken *bay'at* at your hands and after the Syrians the whole Islamic world will accept you as the caliph." Abdullah bin Zubair رضي الله عنه thought that he was being deceived, so he refused and said that so long as he did not have retribution against the Syrians, he would never forgive them. Haseen talked in a low voice while Abdullah bin Zubair رضي الله عنه replied loudly and roughly. Haseen said, "I want to give you the caliphate and you quarrel with me and reply in a rough voice." In short, Haseen left the place and returned to his army and ordered it to march. Later, Abdullah bin Zubair رضي الله عنه realized his mistake and he sent a messenger to Haseen asking him not to force him to go to Syria rather to take ba'it in Makkah. Haseen said, "The purpose would not be served if you don't come to Syria." In the end, Abdullah bin Zubair رضي الله عنه did not leave and Haseen departed from Makkah. When he reached near to Madinah, he came to know that upon hearing of Yazid's death the people in Madinah again stood against the Banu Umayyah and drove the governor who Muslim bin Oqba had deputed there out of

Madinah. When Haseen encamped near Madinah, the uproar in Madinah subsided and all the Banu Umayyah joined Haseen's army and requested him to take them to Syria with him. Haseen asked them to stay for the night promising to march with them the next morning. At night, he went out in search of Ali bin Husain. He met him and said to him:

Yazid is dead. There is no Imam of the world of Islam at present. Accompany me to Syria. I shall persuade the whole world to take *bay'at* for your caliphate. Don't take the Syrians to be like the Iraqis. They will never betray you nor will they harm you.

Ali bin Husain said: "I have made a pledge with Allah that I shall never take ba'it in my lifetime. Leave me alone and find somebody else for the caliphate." Having said that he parted from Haseen. Haseen returned to his army and taking the Banu Umayyah with him marched to Syria.

Conquests During Yazid's Reign

We have reached Yazid's death but it remains to be mentioned that Oqba bin Nafe, the founder of the city of Qairwan (in modern day north-central Tunisia), had left North Africa and had gone to Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه in Damascus and complained against Abul Muhajir. Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه had promised to send him to North Africa as the commander in chief. Death had overtaken Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه before he could fulfill his commitment. Immediately after becoming caliph, Yazid deputed Oqba as the commander and sent him to North Africa. Oqba reached Qairwan, arrested Abul Muhajir and threw him into prison. The reason was that Abul Muhajir, during his reign tried to defame him unjustifiably by abusing him. In that state of captivity Abul Muhajir died but before he died he warned him to beware of a newly converted Berber Muslim named Kusaila. It was Abul Muhajir who had convinced him about Islam and he knew his nature and habits, he was sure that because Oqba had imprisoned him, Kusalia, if he had the opportunity would certainly take revenge. Oqba did not pay much attention to it and he let him continue to be chief of one part of his army. In 62 A.H. Oqba called his sons and as his last will and testament, said to them: "I am going in the way of Allah for Jihad and

I wish earnestly to get martyrdom". Then he left Zuhair bin Qais Balwi with a small army for the protection of Qairwan and he set out along with an army of the *mujahideen* (Literally: those who struggle, connoting warriors fighting for the sake of Islam) to the west. There was a confrontation with the Roman army* in the city of Baghana. After a sharp encounter, the Romans retreated. Again, the Romans fought them at the city of Arba and they also lost that battle. Seeing the onrushing flood of Muslim victories they allied themselves with the Berbers who had not yet converted to Islam. That huge army of Romans and Berbers stood their ground against the small Muslim army. After a bloody battle, the Muslim gained a decisive victory. Finally, they fought the last battle with the Romans at the city of Tangier in which the Roman governor surrendered himself to Oqba bin Nafe. Oqba set him free and without causing any damage to the city moved on. He conquered the entire territory of Morocco and he arrived at the coast of the Atlantic Ocean. Having reached the coast, he ran his horse into the sea and said,

> O Allah! Had this sea not intervened in my way I would have gone on fighting in your way until the end of the earth.

Martyrdom of Oqba

Oqba thought about returning to Qairwan. The whole of North Africa had been included in the Islamic conquests. On his return journey, he subdivided his army into various parts and sent them off separately and one part he kept with him. On the way, they reached a place where water was not available. They began to die from thirst and Oqba made a du'a (prayer) to Allah. His horse began to strike its hooves on the ground and amazingly a fountain shot up from that exact place. They all drank to their hearts content. It came to be known as 'Ma-ul-fars' (the water of the horsemen) and it is still known by this same name. When he set out with his small regiment and reached Hatuza, the Romans and the Berbers, seeing his small regiment wanted to fight even though they had already surrendered to him. Kusaila who was with Oqba took advantage of the situation, he parted with him and joined the Romans, encouraging his countrymen, and he led a large army on the attack and surrounded the small regiment.

The handful of Muslims unsheathed their sword and set to killing their enemies. They killed a large number of Romans and Berbers and made a pile of dead bodies and then they fell martyred one by one, and Oqba bin Nafe's longing for martyrdom was finally fulfilled.

Kusaila along with his large army marched towards Qairwan. When the news reached Qairwan that Oqba met his martyrdom and that a large army was approaching, Zuhair bin Qais made preparations for battle, but dissension and disunity broke out among his army. Qais failed to bring it under control. Compelled by this, the Muslims had to leave Qairwan and proceeded towards Barqah and Kusaila occupied Qairwan.

A Glance at Yazid's Caliphate

Yazid reigned for about three years and nine months. During that period no territorial victories outside of North Africa came to the Muslims, to be more precise following Amir Muawiya's رضي الله عنه 20 year long rule as caliph the period of infighting and indifference to foreign conquests had commenced. The greatest slur on Yazid's caliphate was Imam Husain's martyrdom, which has brought into prominence his other shortcomings. Considering these factors with the desire to get to the truth we should in going to the heart of the matter peacefully ponder over what were the motives working behind the tyranny perpetrated upon Imam Husain رضي الله عنه and the brutal treatment, which was meted out to him at Karbala.

It can not be denied that at the instance of Mughira bin Shoba رضي الله عنه, Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه nominated Yazid as his successor otherwise he would never have thought of making his son the caliph after him. It was Mughira bin Shoba who was the first to introduce that idea Because that proposal was absolutely against the tradition of the 'Khilafat-Rashida' (the rightly guided caliphate) and the spirit of Islamic democracy, opposition to it started at once in Madinah. Therefore, Abdur Rahman bin Abu Bakr, Abdullah bin Umar, Abdullah bin Zubair and Imam Husain رضي الله عنهم opposed it vehemently. When Marwan put the problem before the wise and sober people of Madinah, it met with stiff opposition from all quarters.

Abdullah bin Zubair رضي الله عنه said clearly: "No other modes but those of the Prophet ﷺ and Khulfa ar-Rashideen will be acceptable to us in selecting the caliph. Commenting on it Abdur Rahman bin Abi Bakr رضي الله عنه said: the style which Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه has adopted in selecting the caliph is that of the Roman and Iranian emperors. It is not acceptable to us. Imam Husain رضي الله عنه said, "This selection is not meant for the betterment but for the annihilation of the Muslims because by this way the Islamic caliphate will be like that practiced by Caesar or Kisra, that is the son will succeed his father as king.

Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه, in order to make them agree went to the extent of sending the following words to those wise people. You should accept him as caliph only in name. The rest of affairs, law and order, appointments and transfers of post-holders and other administrative activities will be done with your consultation. But even that failed to produce the desired result and none of them was ready to accept it.

Now imagine the sentiments of the common masses and the character of Yazid. Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه issued instructions to all his governors to narrate to the people Yazid's virtues and send to him delegations of the influential people so that he himself might have a direct talk with them on the issue. Consequently he talked to the delegations separately that came to him from all the provinces and then gathered them all at one place and made a speech in which he, after highlighting the rights and duties of caliphs, obedience to the rulers and the responsibilities of the common masses, mentioned Yazid's bravery, generosity, wisdom, suitability and administrative skill and finally expressed his wish that *bay'at* should be taken for Yazid's succession. However, in response a member of the delegation from Madinah, Mohammad bin Amr bin Hazam, stood up and said, "Amir al-Muminin! You are making Yazid the caliph but you should think about that you will have to answer to Allah for this act of yours on the Day of Judgement." These words amply prove that the people in general did not like Yazid's caliphate. Coupled with this that even at Amir Muawiya's death the type of disobedience he displayed throws light on how far he was fit for the caliphate.

With the joint efforts of Mughira bin Shoba and Amir Muawiya, Yazid

became the caliph of the Islamic world. Taking ba'it for Yazid in his lifetime was Amir Muawiya's blunder and it was committed probably out of fatherly affection. But Mughira bin Shoba's mistake was worse than his because it only came to his mind at Mughira bin Shoba's suggestion. Furthermore, Yazid, after taking over the reign, failed to prove himself fit for the caliphate. He knew fully well that there were living elders who by virtue of their chaste habits and disposition, high morals, habits of worship, abstinence from material pleasures, their practical life and their strength of Iman were guiding lights, yet he did not take advantage of their presence. Instead of running his administration by availing himself of their counsel he began to perpetrate tyranny immediately after becoming caliph, and issued instructions to all his governors to take ba'it from all the elders present in Madinah and Makkah. When Imam Husain رضي الله عنه received the message, how could he, a man of such high status, take *bay'at* for Yazid? First of all his selection was out and out unlawful and his government was also unlawful. Secondly, from the viewpoint of deeds and character he was so debased that he was always engaged in amusement, fun, touring and hunting. He had appointed eunuchs to serve him, participated in singing and dancing parties openly, those and other character faults in him rendered him absolutely unfit for becoming the Muslims, caliph even for a single minute. How could Imam Husain رضي الله عنه accept him as caliph and take *bay'at* at his hands? These were the motives that compelled Imam Husain رضي الله عنه to oppose the illegal system of Yazid's reign. By his act against the unlawful government he lighted a lamp the light of which will continue to guide the caravans of the lovers of truth and justice until the Day of Reckoning. Imam Husain رضي الله عنه therefore mentioned this fact in his addresses he delivered at Karbala and during his journey. At Baida, he addressed Hur and his companions thus:

O people! The Prophet ﷺ has said, "One who sees a king who is a tyrant, makes lawful the things made unlawful by Allah, breaks his pledge made with Allah, opposes the sunnah of the Prophet ﷺ, rules over the slaves of Allah with sin and oppression and the onlooker is not ashamed at his speech and practice, then everyone is justified in throwing into Hell instead of the king in question." Understanding fully that these people (Yazid and his court) obeyed Satan and gave

up obeying Ar-Rahman (Allah). They have spread mischief on the earth, paralyzed the laws prescribed by Allah, taken the lion's share of the spoils of war, have taken the things Allah has made lawful and made them unlawful and vice versa and therefore I am justified in fighting according to the rules of Islam such misdeeds.

These were the causes that brought Imam Husain رضي الله عنه to Karbala. He and his family while uttering words of truth were martyred in their attempt to exterminate an unlawful system.

From the general view, Yazid was not a true successor to Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه. He had not much to do with religion and spiritualism. He did not display any merit in governance and politics. Had he been even a little discerning he would have first made an attempt to make the people forget the dispute between Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه and Ali bin Abi Ṭalib رضي الله عنه. But he either did not pay much heed to it or failed due to his own character faults. The model of practical life that Yazid presented before the people also contained sins and unlawful acts, harmed the Muslim's religious outlook and their practical lives and people of weak Iman witnessing the royal model, felt emboldened to commit sins. It was Yazid's ugly example that provided impetus to the Muslims to take up singing, playing music otherwise prior to his display the Islamic world was absolutely free from these defects. Even up to Yazid's reign, the Muslims had not accepted the principle of caliphate by succession in government and politics. They knew that the act of Yazid succeeding Amir Muawiya as caliph was a gross mistake and it needed to be rectified. It was because of this that Haseen bin Numer wanted Abdullah bin Zubair to be the caliph. However, after Yazid's death the idea of succession was strengthened by the actions of Banu Umayyah and finally this evil practice took such a deep root that until now the Muslims have not been able to get rid of it.

Yazid was first married to Umm Hisham bint Utba bin Rabiya and had two sons, Muawiya and Khalid, by her. He loved Khalid more but he made Muawiya his successor. Then he married Umm Kulthum bint Abdullah bin Amir who gave birth to Abdullah bin Yazid who was well known for his excellent archery. Besides these, a few sons were born of his female slaves also.

Muawiya bin Yazid

At the time of Yazid's death, Muawiya bin Yazid also known as Abu Laila and Abu Abdur Rahman was twenty years and a few months old. He was young, pious and devout. The Syrians took *bay'at* at his hands after Yazid's death. When Haseen bin Numer along with his army and those of Banu Umayyah who left Madinah, reached Syria, the *bay'at* for him had already taken place. Muawiya was not interested in his own caliphate and the taking of ba'it. He was a little sickly also, and in that state of sickness, people took *bay'at* for him. He took *bay'at* under pressure and after forty days or according to a second tradition after two months and yet according to a third tradition after three months died as caliph. During that short period, he was not able to do anything worth mentioning. When his condition worsened, they requested him to nominate someone to be caliph after him. Muawiya said to them:

"I had no power to run the caliphate from the beginning. You made me caliph by force. I thought to hand it over to a person like Umar bin Khattab رضی الله عنه if available but in vain. Then again, I wanted to do just as he had done and nominate a few persons entrusted with the task of selecting the caliph but I failed to find such persons. You are at liberty to make caliph anyone whom you like because I will have nothing to do with it."

Saying that Muawiya made the people leave his palace and had the doors closed. After that, it was not he but his dead body that went out of the palace.

Bay'at for Ibn Zeyad in Basra

The caliphate of Muawiya bin Yazid was accepted only by the Syrians and the Egyptians. The people of the Hijaz had taken *bay'at* at Abdullah bin Zubair's hands. When the news of Yazid's death reached Iraq, Obadiullah bin Zeyad was present in Basra. He collected the people and said to them:

"The Amir al-Muminin is dead. There is no one in sight who has the capacity to run the caliphate. I am born in this country and I have

been brought up here. My father ruled here and at present, I am the ruler here.

The income of our territory is more than before. The treasury is stronger than before. Salaries and stipends given to the people are far more than before. The country is free from the presence of the mischievous and the wicked. You may establish your own separate caliphate if you like because you are not dependent on the Syrians."

Having heard the speech, everyone expressed their readiness to take ba'it at his hands. Therefore, the people of Basra took *bay'at* at his hands but in the heart, they did not like him. Taking ba'it from them, Obaidullah went to Kufa in order to take *bay'at* from the people there but they refused him openly. When the people of Basra came to know that the inhabitants of Kufa did not accept Ibn Zeyad, they annulled their oaths. Compelled and helpless Ibn Zeyad fled from Iraq and arrived in Damascus. He reached there when Muawiya bin Yazid had breathed his last, there were many disputes and the country was in an uproar of confusion in connection with the selection of the caliphate.

Ibn Zubair's Caliphate in Iraq

The situation in Kufa showed that after the disaster of Karbala the people felt very moved by the martyrdom of Imam Husain رضي الله عنه. Those who called him by sending letters to him and then took part in killing him, felt very ashamed and repentant. Ibn Zeyad did not get any reward rather a part of Khorasan (corresponding to modern northeastern Iran, southern Turkmenistan, and northern Afghanistan) was taken from under his control and he too was repentant concerning Imam Husain's killing and did not stop the people of Kufa from repentance. The partisans of Husain in Kufa gathered at Sulaiman bin Sard Khazai's house and held a closed-door meeting, they confessed their faults and in order to expiate their errors agreed to the proposal to avenge Imam Husain's blood. Consequently, all of them took *bay'at* at Sulaiman's hands. He exhorted them to stick to their determination and avoid giving vent to it prematurely and gradually convert the people to their opinion and when the

opportunity presented itself, they would rise up and avenge his assassination.

When Obaidullah bin Zeyad wanted to turn the attention of the people of Kufa towards taking *bay'at* for him, they refused in keeping with Sulaiman's instructions and plans and they continued making preparations for taking revenge. Hearing of Yazid's death the partisans of Ali requested Sulaiman to rebel. But he asked them not to do so at that time because a good number of the people of Kufa were still not in favor of undertaking the work agreed upon and it was more prudent to keep trying separately for a few days more to increase their numbers and strength.

After rejecting Ibn Zeyad's proposal the people of Kufa drove out Amr bin Harith who was the appointed governor of Kufa by Ibn Zeyad and accepted Abdullah bin Zubair's caliphate. Abdullah bin Zubair رضي الله عنه sent Abdullah bin Yazid Ansari and Ibrahim bin Mohammad bin Talha as governor and tax collector of Kufa respectively. One week before the arrival of Abdullah bin Zubair's governor, Mukhtar bin Abu Obaida who had gone to Mohammad bin Al Hanafia, returned to Kufa. This took place in Ramadan 64 A.H. The people of Basra also made Abdullah bin Harith their chief after Ibn Zeyad's expulsion and in imitation of the people of Kufa, sent their delegation to Abdullah bin Zubair رضي الله عنه and recognized his caliphate. Thus, Abdullah bin Zubair's reign over the whole of Iraq was fully established.

Ibn Zubair's Caliphate in Egypt

The Egyptian governor was Abdur Rahman bin Jehdan. When he heard the news of Muawiya bin Yazid's death, he at once took *bay'at*, (oath of allegiance) for Abdullah bin Zubair's caliphate through a delegation. Noman bin Basheer and Zafar bin Harith were the governors of Hims (also spelled Homs, city, central Syria) and Qansareen (one of the five original provinces that the conquering Arabs divided greater Syria into, now northern Syria) respectively. Both of them thought it proper to recognize Abdullah bin Zubair's caliphate on hearing about Muawiya bin Yazid's death. Because no caliph could be selected quickly after Muawiya bin Yazid's death, the

people of Damascus took *bay'at* for Dahhak bin Qais on the condition that they accept him as their Amir and Imam and obey him until the selection by the Muslims of the Amir and Caliph of all of them. Dahhak bin Qais also thought Abdullah bin Zubair رضی اللہ عنہ alone to be superior to the others. The governor of Palestine Hassan bin Malik wanted the new caliph to be from the tribe of Banu Umayyah. In short at Muawiya bin Yazid's death the whole Islamic world had agreed to Abdullah bin Zubair's caliphate and with the exception of Banu Umayyah, all the rest of the influential people were determined upon finishing for good the matter of hereditary succession in connection with the caliphate and they wanted Abdullah bin Zubair as the caliph.

We have read about Obaidullah bin Zeyad's fate after Yazid in the previous pages. Now we will read about the fate of his brother Muslim bin Zeyad who governed Khorasan.

When the news of Yazid's death reached Khorasan, Muslim bin Zeyad said to the people that as Yazid was dead and so long as a new caliph was not selected and had not issued instructions, they should take *bay'at* for him. The people of Khorasan gladly did so but a few days after they nullified it. Muslim bin Zeyad also met the same fate, as his brother Obaidullah bin Zeyad in Iraq. Muslim bin Zeyad, deputed Muhallab bin Abi Sufra governor of Khorasan in his place, and intended to go to Damascus. He met Abdullah bin Hazim on the way and he appointed ibn Hazim, the governor of Khorasan, and Muhallab bin Sufra remained as the commander in chief as usual. Abdullah bin Hazim reached Khorasan and humbled and disciplined all the rebels. While the matter of the caliphate was being decided in Damascus in Khorasan Abdullah bin Hazim was fighting and defeating the Turks and Mongols and establishing and popularizing Islam.

Had Abdullah bin Zubair agreed to Haseen bin Numer's proposal and gone to Syria, there is little doubt that his caliphate would have been established and stabilized and after becoming the caliph of the Islamic World, he alone could have exterminated all the evils which had already taken deep root in the Islamic territories. However, it was not to be and the inevitable, which was against this, happened.

Marwan bin Hakam

Marwan bin Hakam bin Abi Al-Aas bin Umayyah bin Abd Shams bin Abd Manaf was born in 2 A.H. His mother was known by the name of Amna bint Alqaman bin Safwan. He had been the head clerk and minister during Uthman bin Affan's رضي الله عنه period of caliphate. During Amir Muawiya's reign, he governed Madinah several times. Following Muawiya bin Yazid's death, it was Abdullah bin Zubair رضي الله عنه had been the caliph for six or seven months. With the exception of Marwan, none from among Banu Umayyah had a claim to the caliphate. All the governors and administrators had accorded recognition to Abdullah bin Zubair's caliphate. After struggling for six or seven months, Marwan succeeded in occupying Syria. Therefore, Marwan can be considered to be a rebel and as Banu Umayyah had lost the caliphate, he can be credited with the revival of the caliphate for Banu Umayyah.

Bay'at for the Caliphate and the Battle of Marj Rahat

After Muawiya bin Yazid's death as mentioned earlier, there appeared two sects in Syria. One was Banu Umayyah who justified the caliphate on the basis that it belonged to their tribe alone, and the other comprising of Dahhak bin Qais, the governor of Damascus and his like minded officers and administrators who inwardly supported Abdullah bin Zubair's caliphate but kept silent. First of all Noman bin Basheer رضي الله عنه began to take *bay'at* in Hims in the name of Abdullah bin Zubair رضي الله عنه. The governor of Qansareen, Zafar bin Harith, also followed suit. In Damascus Banu Umayyah and Banu Kalb were in the majority. Those two tribes were like-minded and critical of Abdullah bin Zubair. Dahhak bin Qais who inwardly sided with Abdullah bin Zubair did not express it openly, ruled over Damascus. The inhabitants of Damascus were in the dark about the fact that the armies of Hims and Qansareen had taken *bay'at* for Abdullah bin Zubair's caliphate. It was, Hassan bin Malik Kalbi the governor of Palestine and a supporter of the Banu Umayyah due to his relation with them, got the inforMotion first. Making Ruh bin Zamba his deputy, he said, "The leaders of Ibn Zubair's army continue to take

bay'at for him from the people. The people of my tribe are in Jordan and I will go there to inform them. You must be vigilant here and kill those who oppose us." Having insisted in this manner he went to Jordan. Immediately after his departure, Nabil bin Qais, as a supporter of Abdullah bin Zubair رضي الله عنه, expelled Ruh bin Zamba from Palestine. Ruh went to Hassan bin Malik in Jordan and Palestine was annexed to Abdullah bin Zubair's caliphate. Hassan bin Malik assembled the Jordanians and incited them against Abdullah bin Zubair رضي الله عنه, and promised that they would try to make Khalid bin Yazid bin Muawiya bin Abi Sufyan the caliph. Hassan also came to know that Dahhak bin Qais, the governor of Damascus, was a secret follower of ibn Zubair but Hassan did not reveal it and chose another method to deal with this problem. Hassan using the strategy of politics wrote Dahhak bin Qais a letter containing the vices attributed to Abdullah bin Zubair and stated that Dahhak was the rightful claimant of the caliphate for Banu Umayyah. Further, he drew his attention to the fact that the people were continuing to take *bay'at* for Abdullah bin Zubair رضي الله عنه, and asked him to remedy this at once. The messenger carrying the letter to Damascus was instructed that he should read the letter to Dahhak bin Qais in the central mosque on Friday before all the influential people of the city and the Banu Umayyah. The purpose of this was to create and obstacle between Dahhak bin Qais and ibn Zubair, to destroy Dahhak's credibility with Abdullah bin Zubair, and to cause confusion among Dahhak's followers.

At the mosque in Damascus, a large number of Dahhak bin Qais's followers were present. When they heard the letter, they were divided into two groups. One was the Banu Umayyah and their followers and the other was Abdullah bin Zubair's supporters. Both the groups clashed and they went to the extent of taking arms against the other and prepared to attack each other. However, Khalid bin Yazid bin Muawiya intervened and pacified them and prevented them from fighting, Dahhak bin Qais left the mosque silently and entered his house and did not come out for three days.

During that period Obaidullah bin Zeyad who had been expelled from Iraq and frustrated, had fled to Syria and arrived in Damascus.

His arrival in Damascus gave great strength to the Banu Umayyah and their followers. Dahhak bin Qais and Banu Umayyah together proceeded to Jabia. Thour bin Maan Sulami went to Dahhak and said to him, "You gave us counsel to take *bay'at* for Abdullah bin Zubair رضي الله عنه and we accepted it. And now at the instance of Hassan bin Malik Kalbi, you want to try to arrange the ba'it for his sister's son Khalid bin Yazid." Dahhak was ashamed and asked him what his opinion was. He said, "Express what you have concealed so far and invite the people openly to take *bay'at* for Abdullah bin Zubair."

Dahhak parted along with his supporters and halted at Marj Rahat. Banu Umayyah and Banu Kalb were stationed at Jabia. Hassan along with his followers also arrived there from Jordan. Five thousand of the Banu Umayyah and Banu Kalb had assembled at Jabia while Dahhak bin Qais had only one thousand of the Banu Qais at Marj Rahat with him. The deputy whom Dahhak bin Qais left in Damascus was expelled by Yazid bin Anis and took over the captured treasury, which was really a great defeat for Dahhak. Had Damascus and the treasury been in his possession he would not have suffered such a blow to his power. From Marj Rahat he sent inforMotion to Noman bin Basheer, Zafar bin Harith and Nayel bin Qais in Hims, Qansareen and Palestine. The problem that came first before any other work for the Banu Umayyah was choosing the Imamate and caliph.

(Editors note: Imamate literally concerns leadership and Caliph connotes the representative of Allah on earth, this term is also used to describe all the sons of Adam and their position and responsibility while on this earth. These two terms cover the spiritual and temporal leadership of the Muslims and can be used interchangeably depending on the context as the concept of separation of the state from religion does not exist in Islam. In Arabic these terms and their derivations are commonly used and they are not terms that are exclusively used for this specific terminology only as the word Pope is in English.)

Khalid bin Yazid was named in general and the majority were inclined to him.

Marwan began to coax the people for his own caliphate and Ruh bin

Zamba in his support addressed the gathering in the following words:

Khalid bin Yazid is quite young now. We need a clever and experienced caliph. Therefore, none is better than Marwan bin Hakam. He is experienced and he has been doing the work of the caliphate and governing since the days of Uthman bin Affan رضي الله عنه. It is only proper that we select Marwan as our caliph provided that after his term, Khalid bin Yazid would be the caliph and after him Amr bin Sayeed Aas should be entrusted with the caliphate.

The choice of caliph remained under discussion at Jabia for forty days. At long last, Ruh bin Zamba's proposal with the support and effort of Obaidullah bin Zeyad, was approved and on 3 Dhul Qada 64 A.H. at Jabia, the Banu Umayyah, Banu Kalb, Ghassan and Tai tribes took ba'it at Marwan's hands. After the *bay'at*, Marwan leading his supporters moved towards Marj Rahat and encamped in front of Dahhak bin Qais. Marwan had 13,000 warriors while Dahhak had gathered four times more fighters. Both the armies set the right and left flanks in proper position and started a series of attacks. It continued for twenty days without any decisive battle being fought. At last, Obaidullah bin Zeyad drew Marwan's attention to the small number of their army and advised him that they should attack them at night. As both the armies had been forming normal battle lines and neither side seemed ready to launch a night attack, Dahhak and his soldiers were thoughtless and unconcerned. Furthermore, Marwan, during the day had sent a proposal of peace and requested them to stop fighting and no one should attack the other while the proposal of peace and terms was being negotiated. Therefore, the fighting had stopped. When the night came, preparations were a foot for the night attack in accordance with Ibn Zeyad's plan while Dahhak and his soldiers, being completely free from military duties, were relaxed or asleep. After midnight, Marwan's forces attacked from different flanks. The sudden attack resulted in the death of eighty leaders of Banu Qais and six hundred men of Banu Sulaim. Dahhak bin Qais was also killed and the rest fled where they could.

The fight in reality was a fight between Banu Kalb and Banu Qais. There had been a rivalry between them since the days of ignorance.

Islam made them forget their ancient feuds and Amir Muawiya رضي الله عنه made use of them intelligently and kept the old rivalry repressed. He had Yazid married into Banu Kalb so that he might continue to get their support. Banu Qais out numbered Banu Kalb and so special care was also taken to entertain and keep them in good humor. These two tribes were regarded as the greatest powers in Syria. Just as Umar bin Khattab's death saw the revival of the old enmity between Banu Umayyah and Banu Hashim, similarly Amir Muawiya's death brought to life the old forgotten rivalry between Banu Qais and Banu Kalb. And the battle of Marj Rahat transformed the rivalry into a durable and permanent enmity and caused an irreparable damage to the cause of Islam in the Islamic world.

Following Muawiya bin Yazid's death, rivalries and differences of opinions between Banu Qais and Banu Kalb began to appear regarding the choice of the caliph in Damascus, Marwan bin Hakam seeing that Iraq, Egypt and a big part of Syria had already recognized Abdullah bin Zubair, made up his mind to leave Damascus, go to Abdullah bin Zubair رضي الله عنه in Makkah and take *bay'at* at his hands and avoid deferring the matter of recognizing his caliphate. When the uproar among the people in the central mosque in Damascus occurred, Marwan bin Hakam became quite hopeless of Banu Umayyah regaining the caliphate and he had packed his belongings to undertake the journey to Makkah. With the arrival of Obaidullah bin Zeyad in Damascus and his becoming aware of Marwan's intention, ibn Zeyad insisted on Marwan canceling his departure. It was the result of his efforts that *bay'at* for the caliphate of Marwan was taken and it was his strategy that led to the death of Dahhak bin Qais and the defeat of Banu Qais at Marj Rahat.

After the victory at Marj Rahat, Marwan came to Damascus and stayed in Amir Muawiya's palace. Immediately after his arrival there he, in accordance with Ibn Zeyad's counsel, married Khalid bin Yazid's mother in order to win the support of Banu Kalb and be free from the danger of Khalid bin Yazid's succession. Then he advanced to Palestine and Egypt and in the early days of 65 A.H. defeated all the followers of Abdullah bin Zubair, he either killed or banished them.

Abdullah bin Zubair رضي الله عنه, committed a gross mistake in this case by not taking advantage of the favorable situations and events in Syria and failing to send reinforcements to his followers in time. He instructed his brother Musab bin Zubair رضي الله عنه to invade Syria but by that time the opportunity had already slipped through their fingers and hopes had already been shattered and hearts lost.

The Battle of Tawwabeen (pentients)

It has been mentioned earlier that in Ramadan 64 A.H. Abdullah bin Yazid Ansari became the administrator of Kufa on behalf of Abdullah bin Zubair ﷺ and that during the same time period Mukhtar bin Abu Obaida came to Kufa. Mukhtar began to incite the people to take retribution for Husain's blood. They told him that they had already taken ba'it at Sulaiman bin Sard's hands for this purpose but the suitable time for action had not yet come. Mukhtar said to them, "Sulaiman is a man of low spirits. He evades fighting. Imam Husain's brother Imam Mahdi Mohammad bin Al-Hanifia has sent me here as his deputy. You should take *bay'at* at my hands and exact recompense from his enemies." Hearing this they started taking *bay'at* for the Imam with Mukhtar. When Abdullah bin Yazid the governor of Kufa, received this news, he announced that if Mukhtar and his supporters wanted to revenge themselves on their enemies for the murder of Husain رضي الله عنه they should co-operate in this mission otherwise if they took independent action, he would fight against them and punish them. The impact of the announcement was that Sulaiman bin Sard and his followers began to purchase arms openly and became busy preparing for the battle. On the first of Rabia al-Awwal 65 A.H. Sulaiman left Kufa and encamped at Nakhila with seventeen thousand warriors. Abdullah bin Yazid, the governor of Kufa, did not oppose him. Mukhtar was forming his own group for the same purpose of revenging the death of Imam Husain رضي الله عنه. Although Sulaiman harbored the same idea in his heart, Mukhtar expressed it openly, because of the open expression of his plan a few noblemen of Kufa instigated Abdullah bin Yazid to catch and imprison Mukhtar, which he did. Sulaiman along with seventeen thousand warriors advanced toward the Syrian border on the 5th of Rabia al-Awwal. At

the time of his departure, Abdullah bin Sad bin Nufail said to Sulaiman, "All the killers of Husain رضي الله عنه are assembled here in Kufa. Where are you going to search for them?" Sulaiman said, "These are soldiers who were at their chief Ibn Zeyad's command. He is the real culprit and first we should finish with him. Freed from this task it will be quite easy to straighten out the rest of the problem." After leaving Nakhila, Sulaiman's army reached Karbala where they wept bitterly at the place of Husain's murder and at his grave in which Imam Husain's headless corpse was buried. They halted there for a day and a night and then left. They continued their march and reached "Ain al Wardah" and encamped there. Hearing of their arrival Obaidullah bin Zeyad, who was at that time the newly appointed governor of Mosul and was personally stationed there, gave twelve thousand soldiers to Haseen bin Numer and sent him to face Sulaiman. Sulaiman had reached Ain al-Wardah on 21 Jumad al-Awwal 65 A.H., after camping there for five days Haseen bin Numer also arrived at Ain al-Wardah on the 26th of Jumad al-Awwal. The fight began on that same day. The Syrians suffered great losses until the evening but then night intervened and protected them. The next morning about eight thousand more Syrian soldiers sent by Ibn Zeyad came as reinforcements. That day also saw a fierce battle, which continued from Salat al-Fajr (dawn prayer) to Maghrib time (sunset) without yielding any final results. Both the parties passed the night in hope and fear. In the morning another ten thousand Syrian soldiers arrived as reinforcements sent by Ibn Zeyad to aid Haseen bin Numer's army. That day the battle continued until the evening, Sulaiman bin Sard and all the great leaders of Kufa were killed and only a few survived. The rest of the leaders took their remaining men and left the battlefield under the cover of darkness. Haseen did not pursue them. Sulaiman bin Sard and his associates were known as Tawwabeen (penitents) meaning that they had committed the crime of causing Imam Husain رضي الله عنه to be killed by betraying him and then became penitent and tried to compensate for it. That is why the Battle of "Ain al-Wardah" is also called the Battle of Tawwabeen. They were not the trained soldiers of any government but they had gathered there to kill Ibn Zeyad, the majority of them were sent to their death and only a few of them returned alive.

The Battle of Khawarij

While at "Ain al-Wardah" the group of Tawwabeen (penitents) were engaged in fighting, in Basra the Khawarij were making preparations for battle against the governor of Basra, Abdullah bin Harith who had been appointed by Abdullah bin Zubair. The Khawarij of Basra and its vicinity gathered in Dolab at Ahwaz and revolted. Abdullah bin Harith deputed Muslim bin Obais bin Kareez bin Rabia to humble the rebels. Taking his soldiers Muslim bin Obais arrived in Dolab to fight the enemy. The Khawarij had made Nafe bin Arzaq their chief and commander. In Jummad al-Thani 65 A.H., Nafe bin Arzaq and Muslim bin Obais clashed at Dolab. Both the commanders Nafe and Muslim bin Obais were killed but the battle was not decided in any sides favor. The army of Basra made Hajjaj Bab their commander and the Khawarij made Abdullah bin Ahwar Tamimi their chief replacing Muslim bin Obais and Nafe respectively. When the continuing battle was still going on in full fury, the commander of the army from Basra, Hajjaj was killed. They made Harith bin Zaid their commander. Finally, the Khawarij gained victory and Harith bin Zaid along with the remaining Basra soldiers moved to Ahwaz fighting and chopping their way through to escape.

The Khawarij moved towards Basra as victors. When the people of Basra came to know about the victory of the Khawarij and the wretched plight of the Basra army, they were shocked. Immediately a fast messenger communicated the news to Abdullah bin Zubair رضي الله عنه in Makkah. Abdullah bin Zubair appointed Muhallab bin Abi Sufra the governor of Khorasan and dismissed Abdullah bin Harith from the governorship of Basra and appointed Harith bin Rabia to the post of the governor of Basra. When Harith bin Rabia assumed his post Muhallab bin Abi Sufra (one of the noblemen of Basra) wanted to go to Khorasan, the Khawarij soldiers and the flood of revolt had already reached near Basra. Harith bin Rabia wanted to make Ahnaf bin Qais the commander in chief of the army in order to face and stop the advance of the Khawarij. Ahnaf said, Muhallab bin Sufra was most suited to this work. Muhallab said, I am going to Khorasan as governor but I won't refuse to undertake this mission also provided I

am given enough money and material for the military expenses as well as the territories taken from the Khawarij will be declared to be my property."

Harith bin Rabia accepted his condition and Muhallab, taking twelve thousand selected warriors from the people of Basra, marched on to confront the Khawarij. The Khawarij fought a pitched battle and displayed exemplar bravery and turned their enemies faces several times. However, Muhallab's personal valor and experience benefited the people of Basra. The Khawarij were vanquished but they regrouped themselves and began to fight more carefully. Finally, the Khawarij, after a few more skirmishes, were defeated and they went towards Kerman and Isfahan.

The Siege of Qarqisa

You have read earlier that prior to the caliphate of Marwan bin Hakam, Zafar bin Harith had been ruling over Qansareen. After Marwan's victory Zafar went to Abdullah bin Zubair رضي الله عنه and informed him of Marwan's occupation of Egypt. Abdullah bin Zubair رضي الله عنه sent him away as the administrator of Qarqisa, which was a border district between Syria and Iraq. Marwan after the Battle of Ain al-Wardah assigned Obaidullah bin Zeyad the task of ejecting Zafar bin Harith from Qarqisa.

Obaidullah laid siege to Qarqisa. Zafar bin Harith defended with great courage and determination. The siege and its defense prolonged until Obaidullah bin Zeyad received the news of Marwan's death and becoming discouraged about the success of the siege lifted it and returned to Damascus.

Succession of Marwan's sons

Having ordered Obaidullah bin Zeyad to lay siege to Qarqisa, Marwan bin Hakam put all his effort into arranging the caliphate to go to his sons Abdul Malik and Abdul Aziz. He publicized the idea that Amr bin Sayeed bin Aas, who according to the original agreement that brought Marwan to the caliphate would be second in line after Khalid bin Yazid, said, "I will not allow Khalid bin Yazid to succeed

Marwan after his death rather I will take *bay'at* from the people for my own caliphate". The publicity made the people gossip. Taking advantage of this manufactured opportunity, Marwan by tempting and deceiving Hassan bin Malik Kalbi who was Khalid bin Yazid's greatest supporter, persuaded him to make the proposal that after Marwan, Abdul Malik bin Marwan and then Abdul Aziz bin Marwan be made caliph. Hassan bin Malik stood up in front of the general public in the central mosque of Damascus and said, "We have been hearing that the people will certainly quarrel about the matter of the caliphate after the Amir al-Muminin Marwan. In order to ward off this danger I put before you a proposal. I hope the Amir al-Muminin and the general Muslims will agree to it. The proposal is this that Amir al-Muminin nominate his sons Abdul Malik and after him, Abdul Aziz for the caliphate and take *bay'at* from the people for this. No one dared to oppose or contradict this proposal and immediately the people took *bay'at* for the succession of Abdul Malik and Abdul Aziz.

Death of Marwan bin Hakam

The ba'it was against Khalid bin Yazid but all his supporters had already been won over by Marwan, he felt shocked and disappointed but he could do nothing about it. After this political victory, Marwan continued to damage Khalid bin Yazid's influence and popularity and went to the extent of humiliating and degrading him. However, even this failed to satisfy Marwan, who still considered Khalid as a possible threat to his political strategy, and he began planning his murder. Khalid complained to his mother, who was, Marwan's wife that Marwan was planing to murder him. His mother said, "Keep quiet I will take revenge on Marwan before he accomplishes it." She therefore persuaded four or five of her slave girls to murder him. Marwan came to the palace at night and went to bed. The girls in obedience to the order of Khalid's mother, stuffed linen into his mouth to suppress his outcries and strangled him to death. This happened in Ramadan 65 A.H. That same day the people took ba'it for Abdul Malik's caliphate in Damascus. Abdul Malik killed Khalid's mother in retaliation for Marwan's murder. Marwan was 63 at the time of his death. He had ruled for only nine and a half months.

Abdullah bin Zubair

Abdullah bin Zubair رضي الله عنه and his situation and the circumstances of his caliphate have been recorded in the previous pages. As Marwan bin Hakam's death occurred during Abdullah bin Zubair's caliphate and as his caliphate continued even after Marwan's death, we thought it proper that Marwan bin Hakam's situation and circumstances be recorded after those of Yazid bin Muawiya and Muawiya bin Yazid to be followed finally by those of Abdullah bin Zubair رضي الله عنه. Abdul Malik succeeded to the throne and since the period of his rule and caliphate lasted even after that of Abdullah bin Zubair, the prevailing conditions and circumstances of his reign entitled Abdul Malik will follow that of Abdullah bin Zubair's. The period that began with the disaster at Karbala is as difficult to present as the period between 30 to 40 A.H. We are about to study a very dangerous age and in recording it, the chronology is difficult to maintain. The conditions are so complicated and confused that even if they are categorized outside of their chronological order it is not feasible to make them fit into a simple presentation. Even with these difficulties we have tried in comparison to other histories that this book should have more order and the readers should not feel over burdened mentally and so the reflection on the reality of these events should establish itself with more understanding in their minds.

Early life and Habits

His genealogical table is as follows: Abdullah bin Zubair bin Awwam bin Khuwailid bin Asad bin Abdul Uzza bin Qussai. His familiar name is Abu Khubaib (Editors note: In Arabic it is endearing to refer to a man by the title of "father of" followed by the name of his first son. Therefore, the Prophet ﷺ is called Abul Qasim and Ali رضي الله عنه is known as Abul Hasan. This is also applicable to a woman and she is entitled "mother of" and the name of her first son. In Arabic, this is known as kunya and has no English equivalent). Himself a Sahabi (companion of the Prophet ﷺ) he is a Sahabi's son. His father Zubair bin Awwam is counted among the Ashrat Mubashshireen (Literally: "The ten given good news," meaning ten companions of the Prophet

ﷺ who were given the good news that they would go to Paradise). His mother Asma was Abu Bakr Siddiq's daughter and Aysha Siddiqa's sister. His grand mother was Safia who was the Prophet's paternal aunt.

Abdullah bin Zubair was born one year and 8 months after the Prophet ﷺ emigrated to Madinah. He was the first child born to a Muhajir (those who emigrated to Madinah) in Madinah Munawwara. His birth was highly celebrated by the emigrants because when the Jews saw that no child was born to an emigrant in Madinah for a long time, they publicized the idea that they had cast a spell over them and therefore no child could be born to the emigrants. That was why the Muslims were very joyous when he was born and it also caused as much grief, humiliation and shame to the Jews. He was taken to the Prophet ﷺ immediately after his birth. He ﷺ chewed a date and put a little in baby Abdullah's mouth.

Abdullah bin Zubair رضی اللہ عنہ used to observe fast very often and would remain engaged in prayer. Sometimes he stood up in prayer and remained in that position for the whole night; sometimes he remained in ruku (bowing) for the whole night and sometimes he spent the whole night in sujud (prostration). He helped the needy especially his relatives. He was very brave and was a great general. His horsemanship was exemplar and a matter of pride among the Quraish. He was a man of great perseverance and stood like rock in the face of difficulties. He was a fine orator with a deep voice. His voice echoed and resonated as if he was in the mountains.

Omar bin Qais says, Abdullah bin Zubair رضی اللہ عنہ had one hundred slaves who spoke a hundred different languages and he talked to each of them in their own language. Whenever anybody saw him do some religious deed, the observer would gather the impression that worldly desires could not have entered his heart even for a fraction of a second.

One day Abdullah Asadi called on Abdullah bin Zubair رضی اللہ عنہ and said to him, "You and I are related to each other through such and such genealogy. Abdullah bin Zubair رضی اللہ عنہ said, yes, you are right. But if you ponder, you will conclude that the whole of mankind is

interrelated because all of us have descended from Adam and Eve. Abdullah Asadi said, my funds have run short and I have no money to spend. Abdullah bin Zubair رضي الله عنه said, I did not stand as a guarantee to your funds. Asadi said my camel is dying of cold. Abdullah bin Zubair رضي الله عنه said, take it to some warm place and put some woolen cloth or a blanket on it. Asadi said I did not come to you to take counsel but to beg something. Accursed be the camel, which brought me to you. Abdullah bin Zubair رضي الله عنه said, curse the rider of this camel too.

Important Events of Ibn Zubair's Caliphate

Abdullah bin Zubair رضي الله عنه had been reigning in Makkah since Amir Muawiya's death. He never allowed Yazid's rule to be established in Makkah during Yazid's regime. He took *bay'at* for the caliphate after Yazid's death and in a short time he was recognized as caliph by the whole Islamic world except for a few places in Syria. During that period, he did not take correct stock of the situation in Syria, which were in his favor but he failed to capitalize on them. He committed a mistake by under estiMoting Banu Umayyah's power and popularity, which had been established since Amir Muawiya's times in Syria. Had he correctly deduced the situation concerning Banu Qais's and Banu Kalab's dissensions and rivalries and his own popularity is Syria he would have undertaken a journey to Syria. There is a high probability that the journey would have proved as fruitful as Umar bin Khattab's journey to Syria for the Islamic world. In that case, Marwan's caliphate and the restoration of Banu Umayyah's influence and power would not have taken place. If he had made Madinah his capital instead of Makkah and came to Madinah immediately after Yazid's death, he would not have allowed Syria to slip through his fingers owing to its proximity it would have been easier to control. Had he done this, he could have prevented Dahhak bin Qais, Zafar bin Harith, Noman bin Basher and Abdur Rahman bin Jehdam from being vanquished. If these people had received a little support and help from him they were not the type of people who would retreat and accept defeat at any cost. The consequence of that error of misunderstanding was that Egypt and Syria coupled with Palestine went out of his control and Marwan founded the caliphate for his descendents.

Mukhtar's Mischief

Mukhtar bin Abi Ubaid bin Masood Thaqfi has been mentioned in previous pages. When Sulaiman bin Sard appeared with the group of Tawwabeen to take revenge for Husain's murder, the governor of Kufa made him captive in order to maintain law and order due to his loud cries for revenge. When the remainder of the Tawwabeen returned to Kufa, Mukhtar sent a letter expressing his sense of sorrow to them.

"Don't be sad and rest assured that if I remain alive, I will take revenge for all of your martyred soldiers and Husain's death. I won't spare even a single killer and will cause such bloodshed that the people will be reminded of Bukht Nassr's times and how he killed Banu Israel. If there is anybody alive who wants to avenge Husain's death he should make a pact with me for this mission.

The letter was read by Rafe bin Shaddad, Muthanna bin Makhriba Abdi, Sad bin Hudaifa bin Yaman, Yazid bin Anas, Ahmar bin Sumait Himsi, Abdullah bin Shaddad Bajali, and Abdullah bin Kamil who were all from the group of Tawwabeen. They were beside themselves with joy that there was still a soul alive who had so much enthusiasm and dedication concerning Husain's death. Rafe bin Shaddad, therefore took four or five persons with him and visited the prision. Having gotten permission, he saw Mukhtar and told him that they would secure his release after breaking open the jail. Mukhtar said, No don't bother. I shall be free whenever I want the governor of Kufa himself will set me free. The time has not come. Wait for a few days more.

Mukhtar had sent a letter to Abdullah bin Umar رضي الله عنهما through a messenger from the jail before the vanquished Tawwabeen returned. The letter stated. "I have been imprisoned by the governor of Kufa, Abdullah bin Yazid. Would you please write a letter of recommendation to him. I have been wronged. Allah will reward you for it." Mukhtar was sure that Abdullah bin Umar رضي الله عنهما would certainly recommend him and that he would be released. Concealing that reality, he spoke to Rafe about his release in such a way as to impress on him that he had spritual powers. After a few days

Abdullah bin Umar letter was received by Abdullah bin Yazid, and he, in respect to this letter, called Mukhtar from the jail and said, "I release you on the condition that you do not create any mischief in Kufa and keep yourself confined to your house. Mukhtar agreed and went to his house. Husain's supporters attributed his release to his miracle and began to visit him with great respect and faith. The faithful persons visited him secretly. A few days later Abdullah bin Zubair رضي الله عنه dismissed Abdullah bin Yazid and sent Abdullah bin Moti to Kufa as governor. Abdullah bin Moti arrived in Kufa on 25 Ramadan 66 A.H. Mukhtar also attributed the rise and fall of the governors to his miraculous power and after the departure of the old governor from Kufa, broke the restrictions imposed upon him and began to live more freely, more and more people began to visit him and the number of his followers started increasing greatly. Abdullah bin Moti had appointed Ayas bin Abi Mudarib as the city Magistrate. One day Ayas said to Moti, the governor of Kufa, Mukhtar's followers have become dangerous and powerful. I am afraid that he might rise against you. You had better put him in prison as before.

Abdullah bin Moti sent Mukhtar's uncle Zaid bin Masood Thaqfi along with Husain bin Rafe Azdi to Mukhtar asking him to come to him because he wanted to have an important talk with him. Both of them went to Mukhtar and conveyed the governor's message. He at once put on his clothes and was getting ready to leave when Zaid read the verse of the Qur'ân,

> "And when the disbelieves plotted against you to imprision you, or to kill you, or to get you out."(8:30)

No sooner had Mukhtar heard the verse than he at once made out what Zaid meant. He said, bring me a blanket. I am feeling cold. He covered himself with his blanket and laid down. Then addressing Husain bin Rafe he said "See I was ready to leave. But what can I do? I've had a sudden attack of sickness. Now I cannot move. Please narrate to the Amir the condition in which you found me. When I get well tomorrow morning, I shall comply with his order. Both of them left, on the way Husain bin Rafe said to Zaid, you read that verse so that Mukhtar would not go to the Amir otherwise he was ready to go.

He stopped because you wanted him to stop. He simply invented an excuse, commenting thus Husain said to Zaid, rest assured, I won't mention it to Abdullah bin Moti because I may get some benefit from Mukhtar. Both went to Abdullah bin Moti and said to him, Mukhtar was seriously ill. We have seen him with our eyes and he is unable to come here. Allah willing he will be coming tomorrow.

No sooner had Zaid and Husain gone than Mukhtar called a select few of his influential faithful followers and told them that they should not delay and should not wait any more they should rise in revolt at once. They said we are obedient to you. We are ready to abide by your decision but we should be given time for a week so that we may make our weapons ready and in order to finish our preparations for war. Mukhtar said that he did not expect Abdullah to grant him time for a week. Sad bin Abi Sad said, don't worry if Abdullah calls and imprisons you, we will have you released from the jail easily. Hearing that Mukhtar kept quite. They took him to an unknown place and hid him there. Then Şad bin Abi Sad said to the like minded people we should make inquires before we revolt whether Mohammad bin Hanafia has really made Mukhtar his deputy for this work or not. If he is really deputed for taking *bay'at* on behalf of Mohammad bin Hanafia, we should rise in revolt under his command without any hesitation and if Mohammad bin Hanafia has not entrusted him with this task and he just wants to trick us, we should not have anything to do with him. Sad bin Abi Sad therefore took three or four persons with him and immediately left for Madinah. Having called on Mohammad bin Hanafia, they asked and were told in confirMotion that he had really given Mukhtar the permission to avenge Husain's death. After the confirMotion Sad bin Abi Sad came to Kufa with his supporters and briefed the people there. When they heard that, they got ready to take *bay'at* with Mukhtar and obey him.

When Mukhtar was informed that he was proved right, he was very pleased. Their doubts were thus dispelled. He instructed them to include in the group Ibrahim bin Malik bin Ushtur, one of the noblemen of Kufa, to ensure success of the mission. Amir bin Shurahbil, one of the followers of Mukhtar, went to Ibrahim bin Malik and said to him that during Ali bin Abi Talib's regime your father

achieved remarkable feats. The people have decided to demand compensation for Husain's death and a good number of people have agreed to it, you should be of the first of those to participate in it.

Ibrahim said that he could take part in it provided they made him their leader, Amir bin Shurahbil said, Mohammad bin Hanafia is in fact our Imam and he has made Mukhtar his representative. That's why we have taken *bay'at* at Mukhtar's hands. Ibrahim said that he himself would see Mukhtar. Amir bin Shurahbil returned and acquainted Mukhtar with all the facts. The next day Mukhtar took fifteen men with him and called on Ibrahim bin Malik who was sitting on his prayer mat at the time. Mukhtar turned to him and said your father was a man of reputation who was among the supporters of Ali bin Abi Talib. We consider you also to belong to our group and our group to belong to you. Imam Mahdi Mohammad bin Al-Hanafia has sent me as his deputy. You should take *bay'at* at my hands and I promise that on getting success, you will be given the post of your choice. The associates attested to the promise. Ibrahim at once stood up from his mat and made Mukhtar sit in his place and took *bay'at* at his hands. Mukhtar returned after the *bay'at*. The next night on Rabia al-Awwal 14, 66 A.H. Mukhtar sent his man to Ibrahim with the message, "I have made up my mind to revolt. You too should come to me along with your group." Ibrahim's men kept assembling until midnight.

Through his intelligence network Ayas bin Mudarib was informed that a rebellion would break out that night. He in turn informed Abdullah bin Moti and asked him about the right way to curb it. He counseled him saying, Kufa has seven districts, you should depute a body of five hundred soldiers in each district. If anybody is seen out doors, he should be either arrested or killed. This proposal was duly executed. A chief was sent to each district in order to prevent the people from assembling on the roads and paths. It was by sheer chance that when Ibrahim was on his way to Mukhtar with his men that he happened to confront Ayas bin Mudarib. Both sides attacked each other and Ayas bin Mudarib was killed by Ibrahim. On the other side, about four thousand supporters had collected around Mukhtar's house. They had to confront a second division of the government

army. From one side Ibrahim reached Mukhtar's house fighting and pushing and from the other side came the soldiers from all the other districts. They all began to fight in front of Mukhtar's house. Ibrahim defeated the government army and forced them to retreat. Abdullah bin Moti arrived with more fresh troops. Now Ibrahim and Mukhtar pushed Abdullah bin Moti into Dar-ul-Emarat (the headquarters of the Amir), and then Abdullah bin Moti pushed them back and out of Kufa. The fight continued throughout the night. With the prolongation of the fight, Mukhtar's supporters kept increasing as new people kept coming and joining. Finally, Abdullah bin Moti was forced to remain besieged in his headquarters, Mukhtar continued the siege for three days. The number of people inside the headquarters of the Amir was so many that the accommodations were insufficient and foodstuff was also in short supply. Abdullah bin Moti went out by a hidden tunnel and concealed himself in Abu Musa Ashari's house. The rest asked for peace and opened the gates of governor's house. Mukhtar took possession of the headquarters and the treasury and distributed a large amount of money among his supporters. The inhabitants of Kufa then assembled at the central mosque. Mukhtar delivered a sermon and coaxed them to recognize Mohammad bin Hanafi's leadership. Consequently, they pledged to follow the Book (Qur'an) and Sunnah (traditions of the Prophet ﷺ) and sympathize with the descendants of the Prophet ﷺ. Mukhtar also promised to treat them courteously. After the collective *bay'at*, he came to know that Abdullah bin Moti was hiding in Abu Musa Ashari's house. He sent one hundred thousand dirhams to him and gave him a message, I have been informed that for want of provision for the journey you are staying at Abu Musa's house please accept this one hundred thousand dirhams pack up your belonging and leave Kufa within three days.

Abdullah bin Moti was highly ashamed and so he did not go to Makkah. He went to Basra instead. At the time when Sulaiman bin Sard's supporters came to Basra after their defeat there was a man named Muthanna bin Makhrama Abdi of Basra among them. After going through Mukhtar's letter they visited the jail to see him. This has been mentioned earlier. Muthanna at once took *bay'at* at Mukhtar's hands and Mukhtar sent him to Basra with the instructions

to take ba'it from the supporters of Ali bin Abi Talib رضي الله عنه on his behalf and increase the number of his men and revolt in Basra when he began the revolt in Kufa. Muthanna therefore began to take ba'it from the people secretly and built up a group with him.

When Mukhtar intended to revolt in Kufa, he had informed Muthanna in Basra who followed suit on the same date. At the time, Basra was governed by Harith bin Abi Rabia on behalf of Abdullah bin Zubair رضي الله عنه. Harith did not let the rebels see their plans materialized. He besieged them in their district and expelled them out of Basra. They left Basra and went to Mukhtar in Kufa. In this way, Basra was saved but Kufa went out of the control of Abdullah bin Zubair رضي الله عنه. Mukhtar established his domination in Kufa and befriended its noblemen. He made a few flags, signifying different future campaigns. He was planning to occupy others cities of the Islamic territories. He handed a few flags over to Abdullah bin Harith bin Ushtur and sent him to Armenia, he gave flags to other commanders to occupy other cities of the Islamic territories. He handed a flag over to Mohammad bin Umair bin Otarid and sent him to Azerbaijan, he gave yet another to Abdur Rahman bin Qais and sent him to Mosil followed by one to Ishaq bin Masood to take Madayen and another to Sad bin Hudaifa bin Yaman to capture Halwan. Abdullah bin Kamil and Shuraih were made the city magistrate and judge of Kufa respectively. His officers met with success everywhere with the result that the people recognized his reign and took ba'it. Only Mosil could not be brought under control by Abdur Rahman bin Sayeed because there Obaidullah bin Zeyad was deputed governor by Abdul Malik bin Marwan. Abdur Rahman halted at Takrait instead of Mosil and sent the inforMotion to Mukhtar. He deputed Yazid bin Anas for the expedition and giving him three thousand horsemen sent him towards Mosil. When Obaidullah bin Zeyad heard the news of Yazid bin Anas' arrival, he sent Rabia bin Mukhtar Ghanwi to fight him. There was a confrontation between the two at Babil on 9 Thul Hijja 66 A.H. Rabia was killed and the Syrian army suffered defeat. When the vanquished Syrian soldiers were retreating, Abdullah bin Jumla Khash'ami was seen coming with three thousand soldiers that Obaidullah bin Zeyad had sent to help Rabia. Abdullah stopped them, took them with him

and the next day, 10 Thul Hijja on Id-ul-Adha day attacked the army from Kufa. That battle also ended in victory for the soldiers from Kufa and the defeat of the Syrians. The victors captured several thousand Syrians and killed them by the order of Yazid bin Anas and that same evening Yazid bin Anas who had been ill died, but not before making Warqa bin Azib the supreme commander of the army.

The next day Warqa was informed by his spies that Obaidullah bin Zeyad himself was coming to wage battle. As soon as he heard his name, Warqa left Babil and came to Iraq, halted and wrote to Mukhtar, "Because I had a very small army, I had to retreat". That news made the authorities of Kufa condemn Warqa because how could he adopt the strategy of a defeated army after having been victorious. Mukhtar gave Ibrahim bin Malik bin Ushtur seven thousand troops from Kufa and ordered him to take all the soldiers that had been under the command of Yazid bin Anas and put them under his own command.

After Ibrahim's departure, some of the people of Kufa called on Sheeth bin Rabi and complained that Mukhtar did not honor them rather misappropriated and violated their rights. Sheeth told them that he would talk to Mukhtar and hear his statement on this matter. When he went to Mukhtar, he was told, I am ready to do every duty in consultation with the people of Kufa and let them share in the booty provided they agree that they will fight Banu Umayyah and Abdullah bin Zubair رضی اللہ عنہ, until their power in reduced to nothing. Sheeth said that he would first talk to those who had sent him. Now in Kufa there were people who had taken *bay'at* at Mukhtar's hands long before he came to power. They were all his allies and shared his views and faith and he made great allowances for them. Similarly, there were those who had simply taken *bay'at* for the sake of obedience by recognizing his rule. They did not share his opinion and were not in favor of taking revenge for Husain's blood. It was they who had grievances against Mukhtar. Therefore, at Sheeth's return they staged a demonstration against Mukhtar and reaching governor's house (at this time Mukhtar's headquarters) they said to him, we dismiss you. Give up your rule because you are not the deputy and caliph of Mohammad bin Hanafia." Mukhtar acted discreetly and foresightedly and tried to make them understand, saying, I don't want to be strict with you.

I forgave you for killing Husain (رضی اللہ عنہ) and you will be given all concessions. We are in a state of war with Banu Umayyah at the moment. You must keep away from creating mischief or it will not be good for you. Go and think over it deeply because the work for which you have made up your mind to do will have disastrous consequences."

Their chiefs agreed to Mukhtar's suggestions at the time and promised to think it over. Their reason for agreeing was to allow Ibrahim bin Malik enough time to get as far away from Kufa as possible so that he would not be a danger to them. Mukhtar also was thinking of Ibrahim and felt his helplessness in Ibrahim's absence, he therefore sent a fast camel-rider to Ibrahim with the message to come back to Kufa in the shortest possible time. He fortified the Amir's headquarters and settled in there firmly. The people laid siege to it the next day. The third day saw Ibrahim returning to Kufa with his army. He started killing those who rose against Mukhtar. In short, there remained not even a single house in Kufa, which had not lost one, two or more persons. Mukhtar assembled all the people and had a list prepared that contained the names of those who were present in Ibn Zeyâd's army at the time of Husain's murder or who took part in Karbala's disaster in one way or the other. 'Amr bin Sad and Shimr Dhul-Jaushan were also arrested and put to death. 'Amr bin Sa'd received a promise of safety from Mukhtar, but Mukhtar violated his pledge and had him beheaded. His son Hafs bin Amr stayed in Mukhtar's company. When Amr bin Sad's head was brought to the court, Mukhtar said to Hafs, "Do you recognize whose head it is?" Hafs said, "Yes. I do and after this my life is bereft of pleasure." Mukhtar ordered his head to be chopped off immediately, and his order was carried out. In brief, the series of arrests and killings continued for several days. The people were brought after being arrested in their houses and were executed. Mukhtar sent Amr bin Sad's and Shimr's heads to Muhammad bin Hanafia in Madinah.

Mukhtar was a very prudent and clever man. Having occupied Kufa, he wrote a letter to Abdullâh bin Zubair (رضی اللہ عنہ) stating: "I am at the Amir's headquarters in Kufa. I obey you and recognize your caliphate from the core of my heart. Please make me the Governor of Kufa."

Abdullâh bin Zubair (رضي الله عنه) at once realized that he wanted to come into power and this was a ruse to deceive him and keep him unmindful of his seditious activities. He decided to test Mukhtar's obedience so he sent Amr bin Abdur Rahman bin Harith bin Hishâm Makhzumi to Kufa with the written command of Amr's governorship of Kufa. When Mukhtar came to know of it, he sent Zaid bin Qodama with five hundred cavalry and seventy thousand dirhams to stop Amr bin Abdur Rahman on the way and send him back giving him the money as compensation. He further instructed that in case he refused he should be arrested. Amr bin Abdur Rahman at first refused to accept it but when he saw the strong army of five hundred, he thought it wiser and expedient to accept it. He therefore left for Basra with the money. Abdullah bin Moti had also gone there and now Amr bin Abdur Rahman joined him there, the governor of Basra at the time was Harith bin Abu Rabia.

Mukhtar's claim to Prophethood and Ali's chair

When Ali (رضي الله عنه) lived in Kufa, he had a specific chair that he used to sit on and often issued orders from that seat. His sister's son named Jadah bin Hubairah, the son of Umm Hâni bint Abu Tâlib, lived in Kufa and the chair in question was in his possession. Having established himself as the ruler in Kufa, Mukhtar tried to take possession of this chair. Jadah said to him, "Please give me a week's time so that I may find it and give it to you." Mukhtar said, "I could never give you more than three days time. If you fail to bring me the chair within the stipulated time, I will deal harshly with you."

In Jadah's district there lived a dealer of oil. He had a similar chair with him. Jadah purchased it from him and took it home secretly. He cleaned it, wrapped it in a cover and took it to Mukhtar with great formality and care. Mukhtar accepted the chair, rewarded him well, kissed it, and put it in front of him and performed the prayer. Then he convened a meeting of his followers and said to them, "Just as Allâh made a chest the source of victory and prosperity for the children of Israel (Editors note: This is a reference to the Ark of the Covenant), similarly He made this chair a symbol for the followers of Ali (رضي الله عنه). From this day forward we will become victorious everywhere."

His followers rubbed their eyes on it, kissed it, and bowed their heads before it. Then he ordered a cabinet to be made for the chair. An attractive cabinet with a silver lock containing the chair and with guards assigned for its protection was put in the Grand Mosque in Kufa. Whoever went there for prayer kissed it. Much before his coming to power in Kufa, Mukhtar had started spreading his net of deceit and enslaving the masses with his supposed extraordinary spiritual powers. After gaining power in Kufa, his cunningness in this way was easier to perpetrate. Slowly and gradually, he was moving in a direction to make a claim to Prophethood.

When Mukhtar captured Kufa and wrote to Abdullah bin Zubair (رضي الله عنه), Abdul Mâlik bin Marwân approximately during the same period gave an army to Abdul Malik bin Harith bin Hakam bin Abul Aas and sent him to Wâdi-ul-Qara for a few days. It was to be the first invasion on Abdullah bin Zubair (رضي الله عنه) by Abdul Malik bin Marwan. Having heard the news of the invasion, Mukhtar wrote a second letter to Abdullah bin Zubair (رضي الله عنه). "If you want I shall send an army from Kufa for your support." Abdullah bin Zubair (رضي الله عنه) answered: "If you send an army as an obedient person, send it towards Wadi-ul-Qara". Mukhtar handed over a three thousand man army to Shurahbil bin Wars Hamdani with the instructions that he should go directly to Madinah, write to him about the state of affairs there and comply with the orders which he would send to him later. His purpose was to please Muhammad bin Hanafia by sending an army to Madinah, which would not be objected to by Abdullâh bin Zubair (رضي الله عنه) and which would also enhance his influence among Ali's supporters.

Abdullah bin Zubair (رضي الله عنه) understood these clever ploys by Mukhtar. When he answered Mukhtar's letter Abdullah bin Zubair (رضي الله عنه) assigned to Abbâs bin Sahal two thousand soldiers instructing him that if Mukhtar sent an army from Kufa, it should first be ascertained whether it was coming as an ally or as rebel forces. If obedient, it should be used; if not, it should be sent back. If it refused to go back, it should be faced. Abbâs and Shurahbil met at Raqeem. Abbâs said to him, "Accompany us to Wadi-ul-Qara to face the enemy." Shurahbil said, "We have been ordered to go directly to

Madinah. There we shall await another order and then we will be able to move." Abbâs first entertained the Kufans with delicacies. And then as punishment for refusal, he launched an attack on them and compelled Mukhtar's three thousand men with his two thousand men, he killed seventy of them and sent the remainder back to Kufa. Mukhtar took advantage of it and wrote a letter to Muhammad bin Hanafia complaining against Abdullah bin Zubair (رضي الله عنه). "He did not let my army reach you, which I had sent in your support. Now it is important that you send your chief confidante to me so that I may send a strong army with him and the people will be honored and graced with the sight of your messenger." Muhammad bin Hanafia replied expediently, "I am aware of your love of truth. You should leave me alone in peace and avoid shedding the blood of Allâh's creatures. Had I been desirous of ruling and becoming a leader, I would have rallied around me more people than you have. However, I have dismissed and abandoned all my supporters and the final decision rests with Allâh."

Obaidullah bin Zeyâd was killed

It has already been mentioned that the Kufans defeated the Syrians on Eid al-Adha day in 66 A.H. but the Kufan general had retreated as soon as he was informed of the advance of Ibn Zeyâd. Hearing that news, Mukhtar had sent his commander in chief, Ibrahim bin Malik bin Ushtur with seven thousand soldiers but as mentioned Ibrahim had to return to Kufa. People were massacred in large numbers in Kufa and all those who were opposed to Ali's supporters, were completely crushed, which averted and prevented such dangers in the future. Having been relieved of that situation, Mukhtar sent Ibrahim bin Malik from Kufa on an expedition to confront Ibn Zeyâd on 22 Dhul-Hijjah 66 A.H. At this time Kufa was in no danger of any uprising, as the people were extremely terrified, the influential and important leaders were sent along with Ibrahim. The cabinet containing the chair was also dispatched. The purpose was to instill confidence in the army of its victory in advance.

Ibrahim bin Malik crossed the Iraqi border with terrific speed and entered Mosil where Obaidullah bin Zeyâd was governing on behalf

of Abdul Malik bin Marwan. Hearing of the approaching army, Obaidullah left Mosil and both the armies encamped at a place adjacent to the Khazir. After passing the night and performing Salat al-Fajr (the pre-dawn prayer), they attacked each other. It was a bloody battle. Signs of defeat were visible on the Kufan side but Ibrahim bin Malik's courage and perseverance made the Kufans stand firmly. The commanders of both sides displayed feats of valor but ultimately the Syrians suffered defeat and their general.Obaidullah bin Zeyâd was killed. Along with him the next great Syrian chief, Haseen bin Numer, was also killed by Sharik bin Jadid Taghlibi. When the fight was over and the Syrians were either killed or driven away, Ibrahim bin Malik said to them, "I have killed a man near the canal under the flag whose clothes give off the scent of musk. My sword has cut him into two parts. Go and see who he was." They went there and found that it was Obaidullah bin Zeyad. His head was cut off and the body was consigned to flames. Along with the celebration of victory Obaidullah bin Zeyad's head was also sent to Mukhtar in Kufa.

Najdeh bin Amir Captures Yamâmah

Najdeh bin Amir bin Abdullah bin Sad bin Mufreh had started an uprising in the adjoining areas of Yamamah in 65 A.H. He wisely did not accept the command of his men rather he entrusted one of his group called Abu Talut with the task. That group had not acquired any significance by 65 A.H. except for making night attacks on caravans and making the roads dangerous for travelers. In 66 A.H., they became so powerful that they began to loot and annihilate cities. At this point, Najdeh assumed the leadership by removing Abu Talut and at the end of 66 A.H., he established himself as the permanent ruler of the place and its adjoining areas. Abdullah bin Zubair (رضي الله عنه) could not send an army towards Yamamah during that period because Syria and Iraq were more important to him at the time. Consequently, Najdeh's rule over Yamamah lasted until 69 or 70 A.H.

Preparation for the Invasion on Kufa

Abdullah bin Zubair (رضي الله عنه) was recognized as caliph in 64 A.H. and in the same year Egypt, Palestine and Syria were excluded from the jurisdiction of his caliphate and the caliphate of Banu Umayyah

was re-established. In 65 A.H., there were uprisings in some provinces but Abdullah bin Zubair continued to be regarded as caliph and no other province was lost from under his control. In 66 A.H., both Kufa and Yamâmah went out of his jurisdiction. Mukhtar and Najdeh bin Amir established their rule in Kufa and Yamamah respectively. Basra and Persia were controlled by Harith bin Rabia and Muhallab bin Abu Sofra respectively and the mischief of the Khawârij was crushed immediately as soon as it raised the specter of revolt. Basra was being lured and swayed by Mukhtar. Both Abdullah bin Moti, the ex-Governor of Kufa, and Amr bin Abdur Rahman, the nominated Governor of Kufa, were present in Basra. They avoided Abdullah bin Zubair and their presence in Basra might mean danger to him as their complicity in some sort of conspiracy could not be ruled out. When Abdullah bin Zubair (رضي الله عنه) heard that Obaidullah bin Zeyâd was killed by Ibrahim bin Malik, he heaved a sigh of relief and was relieved of some pressure from the side of the Syrians plus it meant that Abdul Malik bin Marwan's power had received a set-back and therefore he could not venture to attack the Hijaz any time soon. However, the dangers around Basra multiplied many fold because Mukhtar bin Abu Obaida's attention was likely to be focused on Basra itself. Because of this he at once removed the Governor of Basra, Harith bin Rabia and in his place deputed his own brother Mus'ab bin Zubair (رضي الله عنه) as its Governor.

During this time, many people fled from Kufa for fear of Mukhtar and his revenge and took shelter in Basra. They were those who had an apprehension they might be killed by Mukhtar in retaliation for Husain's death. Among the fugitives were Sheeth bin Rabi and Muhammad bin Al-Ash'ath. Mus'ab bin Zubair (رضي الله عنه) took control of the government and leadership of Basra and began to study and take stock of the different situations minutely and in detail. The people from Kufa among whom were some respected and experienced persons, advised Mus'ab bin Zubair (رضي الله عنه) to invade Kufa. Mus'ab said, "I have been ordered by Amir-ul-Muminîn Abdullah bin Zubair (رضي الله عنه) not to invade Kufa without taking Muhallab bin Abu Sofra with me so he should first be called from Persia." So, Mus'ab wrote a letter to Muhallab and sent it through Muhammad bin Ash'ath. Seeing Ash'ath, Muhallab said, "Couldn't

Mus'ab lay his hands on anyone else besides you to be his messenger"? He said. "I am not a messenger. I have come for my own selfish end, to narrate to you the conditions prevalent in Kufa. Our slaves sons have dispossessed us of our assets and houses and the afflicted ones have sought refuge in Basra and cry for help and rescue from this catastrophe."

Muhallab handed over the administration of the Persian Province to his son, Mughira bin Muhallab, and made satisfactory arrangements for the territory. Then he collected a huge amount of money, material and troops and marched towards Basra and met Mus'ab bin Zubair (رضی الله عنه) there. Abdullah bin Zubair's letter had already reached Muhallab advising him to see Mus'ab bin Zubair (رضی الله عنه) in Basra and invade Kufa. When Muhallab hesitated and delayed a bit, Mus'ab had to send a messenger from Basra to Makkah. Abdullah bin Zubair (رضی الله عنه) might have delayed a bit more in launching an attack on Kufa but when Mukhtar began to massacre people on a large scale in Kufa and announced his claim that Jibrail (the angel of revelation) visits me with the Wahi (revelation) from Allâh and I have been made a prophet", the inhabitants began to flee from the city. Some went to Basra and some went direct to Abdullah bin Zubair (رضی الله عنه) and narrated to him the atrocities perpetrated by Mukhtar and his claim to prophethood. Hearing that Mukhtar announced his claim to prophethood, Abdullah bin Zubair (رضی الله عنه) did not think it proper to delay even a little in exterminating this abomination. He wrote to Muhallab to move quickly and answered Mus'ab insisting that he wait for the arrival of Muhallab in Basra and then together with him invaded Kufa.

The Death of Mukhtar and Capture of Kufa

When Muhallab came, Mus'ab bin Zubair (رضی الله عنه) asked him to array his army in a particular manner. He sent Abdur Rahman bin Ahnâf to Kufa and instructed him to stay there and take the oath of allegiance from the people in the name of Abdullah bin Zubair (رضی الله عنه). He set Abbâd bin Haseen Hatmi Tamimi in the vanguard, Umar bin Obaidullah bin Mamar on the right flank, Muhallab bin Abu Sofra on the left flank and himself in the middle. Arrayed in this manner the

army left Basra and marched towards Kufa. When Mukhtar received the news, he also came out of Kufa with his army. Ibrahim bin Malik was Governor of Mosil at the time and he failed to come to Kufa. There was a group in the army of Basra consisting of those who had fled from Kufa and sought refuge in Basra. That group was led by Muhammad bin Ash'ath. The confrontation of those two armies took place near a village named Madar. It was a fierce battle in which Mukhtar was defeated. He fled from Kufa, fortified the royal palace and stayed there besieged.

When the Kufan army was put to rout, Mohammad bin Ash'ath followed the runaways and continued slaying them as they escaped for a long distance. Mus'ab bin Zubair besieged the royal palace that lasted for several days. One thousand people were besieged inside the palace with Mukhtar. Finally, compelled by the shortage of food supplies, he made up his mind to open the gate of the fort and die fighting. His companions forbade him and advised him to ask Mus'ab for security of his life before opening the gate. They were sure that Mus'ab would give him security of his life but he disapproved of this advice. He poured scented oil on his head, rubbed perfume on his clothes, armed himself and came out of the palace. Only nineteen persons accompanied him. The rest remained behind in the palace. Mukhtar came out and attacked and was killed by the sons of Abdullah bin Dajaja Saifi.

Mukhtar was killed on 14 Ramadân 67 A.H. Among his companions who were killed included Obaidullah Ali bin Abu Tâlib. Mus'ab arrested those who were besieged in the palace. Those arrested on the battlefield were also brought to Kufa. The captives were brought to a vast field and a counsel was held. Muhallab bin Abi Sofra was of the opinion that they should be let off but Mohammad bin Ash'ath and all the other Kufans forbade Mus'ab bin Zubair to act upon that advice.

Mus'ab bin Zubair was in a fix. The Kufans said. "They took the oath of allegiance, at Mukhtar's hands and he did not spare a single house in Kufa he put at least one or two persons to death in every house. If the captives were set free, the whole of Kufa will turn rebellious." The captives numbered six thousand. Seven hundred were Arabs and the rest were Persians. After deep thought Mus'ab bin Zubair finally

decided that they should be done away with and therefore, all were slain. The Kufans heaved a sigh of relief. Mus'ab had Mukhtar's both hands severed and hung on the gate of Kufa's central mosque, which continued hanging there until the time of Hajjâj's leadership.

Having captured Kufa, Mus'ab bin Zubair wrote a letter to Ibrahim bin Malik who was appointed Governor of Mosil by Mukhtar, "You must surrender to me. I shall give you authority over Syria. I also promise that all the countries you capture from Syria to the west will be granted to you." Now after Mukhtar's death, Abdul Malik bin Marwan from Damascus wrote a letter to Ibrahim, "You lay down your arms before me and I shall give you authority over Iraq and what ever territories you occupy towards the east will be included under your rule." Ibrahim had received identical letters from both the sides. He preferred Mus'ab to Abdul Malik. He visited Kufa, recognized Abdullah bin Zubair's caliphate and took the oath of allegiance, at Mus'ab's hands. Mus'ab deputed Muhallab bin Abi Sofra to Mosil and Jazirah (The region that lies between the Euphrates and Tigris rivers and is bounded on the south by a line running between Takrit and Anbar. It is the northern end of Mesopotamia, now making up part of northern Iraq and extending into eastern Turkey and extreme northeastern Syria) and kept Ibrahim with him as commander-in-chief. When Abdullah bin Zubair (رضی اللہ عنہ) heard of Mukhtar's death and the capture of Kufa, he nominated Mus'ab and his own son Hamza bin Abdullah, as the Governor of Kufa and Basra. Hamza displeased the people of Basra and they wrote letters to Abdullah bin Zubair (رضی اللہ عنہ) requesting him to dismiss him and send Mus'ab as Governor. Finally in 68 A.H., the Governorship of Basra was also entrusted to Mus'ab by Abdullah bin Zubair (رضی اللہ عنہ).

Amr bin Sayeed was killed

It has already been mentioned that Obaidullah bin Zeyad, following his failure in confronting and besieging Zafar bin Harith, had left Qarqisa. When Ibn Zeyâd was killed, Abdul Malik organized his army and wanted to invade Iraq. First of all he thought it proper to invade Zafar bin Harith Kalbi, the Governor of Qarqisa. Abdul Malik therefore appointed his sister's son Abdur Rahman bin Umm Hakam as his deputy in Damascus and he himself, taking Amr bin Sayeed bin

Aas and an army set out to Qarqisa. Mention has been made previously that Marwan bin Hakam was enthroned on the condition that Khalid bin Yazid and Amr bin Sayeed would be the rulers respectively after him. Instead of giving the reign of the country to them, he declared his own sons Abdul Malik and Abdul Aziz as his successors. Khalid and Amr both were deposed from the succession. Amr bin Sayeed commanded respect and popularity among Banu Umayyah. He had many slaves and material possessions. He also had ability as a commander. When Abdul Malik sat on the throne after Marwan, he treated Amr bin Sayeed so well that his resentment and rankling in his heart evaporated and when he marched with his army to Qarqisa, Amr bin Sayeed asked him on the way to nominate him as his successor, since similar promises were made to him earlier he simply wanted a formal announcement and confirMotion. Abdul Malik refused to fulfil his wish and Amr bin Sayeed felt betrayed and distraught. Having an opportunity on the way he slipped away and returned to Damascus and immediately after his arrival drove out Abdur Rahman, the acting governor, occupied Damascus and declared his caliphate and reign. He gathered the people, gave a sermon and made promises to fix salaries for them and treat them kindly.

On receiving this news, Abdul Malik immediately returned to Damascus and laid a siege to it. The fight continued for a long period Abdul Malik could not pay attention to any other issue. At last, the people made them agree to a reconciliation. The agreement was drafted and Amr bin Sayeed coming out of the town, met Abdul Malik in his tent and handed over Damascus to him. Abdul Malik always had an apprehension of Amr bin Sayeed. Now he thought it important to stamp out that danger. He invited him to his court to begin the deception. Amr bin Sayeed came and sat on the throne beside him as usual. Somé persons had already been put in place to carry out the deed of treachery and so he was caught and killed.

When Amr bin Sayeed's brother Yahya received the inforMotion, he rushed with one thousand people to attack the headquarters of the Amir and besieged it. Abdul Malik cut off Amr bin Sayeed's head and tossed it down to them and rained down money from above. They people began to pick up money and Yahya was left standing all alone.

At last, he was caught and imprisoned. Amr bin Sayeed's sons were also sent to jail with Yahya. They remained there until Mus'ab bin Zubair (رضی الله عنه) was killed and Abdul Malik occupied Iraq. Amr bin Sayeed was killed in 69 A.H.

Mus'ab bin Zubair's Imprudence

It has been mentioned above that Basra was ruled over by Hamza bin Abdullah bin Zubair for less than a year and after that its administration was also entrusted to Mus'ab bin Zubair Mus'ab bin Zubair personally went to Basra and appointed Amr bin Obaidullah his deputy there, and instructed him to go to Persia to discipline the Khawârij if needed, and to depute someone else in Basra. After shifting and replacing the governors and lieutenants of these provinces and staying for a few days there, he left Basra and returned to Kufa. In 70 A.H., the mischief of the Khawârij gained momentum. Mughira bin Muhallab and Amr bin Obaidullah failed to stamp it out. Mus'ab bin Zubair transferred Muhallab bin Abi Sofra from the Governorship of Mosil to that of Persia and ordered him to suppress the Khawârij there. It is understood that none other than Muhallab bin Abi Sofra could have tackled the problem of the Khawârij. He said, "I am glad to go to Persia but to shift me from here will be extremely harmful for you because Abdul Malik bin Marwan has begun to spread his net of secret conspiracies in Iraq. I have been studying his manipulation very minutely. I am afraid if I depart fron here, he might succeed in his maneuverings."

Mus'ab bin Zubair considered the urgency of Persia more of a priority to a problem that was not yet manifested. Muhallab was therefore ordered to leave for Persia. Mus'ab had two very efficient and experienced generals Ibrahim and Muhallab. He had one of them part from him. He sent Abdullah bin Hzim as Governor of Khurâsan. Abbad bin Haseen was put with Muhallab both of whom were seasoned veterans and experienced generals. Thus, Mus'ab bin Zubair separated his able men from him and sent them to distant places. Only Ibrahim bin Malik in Kufa and Amr bin Obaidullah bin Mamar in Basra were left.

Abdul Malik bin Marwan, being freed from the internal danger to his

caliphate by killing Amr bin Sayeed had begun to hatch conspiracies against the rule of Abdullah bin Zubair (رضی اللہ عنہ). He sent his men to Persia and tempted and lured the Khawârij and incited them to revolt. Then he sent his agents to Kufa and Basra also, and succeeded in spreading his net of conspiracies through the supporters of Banu Umayyah. He began to tempt the military officers of Mus'ab bin Zubair by sending letters to them. He went to the extent of trying to lure and bring Muhallab and Ibrahim to his side but they were not the type to betray Mus'ab bin Zubair. That is why Muhallab was very pensive and concerned when he left Syria for Persia.

Abdul Malik's War Preparations

Abdul Malik sent Khalid bin Obaidullah bin Khalid bin Usaid to Basra on a secret mission to convert the people to support Banu Umayyah and oppose Abdullah bin Zubair. Khalid, therefore, visited Basra and initiated the conspiratorial process and won a number of people to his side. When Amr bin Obaidullah bin Mamar came to know of it, he sent an army to Basra. Khalid's men fought but Khalid was driven out of Basra. When the disturbing news reached Kufa, and the state of affairs was fully conveyed to Mus'ab bin Zubair, it was impossible for him to remain passive once he understood the conspiracy.

The disturbing news brought Mus'ab bin Zubair from Kufa to Basra. He punished and fined Khalid's companions and had the houses of some pulled down. Similarly in Kufa too, Abdul Malik's men had been working secretly. The greatest trouble was from some military leaders like Attâb bin Warqâ who had entered into a plot with Abdul Malik.

On the one hand, Abdul Malik began to make preparations for a major battle, and spread conspiracies of rebellion among the armies of Kufa and Basra on the other. One day, Ibrahim bin Ushtur received a sealed letter from Abdul Malik bin Marwan. He immediately knew what it contained. He gave it to Mus'ab unopened with the seal still intact. When Mus'ab read it, it disclosed that Abdul Malik had written to Ibrahim, "Come to my side. I shall make you the Governor of Iraq."

The Death of Mus'ab bin Zubair

At last, after completing his preparations, Abdul Malik left Syria and marched towards Iraq. He left Damascus after he had received many letters from the noblemen of Kufa inviting him to invade it at once. His counselors forbade him saying the letters from Kufa might be similar to those received by Husain (رضی اللہ عنہ). Abdul Malik said, "Imam Husain (رضی اللہ عنہ) was fully dependent on Kufa. I am going with a strong army. Their breach of trust and betrayal can not harm me. I am sure, once they see me with a strong army, they will not go back on the promise they made in their letters."

At last, Abdul Malik marched with his army. Mus'ab bin Zubair also started from the other side. At the time when Abdul Malik's news of attack reached Kufa, Mus'ab bin Zubair had already sent Amr bin Obaidullah bin Mamar to Persia to help suppress the Khawârij. So even Amr bin Obaidullah was away from the battle. Both the armies pitched their tents at Dair jathaleeq. Mus'ab bin Zubair's army was small because at the last-minute many of his men refused to go and presented lame excuses. A large number of those who ventured to come on to the battlefield were in collusion with the enemy and were waiting to join the enemy the moment the battle started. The fight began and Abdul Malik first attacked the part of the army commanded by Ibrahim bin Malik because he feared him. The attack was launched by Abdul Malik's brother Mohammad bin Marwan. Both sides displayed exemplary valor. Ultimately Ibrahim pushed Mohammad bin Marwan back. Seeing him retreat, Abdul Malik sent Obaidullah bin Yazid with a fresh group of soldiers to help Mohammad because they were in a pitched battle. It was in this fight that Muslim bin Umar Bahli (Qutaiba bin Muslim's father) was killed.

When Mus'ab bin Zubair saw Ibrahim getting mobbed, he sent Attab bin Warqa to his rescue. Attab bin Warqa had already taken the oath of allegiance secretly for Abdul Malik. He fled from the field accordingly. Ibrahim, though surrounded by enemies, killed fighting bravely. His death boosted the morale of Abdul Malik and the Syrians and they were now very sure of their victory.

Mus'ab bin Zubair asked his other generals 'and associates to move ahead and launch an attack but no one moved from his place. They all turned as if deaf. Only a few were fighting and the remaining Kufan soldiers were only spectators.

The Kufan's betrayal this time even exceed the betrayal which they had perpetrated on Imam Husain (رضی اللہ عنہ) because they were forced by Ibn Zeyâd and his army not to support Imam Husain (رضی اللہ عنہ) and they were terror stricken to the extreme.

It was nothing but greed and their sheer disobedience, betrayal and ingratitude that stopped them from siding with Mus'ab bin Zubair. Abdul Malik did not want Mus'ab to be killed so he sent his brother Muhammad bin Marwan to him with the word, "The fight has taken a turn for the worse for you. You can never win. I give you security and pardon. Please accept it." Mus'ab refused, saying, "Allah's security is sufficient for me." Then Mohammad bin Marwan said to Mus'ab's son Isa, "Amir al-Muminin Abdul Malik has granted security to you and to your father." Hearing that he came to his father. Mus'ab said, "Yes, I do believe that the Syrians will keep their promise with you. You may go with their security if you like." Isa said, "I shall not give the chance to the women of Quraish to say that Isa has betrayed his father for the sake of his own life." Mus'ab said, "Well, then go to your uncle Abdullah bin Zubair (رضی اللہ عنہ) in Makkah and narrate to him about the Iraqi's betrayal. Leave me here. I have considered myself already killed." Isa said, "I won't go to break that kind of news. You can leave the battlefield and go to Basra. The people there are very pleased with you. They are loyal to you in all respects. Some alternative might be thought out in Basra or let us go to Makkah then."

Mus'ab said, "My son, this is not possible because my flight from the field would become a topic of heated discussion among the Quraish. Better give up this idea and attack the enemy." Isa then took his troops and attacked the enemy and after killing many of the enemy soldiers, he dropped dead before his father's eyes.

Abdul Malik came forward and entreated Mus'ab, "Please go back from the field or accept the offer of security. In his appeal, he was humble but Mus'ab ignored it. That must have been a strange time, Abdul Malik was pleading with his enemy for his safety while

simultaneously seeing the consequences of his secret plots. The Kufan army was in the field but it was not obeying its 'Amir' and silently watching from a distance. Mus'ab bin Zubair was puzzled seeing the army that had followed his orders and sacrificed their lives, treacherously abandoning him. By killing Mus'ab bin Zubair and Imam Husain (رضی اللہ عنہ) the Kufans committed a crime of the same magnitude although these two crimes were accomplished in two different ways. Imam Husain (رضی اللہ عنہ) wanted his enemies to let him leave the battlefield and go to either Makkah or Damascus or any other place and Mus'ab bin Zubair's enemies themselves wished him to leave the battlefield and go to the place of his choice. Imam Husain's enemies did not listen to him and here Mus'ab bin Zubair rejected his enemies appeal to escape. The consequences in both the cases were the same.

Mus'ab bin Zubair went to his tent after his son's death, put oil on his hair, perfumed himself, came out and attacked his enemies. Only seven persons were left with him and they were all killed together with him. He attacked so fiercely that he disturbed the Syrian's lines. At last, he dropped unconscious after receiving innumerable wounds of arrows, swords and spears. As soon as he collapsed, the Syrians cut off his head and so in 71 A.H. a decade after, the drama of Karbala it was repeated at Dair Jathaleeq.

Abdul Malik took the oath of allegiance from all the Kufan army for his caliphate on that same battlefield. He left it and reached Nakhlah near Kufa and halted there for forty days. When he felt satisfied that the Kufan's would remain loyal, he entered the city. He delivered a sermon at the central mosque in which he promised to treat them kindly. Then he pleased them with gifts and by treating them honorably. He wrote to the Governors of Persia, Khorasan, Basra and Ahwâz to take the oath from their people for him.

He retained Muhallab bin Abi Sofra in his original position. They all recognized Abdul Malik's caliphate since there was no other alternative. Only Abdullah bin Hazim who governed a part of Khorasan, refused to take the oath and was killed by Bahr bin Warqa after a few days.

Abdul Malik made Khalid bin Osaid and his own brother Bashir bin

Marwan the Governors of Basra and Kufa respectively. He sent Mus'ab bin Zubair's head to Damascus. When it reached there, the people wanted to make a display of it but Abdul Malik's wife named Atika bint Yazid bin Muawiya forbade them to do so. She had it washed and then buried. Muhallab bin Abi Sofra also surrendered to Abdul Malik and took the people's oaths on his behalf.

Zofar bin Harith and Abdul Malik

The siege of Qarqisa has already been narrated. Obaidullah bin Zeyâd and the other chiefs failed to subdue Zofar bin Harith and in every attack the Syrians suffered defeat. Now when Abdul Malik bin Marwan turned to Iraq with his army, he gave an army to Aban bin Oqba bin Abu Mu'ait, the governor of Hims, and sent him ahead before his own departure. The purpose was to defeat Zofar bin Harith. Aban arrived and began the fight. Abdul Malik arrived there with a huge army before the battle had rendered any result. He laid siege to Qarqisa. Zofar bin Harith ordered his son Hudhail to attack the Syrians and not to return before the fall of Abdul Malik's tent. Hudhail obeyed his father and launched such a fierce attack that he succeeded in felling Abdul Malik's tent and returned safely. When Abdul Malik realized that it was not going to be easy to win Qarqisa and subdue Zofar bin Harith, he sent a message to him, "I give safety and pardon to you and your son. Take whatever post you like."

Zofar bin Harith replied, "I agree to compromise with you provided you don't press me to take the oath for a year and you do not demand any help from me against Abdullah bin Zubair." The agreement was about to be written when Abdul Malik received news that four towers of the city's gate had been razed to the ground therefore he refused to compromise and ordered the attack to continue. However, it proved fruitless and Zofar bin Harith forced Abdul Malik's army to retreat. Abdul Malik sent the message again, saying that he was ready to agree to all his conditions. Zofar bin Harith said, "I won't take the oath for anyone as long as Abdullah bin Zubair (رضی اللہ عنہ) is living. Further, I want your promise that my troops will not be subjected to any interrogation or revenge."

Abdul Malik accepted all his conditions wrote the agreement and sent

it to him. Despite this Zofar bin Harith did not go to Abdul Malik because the case of Amr bin Sayeed was known to all. Ultimately, Abdul Malik sent the Prophet's staff he had with him to Zofar bin Harith. Zofar bin Harith kept this staff as a guarantor and went to Abdul Malik. Abdul Malik made him sit by his side on the throne and honored him and had his son Muslim bin Abdul Malik married to Zofar bin Harith's daughter. Freeing himself from the problems of Qarqisa he moved towards Mus'ab bin Zubair, the outcome of that advance has been narrated above.

The News of Mus'ab bin Zubair's Death in Makkah

When the news reached Abdullah bin Zubair (رضی الله عنه) in Makkah that his brother, Mus'ab bin Zubair, was betrayed and treacherously killed and all of the territories of Iraq went under the domination of Abdul Malik bin Marwan, he gathered all the Makkans and addressed them as follows:

You should know that Allâh does not dishonor him who is on the right path though alone, and does not honor him whose supporter is the Satan though he has many supporters. And you should know that news has come from Iraq that makes me sad and happy, news of Mus'ab bin Zubair's death has come. I am happy because his death amounts to his martyrdom. I am sad because parting with a loyal friend at a time of crisis gives a burning pain, which every friend would feel. A man of good sense accepts it patiently and unwaveringly. Who was Mus'ab? He was one of the slaves of Allâh and one of my supporters. Let it be known to you that the Iraqis are very disloyal and great hypocrites. They bartered the profit gained from Mus'ab for a petty price. If Mus'ab was slain, his father, brother and son who were all very gentle and pious were also slain. By Allâh, we shall not die in bed as the descendents of Abul-Aas are dying (This is in reference to Abdul Malik's father Marwan bin Hakam. Abul Aas was the grandfather of Marwan). By Allâh, none of them was killed on the battlefield either in the days of ignorance or after the coming of Islam. We are used to dying from the wounds of spears and swords. Brothers, beware, the world has been taken as a loan from the Magnificent Emperor whose kingdom is eternal and whose territory

doesn't perish. If the world comes to us, we shall not take it as the low, the deviated and the disgraced do and if it turns its back on us and escapes, we shall not weep over it as the weak, the destitute and the senseless do. This is what I wanted to tell you and I beg forgiveness of Allâh for you all.

Abdul Malik and Abdullah bin Zubair (رضی الله عنه)

After bringing Iraq under his domination, Abdul Malik sent Urwah bin Anif with six thousand men to Madinah with the instructions to halt outside of the city and not to enter it unless he received another order from him. Harith bin Hâtib bin Ma'mar was the Governor of Madinah who was appointed by Abdullah bin Zubair. Hearing of Urwa's approach, Harith left the city. Urwa encamped outside the city for a month without touching or disturbing anything, then he went back to Abdul Malik in Damascus and Harith returned to Madinah.

Abdullah bin Zubair (رضی الله عنه) had sent Sulaiman bin Khalid as the Governor of Khaibar and Fadak. Abdul Malik bin Marwan gave Abdul Malik bin Harith bin Hakam four thousand soldiers and ordered him to conquer the Hijaz. He encamped in Wadi Al-Qura and from there he sent Ibn Qamqam with a division of the army to Khaibar with the instructions to launch a night attack on Sulaiman. Sulaiman was caught and killed and Ibn Qamqam stayed at Khaibar.

Hearing the news of the invasion of the Hijaz, Abdullah bin Zubair (رضی الله عنه) dismissed Harith bin Hâtib from the governorship of Madinah and appointed Jâbir bin Aswad bin 'Auf Zuhri in his place. Jabir reached Madinah and sent Abu Bakr bin Abu Qais with a regiment of six hundred soldiers to Khaibar. In the battle that ensued, Ibn Qamqam suffered a defeat and fled. Some of his troops were killed on the battlefield and some escaped.

When Abdul Malik bin Marwan received the news, he sent Tariq bin Amr as the commander of the Hijaz expedition. He further instructed him to halt between Wadi Al-Qara and 'Eilâ' and try his best to stop the Governors of Ibn Zubair (رضی الله عنه) from advancing and capturing any more territory, and stamp out the movement against him there before it succeeded. Târiq did accordingly. He sent a strong army

towards Khaibar. In the skirmish that followed, Abu Bakr bin Abu Qais along with two hundred soldiers was killed. Tariq stayed at Khaibar. Jabir bin Aswad received the news and sent two thousand soldiers from Madinah to face Tariq. The clash took place near Khaibar. Tariq was victorious and killed all the captives and the wounded.

Abdullah bin Zubair (رضي الله عنه) dismissed Jabir bin Aswad from the governorship of Madinah and appointed in his place Talha bin Abdullah bin Auf known as Talhat-un-Nida. After that, the state of Khaibar was annexed to Abdul Malik bin Marwan's caliphate and Talha bin Abdullah continued to govern Madinah on behalf of Abdullah bin Zubair (رضي الله عنه). No clash worth mentioning took place between them because Abdul Malik's attention was centered on Iraq and Iran.

Siege of Makkah

Abdul Malik wanted to persuade the Syrian chiefs to attack Makkah but all of them refused to face Abdullah bin Zubair (رضی الله عنه) and turn the Ka'bah into a battlefield. He then left Damascus and went to Kufa. There he induced Hajjâj bin Yusuf Thaqafi to do it. Hajjaj took three thousand soldiers and left Kufa in Jumâd Al-Awwal 72 A.H. and went to Madinah from there he went to Taif and set up camp according to Abdul Malik's instructions. From Taif, he used to send his cavalry to Arafât and they would come back after engaging in small skirmishes. Several months passed by in this way. Then Hajjaj wrote to Abdul Malik to send him some more soldiers as reinforcements and permit him to go ahead and lay siege to Makkah.

Abdul Malik conceded to Hajjaj's request and sent five thousand men to him and wrote to Tariq to attack Madinah and after taking over Madinah, move to Makkah and help Hajjaj. Hajjaj besieged Makkah in the month of Ramadan fixed a catapult on the mount of Abu Qubais and started launching stones. For the Makkans fasting in the month of Ramadan and being attacked by stones was indeed a very difficult month. Getting tired of the siege, the people began to leave from the city. Dhul-Qa'dah followed Ramadan and Shawwal and the Makkans did not get any respite from the severity and pressure of the siege.

Abdullah bin Zubair (رضي الله عنه) went to face the enemy daily and tried to get the better of the attackers but the number of his troops kept dwindling and so his plan did not yield any movement towards victory.

Many Makkans were going out of the city and the shortage and cost of foodstuff had shaken the hopes of those remaining. In Dhul-Qa'dah 72 A.H. Tariq expelled Talhatun Nida, Abdullah bin Zubair's Governor, from Madinah and made a Syrian the Administrator of Madinah, he himself left for Makkah along with five thousand soldiers. That added to Hajjaj's strength considerably and the little hope the Makkans had, vanished. It was in that state that the month of Dhul Hijjâh began and pilgrims from a far started pouring into the city.

Abdullah bin Zubair (رضي الله عنه) had allowed Hajjaj to perform his Hajj but he did not do Tawâf (circumambulation of the Ka'bah) nor did he do Sai (running and walking) between the mounts of Safa and Marwah. When Abdullah bin Zubair (رضي الله عنه) wanted to go to the plain of Arafât, Hajjaj prevented him. For this reason, he made the sacrifice in Makkah itself. There was no Imam on the plain of Arafat to lead the prayers and the pilgrims could not perform all the rites of Hajj. Hajjaj did not stop the siege or the rain of stones even during the Hajj and so going around the Ka'bah was fraught with danger. With the arrival of the pilgrims in Makkah, the severity of the famine also increased. Abdullah bin Omar (رضي الله عنهما) also came to perform Hajj that year. Realizing the gravity of the situation, he sent a message to Hajjaj, "O slave of Allâh! Think about the people from far off lands that have come for Hajj. They should have the opportunity to make Tawaf (circumambulation of the Ka'bah) and Sai (running and walking) between the mounts of Safa and Marwa. Stop the rain of stones until the end of Hajj." The message had its effect. Hajjaj stopped the catapult but did not make Tawaf himself nor did he allow Abdullah bin Zubair to go to the plain of Arafat. With the conclusion of the Hajj, the announcement was made on behalf of Hajjaj that those coming from abroad should leave for their homes at once because Ibn Zubair (رضي الله عنه) was soon going to be showered with stones. As soon as they heard the ominous proclaMotion, they set out for their respective destinations. Along with them most of those who had remained in Makkah escaped.

Hajjaj resumed his attack with the catapult. A large boulder fell on the roof of the Ka'bah and it collapsed. With the fall of that stone, a peal of thunder came from the heavens. Lightning flashed and then darkness engulfed the earth and the sky. Hajjaj's soldiers became terrified and gave up using the catapult. Hajjaj consoled and encouraged them and said, "This lightning and this peal of thunder have come to help me. They symbolize my victory. Don't give way to fear at all."

The darkness continued for a couple of days and a loud crackling bolt of lightening killed a few of Hajjaj's soldiers. The soldiers were extremely concerned. The lightening was flashing again the next day and a thunderbolt this time hit two soldiers of Abdullah bin Zubair (رضي الله عنه) who died on impact. This gladdened Hajjaj's heart and his soldiers also heaved a sigh of relief. Hajjaj himself loaded stones and began shooting them. After that, the fear that was gripping the whole army vanished and the launching of stones resumed more vigorously. Abdullah bin Zubair (رضي الله عنه) used to offer his prayer at the Ka'bah and big stones would fall around him but it did not disturb his concentration on Allâh and his devotion during his prayer in the least.

The siege continued with the same intensity and force. No supplies from outside Makkah could come in. Things came to such a pass that Abdullah bin Zubair (رضي الله عنه) slaughtered his horse and distributed it among the people. He had a stock of grain and dates. He distributed as much as was necessary for them to survive. The purpose was to stand the siege as long as possible. When Hajjaj saw that his plan was not going to succeed, he began to write to Abdullah bin Zubair's men and promise them security and amnesty to those who would join him. This worked and many of them parted with Abdullah bin Zubair (رضي الله عنه) and went over to Hajjaj's side finally, only a few persons were left with him. His two sons, Hamza and Habib, also left their father and went over to Hajjaj. The third son remained with his father and displayed valor on the battlefield until the last breath of his life. When thousands of men left Abdullah bin Zubair (رضي الله عنه) and joined the opposing side, Hajjaj gathered them together and addressed them as follows:

You can estimate the remaining power of Abdullah bin Zubair (رضي الله عنه). His men are in such short number that if each of you threw a

handful of pebbles on them, they would all die. Besides that, all of them are hungry and thirsty. O my dear Syrians and Kufans! Advance now. Abdullah bin Zubair (رضي الله عنه) will live only for a few seconds.

Now prior to this speech, Hajjaj had sent a letter to Abdullah bin Zubair (رضي الله عنه) which read:

"Now you have been rendered powerless. You have become helpless in all respects. Come under my security and take the oath for Amir al-Muminin, Abdul Malik. You will be treated with all honor and every wish of yours will be fulfilled. I have been ordered by Amir al-Muminin to try my best to invite you to reconciliation and not to be hasty in killing you.

Martyrdom of Ibn Zubair (رضي الله عنه)

After going through the letter Abdullah bin Zubair (رضي الله عنه) went to his mother, Asma bint Abu Bakr Siddiq (رضي الله عنها), and said to her: I have been left with no one (to support me). Only, five persons worth the name of friend are with me who have supported me until now. The people have betrayed me just as they betrayed Husain bin Ali (رضي الله عنه). Their sons fought with their swords in front of their fathers only as long as they lived. My sons also went over to the wicked. Now Hajjaj tells me: "you too come under my security and I shall give you all you demand". I have therefore come to you to seek your advice.

Asma (رضي الله عنها) replied: You understand your problem better than I do. If you are on the right path and invite people to it, keep doing it. Your friends died on this right path. You should also remain steadfast on it and meet your martyrdom. If you had intended to seek worldly prosperity, you are a great misfit. You have not only landed yourself in trouble but also those who are with you. As for my opinion, don't hand yourself over to Banu Umayyah. Death will come on time. You should live and die like a man. Your statement that you are justified and that people have made you weak by their betrayal, is a kind of complaint that does not come on the tongue of the pious."

Abdullah bin Zubair (رضي الله عنه) said: "I am afraid that after killing me they have my body trampled by horsemen and hang it on the scaffold. Asma (رضي الله عنها) said: My son! When the goat is slaughtered, it does

not care whether it is skinned. Whatever you are doing, keep doing it with insight and keep asking for Allâh's help."

Abdullah bin Zubair (رضي الله عنه) kissed his mother's head and said: "I am also of the same view. I never wished for the world or desired a worldly kingdom. I took this work because the commandments of Allâh were not being obeyed and the people did not shun the forbidden things. As long as I breathe, I shall continue to fight for the right. I thought it necessary to take counsel from you and it has strengthened my will. Mother! I am sure I shall be killed today. Don't be sad. Surrender me to Allâh. I never intended to do anything unlawful. I never committed a breach of trust nor did I perpetrate an atrocity on anyone nor did I support any oppressor. I never did anything against the Divine wish. O Allâh! I haven't said all these things out of pride but for the consolation and satisfaction of my mother."

Asma said, "I hope Allâh will reward you for it. Go and attack the enemy with Allâh's Name."

When Asma (رضي الله عنها) embraced her son at the time of bidding him good-bye, her hands happened to touch his armor. She asked, "Why have you put on this armor?" He said, "For satisfaction and strength."

Asma (رضي الله عنها) said: "Take it off and fight against the enemy in your ordinary clothes."

Ibn Zubair (رضي الله عنه) took the armor off and threw it away. He lifted up the end of his shirt and tied it to his waist. He rolled up his sleeves and came out of his house and said to his friends:

"O children of Zubair (رضي الله عنه)! Don't be afraid of the clanging of the swords because applying ointment to a wound hurts it more than what is felt when the wound is received. Hold your swords. Save it, from unlawful killing as you save your face. Lower down your eyes so that they may not get dazzled. Attack your counterpart. Don't look for me. If you do look for me, you will find me fighting with the enemies in the forefront."

Saying that he launched a very ferocious attack on the Syrians. Chopping through their battle array, he reached the rear line of the Syrians and came fighting back to his place. Hajjaj incited his soldiers

to the utmost but none dared to face Abdullah bin Zubair (رضي الله عنه). At last, Hajjaj took the infantry and surrounded Abdullah bin Zubair's flag holder. Abdullah bin Zubair (رضي الله عنه) at once led an attack and brought his flag holder out of the siege and pushed the enemies back. He returned and offered two 'rakats' of 'salat' near Maqam Ibrahim (Station of Ibrahim). Hajjaj attacked again and the flag holder was killed at Bab Banu Shaiba. The Syrians had stood guard at all the doors of the Haram Sharif (the honored sanctuary). Hajjaj and Tariq had laid siege up to Marwa from the side of Al Batah (this final battle took place in the holy confines of the sanctuary of the Ka'bah).

Now Ibn Zubair (رضي الله عنه) was attacking from one side to the other. Having offered his prayer, he resumed fighting. He attacked in the direction of Bab Safa and pushed the Syrians to the distant rear. Somebody shot an arrow from the top of Mount Safa. It hit his forehead and he started bleeding. He continued to fight in that condition. In short, he and his companions, from the morning until after the post noon prayer, displayed such exemplary agility and bravery in putting the Syrians to death that the world has never witnessed. At last, all his companions laid down their lives one by one. The enemies rained down stones and arrows on him from all sides threw spears and swords had already left him wounded. At long last, on Tuesday in Jamad al-Awwal 73 A.H. this grand hero and pious man of the world met his martyrdom. With the exception of valor and dauntlessness, piety and prayer, courage and nobility, there was none there to mourn over his dead body. The Syrian army cut off his head. When it was taken to Hajjaj, he prostrated out of thankfulness to Allāh. The army raised the cry Allahu Akbar. The dead body was hung on a scaffold at the same place Hajūn and the head was sent to Abdul Malik. Another tradition says that it was not sent to him but it was hung on the wall or the rain channel of the Ka'bah.

Asma bint Abi Bakr (رضي الله عنها) sought permission to bury the dead body but Hajjaj refused. When Abdul Malik came to know of it, he condemned and cursed Hajjaj and allowed it to be buried. Asma also died after a few days.

After Ibn Zubair's martyrdom, Hajjaj entered the Ka'bah. The entire floor was littered with stones thrown from the catapult. It was stained

with patches of blood. He had the stones removed and the blood washed. He took from the Makkans the oath for Abdul Malik's caliphate and then returned to Madinah. He lived there for two months and considering the entire population of Madinah as the killers of Uthmân bin Affan (رضي الله عنه) he perpetrated atrocities on them. He tortured some of the Prophet's (ﷺ) Companions. Then he left for Makkah and after pulling down the construction done by Abdullah bin Zubair on the Ka'bah, he reconstructed it. Abdul Malik made him the Governor of the Hijaz and Hajjaj bin Yusuf began to live in Madinah in place of Tariq.

A Glance at Abdullah Ibn Zubair's (رضي الله عنه) Caliphate

Following Muawiya's death, his son Yazid did not deserve to be made the caliph of the Muslims at that time there were many people who were more capable of governing and doing the work of the caliphate. Abdullah bin Zubair (رضي الله عنه) was one of them. Yazid's personal life was objectionable and that was why some dignitaries of Islam refused to perform oath for his caliphate.

Had Imam Hasan (رضي الله عنه) been living after Amir Muawiya (رضي الله عنه) the Muslims could have probably accepted him as their caliph or emperor. Had Abdullah bin Umar (رضي الله عنهما) stood for the caliphate against Yazid, then not only all the sects in Islam would have supported him but also a good number of the people from amongst Banu Umayyah would have been seen in action in his support but he never cared to do it. Husain (رضي الله عنه) tried his best to secure the caliphate but the Kufans betrayed him. He did not accept the advice of the people of Makkah and Madinah, and the people of the Hijaz failed to help him. After him, there was none better than Abdullah bin Zubair (رضي الله عنه) who deserved the caliphate. The greatest proof of his justified and legal caliphate is the fact that all the people of the Islamic territories recognized him as their caliph on the basis of their free will, wherever the people were at liberty, none of them opposed him. Yes, Banu Umayyah were his rivals in the matter of caliphate and so they opposed him yet they would have opposed anyone who stood in their way. They re-established their rule in Syria, Palestine and Egypt, with a heavy hand and with the same tyrannical and coercive methods,

they managed to restore their rule over the entire Islamic world. Compared to Abdullah bin Zubair's caliphate, Marwan bin Hakam's and Abdul Malik bin Marwan's caliphates are known as the Caliphates of the Rebels. Abdul Malik's period of rule, following Abdullah bin Zubair's martyrdom should be taken as a full-fledged government and a legal caliphate.

During his regime, Abdullah bin Zubair (رضي الله عنه) did not have a time when he was free from territorial battles and disputes. So, if we do not find any new conquests and internal amendments and reforMotion during his rule, it is not surprising. He was a great general and horsemen he was a great thinker and governor. It was only fate and destiny that allowed his rivals maneuverings to prove effective and that let him die as a martyr. His personal life was extremely praise worthy from the viewpoint of prayer and piety.

Among the caliphates of Banu Umayyah, it was chiefly found that they knew how to use money and power in establishing and strengthening their caliphate and government. They were very active in getting money, and utilized it to serve their purpose very skillfully. Had there not been created in the people the lust for money, they would never have succeeded and Ali (رضي الله عنه) and Abdullah bin Zubair (رضي الله عنه) would have never met with failure against them. Had Abdullah bin Zubair (رضي الله عنه) like Abdul Malik bin Marwan reserved the treasury for his friends and supporters and disregarded the weak, he would have remained surrounded by many swordsmen and Banu Umayyah would have had to remain humble. But Abdullah bin Zubair (رضي الله عنه) disliked that impious policy and that is really to his credit and befitting of him.

During his regime, the killing of Mukhtar bin Abu Dbaid in Kufa was a remarkable achievement. He suppressed the mischief of the Khawârij very effectively and to the best of his ability, he did not allow them to revolt. If he had not been involved in battles and trials of strength against Banu Umayyah, he would have proved to be a good caliph and considerably promoted the Islamic Shari'ah in the world. His martyrdom marks the end of Sahâba' rule and governance (the rule by the Prophet's Companions). He was the last of the Prophet's Companions who ruled over an Islamic land and whose

dedicated and pious life was a beacon and a guiding star. He was the only caliph who made Makkah his capital city. It was not made the capital by anyone either before him or after him until now.

When we read about the brave feats of Abdullah bin Zubair (رضي الله عنه), his brother Mus'ab bin Zubair (رضي الله عنه), his father Zubair bin Al Awam (رضي الله عنه) and also the valor and courage of his mother Asma bint Abu Bakr (رضي الله عنها), our hearts are filled with awe and the people of the world who know and understand valor are drawn by a natural love to them. Wallowing in dust and blood, receiving wounds from swords and arrows in the chest for supporting the cause of right and always advancing and putting the enemies of the right to death are some of life's most difficult tests, yet when done for the right cause they are satisfying and rewarding as well. The strength of heart, firmness of intention and height of valor and courage find their most befitting expression in the dazzling lights of swords, the sharp points of spears and the heavy rain of arrows. Our age is such an inauspicious and unfortunate age that the stories of the bravery of the Muslims, laying down their lives as recorded in the pages of history increase the circulation of blood in our veins for a while but we can not see with our eyes the battlefields where heads drop when chopped off by the sword, spears piercing chests, blood gushing forth from the necks, corpses jumping up in the mud of blood, horses running over and mutilating them, severed heads getting kicked by horses hooves and rolling here and there like some macabre fruit at harvest time, the sun hidden behind clouds of dust made by battling horses and men, chants of 'Allahu-Akbar' being raised, men of Allâh excelling one another in exalting the Name of their beloved Creator by laying down their lives and the Divine grace encompassing this exhilarating sight. Such magnificent and awe inspiring scenes were the portion of Talha (رضي الله عنه) and Zubair (رضي الله عنه), Khalid (رضي الله عنه) and Darrâr (رضي الله عنه), Shurahbil (رضي الله عنه) and Abdur Rahman (رضي الله عنه), Husain bin Ali (رضي الله عنه) and Abdullah bin Zubair (رضي الله عنه), Tariq bin Zeyad, Mohammad bin Qasim, Muhammad II, Sulaiman the Magnificent, Salahuddin Ayyubi and Nuruddin Zangi, Mahmud Ghaznawi and Shahabuddin Ghauri. It is not the portion of the people of weak 'Imân' (faith) and timorous hearts as we are. That is why Allâh has rendered swords, spears and arrows useless and sent cannons, rifles and

airplanes into the world instead. Also, strength of heart, firmness of determination, height of ambition and courage, as a symbol and as an expression of perfect 'Imân' (faith) can be better displayed by the edge of a sword than by gunpowder and ammunition.

Kufa

From the Analysis of the conditions of the Kufans so far stated, strange ideas about Kufa and the Kufans grip our hearts and Kufa appears to be one of the most perplexing places on the surface of the entire earth. Abdullah bin Saba and all the conspiring groups scored successes there. It was the Kufans who were in the fore-front in murdering Uthman bin Affan (رضي الله عنه); they were again the greatest admirers and lovers of Ali (رضي الله عنه) and it was they who harassed him more than others and were responsible for many of his failures; it was again they who courted Husain (رضي الله عنه) and were ready to demand the revenge for Ali's death and his caliphate and, at last, it was they who caused Husain's martyrdom and had him murdered mercilessly at Karbala; it was they who first of all were instrumental in demanding the compensation for Husain's blood to prove their love for him in a splendid manner; it was again they who opposed the greatest supporter of the Prophet's descendants Mukhtar bin Abu Obaid and by inviting Mus'ab bin Zubair to attack Kufa had Mukhtar killed; it was they who caused the death of Mus'ab bin Zubair (رضي الله عنه); they showed matchless bravery as well as base cowardice; sometimes they got themselves killed fearlessly and opposed the Kufan rulers openly and sometimes they were so terrified that they executed every oppressive measure of the Kufan rulers like Obaidullah bin Zeyâd without any question.

To understand such contradictory and contrasting traits and situations, we should make an attempt to acquaint ourselves with the conditions and the reality of the inhabitants of Kufa. During the regime of Umar bin Khattab (رضي الله عنه), Kufa was made as a cantonment for those who were at war with the fire-worshippers (Magian/Zoroastrian) of Iran. One part of it consisted of those who came from the Hijaz, Yemen and Hadaramout. They had assembled in Madinah at Umar bin Khattab's instance and were sent to Iraq. Some

of them were those who were the inhabitants of the provinces of Arabia, which bordered on Iraq and were comparatively near Kufa and Basra. They embraced Islam at the hands of the Prophet's companions and then joined the Islamic army and could not establish a particular link with Madinah nor had they ever seen it. Some were those whose mother tongue was Arabic but they were the subjects of the kingdom of fire-worshippers and then converted to Islam, they found the Islamic way congenial to them and became its supporters from the core of their hearts and fought against the Iranians on behalf of the Muslims. Some were dignitaries of the 'Muhajirs' (Emigrants) and 'Ansars' (Helpers) of Madinah. When Kufa was made a cantonment for the army and the deputy of the caliph and the commander-in-chief of the Iraqi army began to live in Kufa, the city-dwellers of many cities of Iran were forced by necessity to establish a rapport with the capital of Kufa and because of this groups of Iranians began to live there. Compared to the ascetic lives of the Arabian deserts, the royal and victorious lives of the victors of the countries of Kisra, Nausherewan, Kekaus and Kekhusru in Kufa must have been very pleasant indeed: the excess of spoils of war must have contributed its part in enticing them. The greater part of the army acquired land and settled there. Through this evolution, Kufa not only remained a temporary cantonment and retreat but also turned into a big city very quickly and finally, it assumed the status of Iraq's capital. As the population consisted mainly of soldiers and lacked the facilities of learning and teaching, disciplining of morals and self, the temperament and morality of the city, on the whole, was prone to constant change. It is easy to understand that in such a place knowledge and wisdom, thought and understanding cannot be found but sentiments and emotions can be amply utilized. The Kufans therefore always remained under the control of their emotions and whatever they did it was under the influence of their emotions.

That was why whosoever wanted to incite them, succeeded, and whosoever wanted to entice them, did not fail. Whenever they were threatened, they were terrified; and whenever they were goaded to oppose anyone, they obliged. Whenever they were made bold, they turned so and whenever they were made to betray, they did accordingly; and whenever they were reminded of their old loyalty,

they began to fulfill its conditions:

Kufa had a plethora of emotions but lacked intelligence. It had emotions, not sense; it had a tumult of emotions but ran short of serenity of thought. Therefore, Kufa was expected to do that which happened. When a few generations passed and the events of the world endowed the heterogeneous elements by chemical amalgaMotion with a particular shape to its temperament, making Kufa, the old mercurial nature gradually vanished.

Abdul Malik bin Marwan

Abdul Malik bin Marwan bin Hakam bin Abul Aas bin Umayya bin Abd Shams bin Abd Manâf bin Qussai bin Kilab was born in Ramadân 23 A.H. His familiar name (Arabic: kunya) was Abu Waleed. He was also known as Abul Mulook (father of kings) because several of his sons sat on the throne in succession. Yahya Ghassâni says: "Abdul Malik was accustomed to sitting near Umm Darda (رضي الله عنها). Once she asked, 'I have heard that you have taken to drinking after being a devotee.' He replied, 'I have turned into a blood-sucker too.' Nâfi' says: "No youth in Madinah was as active, wise, conversant with the Qur'ân and Hadith, religious and ascetic as Abdul Malik." Abu Zanad says: "Sayeed bin Al-Musayyib, Abdul Malik bin Marwan, 'Urwah bin Zubair and Qabisah bin Zuwaib are the scholars of Islamic jurisprudence of Madinah." Ubada bin Muthanna asked, Ibn Umar (رضي الله عنه). "Whom should we consult for verdicts (Literally questions. This refers to questions about Islamic law)" He replied, "Marwan's son is a 'faqih'. You should ask him".

One day when Abdul Malik called on Abu Huraira (رضي الله عنه), he said, "One day this man will become the king of 'Arabia". Umm Darda (رضي الله عنها) said to Abdul Malik, "I knew beforehand that you would be a king." He asked, "How?" She said, "I did not find anyone better than you both as a speaker and as a listener." Sha'bi says: "Who ever sat in my company became an admirer of my superior knowledge but I have become an admirer of Abdul Malik's excellent knowledge. Whenever I narrated a 'hadith', he always added something to it, and whenever I recited a Verse, he also recited Verses dealing with the same theme.

Dhhbi says, "Abdul Malik heard 'Ahadith' (traditions of the Prophet ﷺ) from Uthman (رضي الله عنه), Abu Hurairah (رضي الله عنه), Abu Sayeed (رضي الله عنه), Umm Salamah (رضي الله عنها), Barirah (رضي الله عنه) Ibn 'Umar (رضي الله عنهما) and Muawiya (رضي الله عنه) while Urwa, Khalid bin Sa'dân, Raja bin Haiwa, Zuhri, Yunus bin Maisara. Rabia bin Yazid, Ismail bin Obaidullah, Jarir bin Uthman heard traditions from Abdul Malik.

Yahya Ghassani says: "When Muslim bin Oqaba arrived in Madinah, I went to Masjid Nabawi and sat beside Abdul Malik. He asked me whether I was also in his army. I replied in the affirMotive. He said: "You have raised your arm against the person who was the first born of all the emigrants of Islam. He is the Prophet's Companion and a descendent of Datun-Nitaqain and for whom the Prophet (ﷺ) did 'Tahneek' (This is the process of chewing dates for a new born infant. In this section Abdul Malik bin Marwan is referring to Abdullah bin Zubair رضي الله عنه). And the greatest thing I observed about him was that whenever I met him in the day, I found him observing fast and whenever I met him at night, I always found him standing in 'Salat' (prayer). Remember! Who ever fights against him, will be thrown upside down into Hell by Allâh." However, when Abdul Malik sat on the throne, he sent Hajjâj to fight against Abdullah bin Zubair (رضي الله عنه) and Hajjaj killed him.

Juraij says that following Abdullah bin Zubair's martyrdom, Abdul Malik delivered the following sermon he said:

"I am neither a weak caliph like Uthman (رضي الله عنه) nor a lazy caliph like Muawiya (رضي الله عنه) nor a caliph with weak opinions like Yazid. All the caliphs before me had been eating from treasure (under their possession) I will remedy it with my sword only. You should raise your spears in my support. You hold me responsible to act as the 'Muhajirun' acted yet you yourselves do not act as they did. Remember, I shall torture you to death and the sword will be the judge between you and me. Keep watching what my sword makes of you. I shall tolerate all that you say but I cannot stand your opposition to the ruler. I shall tie their acts around their necks without hearing those who threaten with Allâh's fear."

It was Abdul Malik who first covered the Ka'bah with a silk curtain. Somebody said to him, "Amir al-Muminin! You have aged fast." He

said, "Why not? I spend my best wisdom on the people every Friday." When another person asked him, "Who is the best among men?" He replied, "He who though enjoying high status, shows his humility, prefers renunciation of the world though powerful, and does justice though in authority." When a man who did not know him visited him, he used to tell him, "Keep in mind four things: first, don't tell a lie for I hate it very much; second, answer what I ask; third, don't praise me for I know what I am; and fourth, don't incite me in respect to my subjects for they need my kindness."

Madaini says, "When Abdul Malik was sure of his death, he said, "I have been longing to be a ascetic since my birth." Then he called his son Waleed and exhorted him to fear Allâh and avoid internal dissensions and said:

"Be active in war, be an example in good deeds, for war does not call death before its time. Good deeds ensure a good reward and Allâh helps in distress. Be soft in hard situations and shun inviting resentment for a single arrow can easily be broken by anyone but none can break arrows when they are tied together. O Waleed! I make you caliph and in this matter, you must have fear of Allâh. Take care of Hajjaj who has delivered you the caliphate consider him to be your right hand and sword, he will safeguard you against your foes: don't listen to anyone's complaint against him; and remember! you need Hajjaj more than he needs you and when I die, take *'bay'at'* from all and cut off the head of he who refuses."

When he was in the agonies of death, Waleed came to him and began to weep. Abdul Malik said, "What is the use of weeping like a girl? Get ready after my death and put your sword on your shoulder with courage and chop off the head of the man who raises his head even a little, and spare him who keeps silent for he would die of his own disease."

Abdul Malik died in Shawwal 86 A.H. at the age of 63. Ihalbi says that Abdul Malik used to say, "I was born in Ramadan; I was weaned in Ramadan; it was in Ramadan that I finished the Qu'rân; in Ramadan I attained the age of discretion; in Ramadan I was made the heir apparent; in Ramadan I was made caliph and I am afraid I shall die in Ramadan." But when the month of Ramadan passed he was relieved

but he died in Shawwal (the month following Ramadan).

One day a woman came to Abdul Malik and said, "My brother has died leaving six hundred dinars. I am being given only one dinar in inheritance and was told that I deserve only this much." He immediately called Shabi and asked him about it. He said, "The distribution is quite right. The deceased has left two daughters. They get two-thirds, that is 400 dinars and the mother gets one-sixth, that is 100 dinars, the wife one-eighth, that is 75 dinars and 12 brothers will each be getting 24 dinars. Therefore she will get only one dinar at this rate."

Important Events of Abdul Malik's Caliphate

Following Abdullah bin Zubair's martyrdom, Abdul Malik made Hajjaj bin Yusuf the Governor of the Hijaz. Hajjaj pulled down the Ka'bah and removed the part constructed during Abdullah bin Zubair's regime, then he reconstructed it. Hajjaj perpetrated untold atrocities on the venerated Sahabah. Anas ؓ and other distinguished Sahabah were tied and whipped. He had great hostility for the illustrious Sahabah like Abdullah bin Umar (رضي الله عنه) because he was always frank and loved the truth. Hajjaj's government did not overawe him nor did anything deter him from introducing people to good deeds and preventing them from sin. Hajjaj deputed a man to attack and kill him. As a consequence of this order, during the next Hajj when Abdullah bin Umar (رضي الله عنهما) was making Tawaf (circumambulation) of the Ka'bah, Hajjaj's agent pierced his foot with a spear. He succumbed to the injury and died after a few days. Just as the tyrannies that he perpetrated on the Sahabah prove him to be a tyrant, similarly they also make Abdul Malik guilty because it was he who made such an oppressor the Governor of Makkah and Madinah. Hajjaj and Abdul Malik both had some virtues and they had vices in proportion to them.

The Mischief of the Khawârij

At the time when Ibn Zubair's caliphate showed signs of decline and Abdul Malik bin Marwan's agents began propaganda and conspiratorial activities against him in Iraq and Iran, a group of the Khawârij who had been living peacefully in the Iranian provinces, started to become awake and active. Mus'ab bin Zubair's murder and

the domination of Abdul Malik led the people harboring rebellious thoughts to begin to whisper. After the occupation of Iraq, Abdul Malik made Khalid bin Abdullah the Governor of Basra. When Abdul Malik left Iraq and went to Damascus, he wasn't able to concentrate on the 'khawarij' because the Hijaz and Abdullah bin Zubair (رضي الله عنه) demanded his attention more. Becoming free from the problems in the Hijaz after Abdullah bin Zubair's murder, he dismissed the Governors of Basra and Kufa and replaced them with his brother Bishr bin Marwan and instructed him to send Muhallab bin Abi Sofra to'Iran to fight against the Khawârij so that he might exterminate them wherever he found them. He also ordered that Muhallab should be authorized to select Basraites and take them with him. Another strong army from among the Kufans was prepared and sent to help Muhallab so that he could stamp out their disruption completely. These same orders were also sent to Muhallab directly. Bishr bin Marwan didn't like the fact that the Amir al-Muminin assigned Muhallab directly. He expected that the mission of disciplining and finishing the Khawârij with the power of assignments, be under his own command and should have been entrusted to him. Muhallab bin Abi Sofra, in compliance with Abdul Malik's orders, left Basra with an army. Bishr bin Marwan from Kufa sent an army under the command of Abdur Rahman bin Mukhnaf to help Muhallab. At the time of departure, he said to Abdur Rahman: "I consider you to be a more able commander than Muhallab. Don't always keep yourself subservient to Muhallab you should sometimes assert and impose your own opinion on him also."

Abdur Rahman met Muhallab at Dar Hurmuz but encamped with his army separately and began to show signs of his independence. After a few days, news reached there that Bishr bin Marwan died and at the time of his death, he had put Khalid bin Abdullah in his place. Hearing this news, the Basraites and Kufans returned to their respective cities. Khalid bin Abdullah tried to make them see reason and even threatened them, but none of them was ready to return to Muhallab. The conditions in Khorasan, on the other hand, were turning from bad to worse. Following Abdullah bin Hazin's death as mentioned previously, the king of Turkistan and Mongolia named Ratbeel began to make military patrols on the border of Khorasan.

Abdullah bin Hazim's son Musa bin Abdullah along with his father's men fled and took shelter in the fort of Termiz .(city in southern Uzbekistan) and succeeded in establishing a separate autonomous state.

Musa bin Abdullah fought and defeated the Turks and at the same time was at war with the governors of Abdul Malik. Bukair bin Washah was the governor of Khorasan. Abdul Malik dismissed him and sent Umayya bin Abdullah bin Khalid in his place. Upon his arrival to Merv, one of the major cities of Khorasan, Bukair bin Washah who had been dismissed by Abdul Malik remained in Khorasan. Umayya bin Abdullah put him in charge of the city of Merv. Umayya then went to Balkh, another major city in Khorasan, and attacked Ratbeel and forced him into an agreement, that he would not invade the Muslims in future. After the agreement he left Balkh and while he was returning to Merv, he was attacked by Musa bin Abdullah bin Hazim, but he somehow managed to escape and arrived at Merv. Musa bin Abdullah retreated. When he reached Merv, he saw that Bukair bin Washah had occupied it and was prepared for war. A skirmish took place between Bukair and Umayya then Bukair bin Washah settled down for a possible siege after fortifying the city. Finally, after a few days, they were reconciled. Umayya bin Abdullah, by promising him the governorship of apart of Khorasan, took Merv out of his clutches.

At Dar Hurmuz, Muhallab and Ibn Makhnaf with the small armies that were left with them, after the desertion of the Kufans and Basraites upon the death of Bishr bin Marwan, were at war with the Khawârij and following the withdrawal of their troops were placed in a critical situation. Under these circumstances, Abdul Malik thought it proper to shift Hajjaj bin Yusuf Thaqfi from the governorship of Hijaz and appointed him the governor of Iraq. Therefore, in 75 A.H. he endowed him with the authority to rule Basra and Kufa and sent him to Kufa. He entered Kufa in Ramadan in 75 A.H. sat on the 'mimbar' (usually some steps or other raised podium from where the leader of the prayer on Friday gives his sermon or "kutbah") of the Jama Masjid (Central Mosque) and ordered the people to assemble there.

The Kufans were accustomed to be rude to their rulers. They used to humiliate their Amirs' and governors. They, therefore, came with

pebbles in their hands with the intention of throwing them at the new Amir. But when Hajjaj began his speech, they were terrified and the pebbles in their hands dropped to the floor. Hajjaj in his speech said,

> "A lot of turbans and beards are visible here but very soon they are going to be wet with blood. Many heads are present in this assembly, which will soon be chopped off. Amir al-Muminin Abdul Malik examined his quiver and selecting the hardest and the most deadly arrow, shot it at you, in other words, he imposed me on you as your ruler. I will remedy all your ills and lack of discipline and straighten you out completely. You have been the center of much trouble and disruption. Now the time has come for you to be taught a lesson and your eyes to be opened. Amir al-Muminin has given instructions to disburse your salaries and send you to Muhallab to face the Khawârij. After the disbursement of the salaries, you are given three days time. If even a single soul is visible on the fourth day in Kufa, his head will be severed. Remember this is not an empty threat. You will yourselves see with your own eyes. I do what I say."

Hajjaj stood up and went to Darul Emarah (the Amir's headquarter) and began to disburse their salaries. An old man who was shaking due to his old age came and said, "I am an old man. My son is younger than I. Please send him in my place." Hajjaj asked him "What is your name?" He said, "Umair bin Dabi Barjami." Hajjaj said, "Are you the same Umair bin Dabi who had attacked Uthman bin Affan's house?" He said, "Yes." Hajjaj said, "What persuaded you to do such a thing?" He said, "Uthman (رضی الله عنه) had imprisoned my father when he was very old." Hajjaj said, "I don't like for you to remain alive." He ordered that he should be killed and his house ransacked.

On the third day it was announced: "Whosoever stays in his house tonight and does not proceed to join Muhallab's army, he will be slain." Hearing that people began to set out and very soon, a strong army assembled to face the Khawârij under Muhallab's command.

Hajjaj then appointed Hakam bin Ayyub Thaqfi the Amir of Basra and sent him there. He deputed Sayeed bin Aslam bin Zur'a to go to the Sindh. Muawiya bin Harith Kalabi and his brother Mohammad were part of this army, they brought most of the cities of the area under

their control, and killed or imprisoned the enemy and after accomplishing this, Muawiya bin Harith and his brother Muhammad killed Sayeed.

Hearing the news, Hajjaj sent Maja'a bin Sayeed bin Zur'a who captured the territory and after a year of his rule brought under his control most of the cities of Makran (coastal area that is part of modern Iran and Pakistan) and Darabeel which are adjacent to the Sindh.

Hajjaj made arrangements for Kufa and deputed Urwa bin Mughira bin Sho'ba as his deputy there and he prôceeded to Basra. At Basra, he delivered the same kind of lecture he had delivered in Kufa and threatened the deserters of Muhallab.

Sharik bin 'Amr Yeshkuri came to Hajjaj and said, "I am suffering from the hernia. Bishr bin Marwan accepted this excuse. Will you please accept it also and exempt me from going to Muhallab's army." Hajjaj instantly ordered his execution. Seeing that all the Basraites were afraid and began to get ready to join Muhallab.

After expelling the people from Basra and Kufa, Hajjaj also moved towards Muhallab's army. When Muhallab's cantonment was at a distance of 18 miles, he encamped and said, "O Kufans and Basraites! You will stay here unless the Khawârij are totally exterminated." The next order Hajjaj issued created trouble for himself.

The salaries of the army during Mus'ab bin Zubair's regime had been enhanced at the rate of 100 dirhams per head and that increment was still in force and no one had a thought of curtailing it. Hajjaj ordered that all of them should be getting the same salaries they had been getting before Mus'ab bin Zubair's regime, in other words, 100 dirhams per head would be reduced. When Abdullah bin Jarood heard the order, he said, "Our salaries were allowed to continue by Abdul Malik and Bishr bin Marwan. Don't commit the mistake of reducing it."

Hajjaj did not pay any heed to Jarood's advice. He again raised his voice against Hajjaj's order. Masqala bin Karb Abdi said to Abdullah bin Jarood, "It is our duty to comply with the amir's order. It is unbecoming of us to oppose it." Abdullah bin Jarood left Hajjaj's court abusing Masqala. He went to Hakeem bin Majâshi and told him what

took place. He also supported Abdullah. Then most of the soldiers became Jarood's supporters and all of them took an oath at his hands for the purpose of having Hajjaj dismissed and expelled from Iraq. All those under Jarood's command, surrounded Hajjaj's tent.

Hajjaj had only a few persons with him and he was about to be killed or captured but evening set in and they decided to postpone their action and they all returned to their camps. They did not want to kill Hajjaj they only wanted to expel him from Iraq.

At night Hajjaj's friends advised him to leave and go to Abdul Malik. He was in a quandary. Meanwhile there was dissension among his enemies and Abbad bin Haseen Habti became angry with Ibn Jarood and went over to Hajjaj's side. Then Qutaiba bin Muslim Sabra bin Ali Kalabi, Sayeed bin Aslam Kalabi, Jafar bin Abdur Rahman bin Makhnaf Azdi followed suit. In short, six thousand people rallied round him by morning and at that time, there was a fierce battle between the two opposing sides.

Hajjaj and his men were beaten and Abdullah bin Jarood was victorious but unfortunately, an arrow hit Abdullah in the neck causing instant death. With his death, Hajjaj's defeat turned into victory. Many of Jarood's men were killed and many asked for security of life for surrender and rejoined his army. Hajjaj cut off eighteen heads of Jarood's main supporters and sent the heads to Muhallab. Muhallab had them fixed on the heads of spears to intimidate the Khawârij. While the fight between Hajjaj and Jarood was going on news came from Basra that a tribe of Sowan named Zanj that had settled in the vicinity of Basra, turned rebellious.

After the killing of Ibn Jarood, Hajjaj gave a small army to his son Hafs to discipline them. He wrote to his deputy in Kufa to send an army to stamp out the new uprising. After several encounters, it was put down.

The groups of Khawârij drawn from the cities of Iran, Khorasan and Iraq, had assembled at Dar Hurmuz to face Muhallab and were busy trying to fight and defeat him and then to capture Basra.

When the supporting armies from Basra and Kufa started arriving in quick succession, Muhallab and Abdur Rahman bin Makhnaf who

stood against the Khawârij, received a boost. Prior to that, they were fighting defensively due to a shortage of soldiers and had stopped the Khawârij from advancing. However, after becoming stronger, they began to fight offensively and pushed the Khawârij back to Garzoon. The Khawârij entrenched and fortified themselves near Garzoon and began to fight. Seeing this, Muhallab had a moat dug and made a defensive wall around his cantonment. Abdur Rahman kept his army aloof from Muhallab, from the beginning of the engagement. He had also established his own cantonment.

Muhallab sent word to Abdur Rahman that there was a danger of a night attack and so it was advised to dig a moat out around his cantonment. Abdur Rahman replied that he should rest assured; their swords would serve as a moat. He encamped on an open field.

One night the Khawârij attacked Muhallab but because of the moat they could not advance against him. Having failed there, they moved towards Abdur Rahman. The way was open and clear. They kept advancing and started killing. The sleeping soldiers could not withstand the attack and fled in all directions. Abdur Rahman along with only a few soldiers were able to fight and he was killed along with his soldiers at the hands of the Khawârij.

Muhallab and Abdur Rahman were two commanders, Muhallab's army consisted of the Basraites and Abdur Rahman's army was made up of Kufans. The Kufan army suffered a great loss. The news reached Hajjaj and he deputed Attab bin Warqa in place of Abdur Rahman and clearly instructed him that he should remain under Muhallab's command and obey him. Attab resented this and it led to a rift between them.

Attab wrote to Hajjaj to recall him. Hajjaj accepted his request. Then all the Kufans were placed directly under Muhallab's command. Muhallab deputed his own son Habib bin Muhallab to take command of the Kufan army and they were stationed at Nishapur for a year, and continued fighting against the Khawârij. Later there erupted some discord among the Khawârij and they began to fight in two groups. Muhallab did not attack them at that time but was patient. Then one faction fought and expelled the other towards Tabristan, Muhallab

attacked the victorious group and killed them. So, in 77 A.H. he was finally able to get rid of the disruption of the Khawârij.

The Khawârij were such valiant fighters that sometimes they defeated an army ten or twenty times their number. Once one thousand Khawârij made an army of fifty thousand retreat near Kufa.

It was Muhallab alone, who was a hundred percent successful against the Khawârij. When he returned to Hajjaj in Kufa after the victory, Hajjaj held a grand court and made the Muhallab sit by his side. Muhallab had seven sons and all of them had shown exemplary valor against the Khawârij. As a reward, they were given an increment of two thousand dirhams per year.

Hajjaj sent an army after the run away Khawârij and defeated them near Tabristan. In 76 AH, another group of the Khawârij, under the leadership of Saleh bin Masrah, staged an uprising. Abdur Malik's brother Muhammad bin Marwan, the Amir of Mosil, deputed an army to deal with it. After many encounters, Saleh was killed. His place was taken by Shabib who took his group to Madain. Hajjaj started sending other troops after them but he could not suppress them. Shabib had only one thousand men. Once he stayed in Kufa unchallenged along with his men and then left. Hajjaj sent fifty thousand men to face those one thousand men and the smaller force routed the larger one. Finally, those one thousand men along with their chief Shabib were annihilated.

Hajjaj and Muhallab Honored

For Abdul Malik bin Marwan, the greatest danger next to Abdullah bin Zubair (رضي الله عنه) was the challenge of the Khawârij. Had he remained indifferent to Khawârij and had he not taken their threat seriously and had he not become busy planning their extermination, then the provinces of Khorasan, Iraq and Persia would have gone out of his hands. No one was better suited for the governorship of Iraq to put down the rebellions than Hajjaj. He came to Iraq and fulfilled his obligations excellently. The selection of Muhallab for disciplining the Khawârij was also right. Then after years of struggle and crowned with success he handed over to Hajjaj's control Kufa and Basra, which

included Khorasan and Sajistan but excluding the rest of Iraq. He made Hajjaj the leader of all the Islamic countries of the east. Hajjaj then made Muhallab bin Abi Sofra and Obaidullah bin Abu Bakra the Amirs of Khorasan and Sajistan respectively. Muhallab, up to this point a famous general, was honored by being made the Amir of Khorasan.

Muhallab lived in Basra until 80 A.H. and sent his son Habib, as the Amir of Khorasan on his own behalf. He went to Khorasan and in accordance with his father's instructions did not disturb Umayya bin Abdullah and his staff nor did he reduce their honor. Hajjaj married Muhallab's daughter Hind bint Muhallab and in this way, he came to be related to Hajjaj.

In 80 A.H., Muhallab himself went to Khorasan and took over the reign of the country and taking five thousand men advanced towards Mawaraunnahr (between the Amu [Oxus] and Syr rivers in modern Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan) and surrounded Kush city. At that time, the relative of the king of Khutan came to him and asked for help. Muhallab sent his son Yazid to accompany him. Yazid killed the king of Khutan and gave the territory to his relative and received a written agreement, in keeping with his father's instructions, he returned.

It was during that same period Muhallab gave four thousand men to his son, Habib, to invade Bukhara. The governor of Bukhara fought against these four thousand men, the result was a victory for Habib and defeat for the people of Bukhara. Habib returned to Muhallab with a large amount of spoils of war. The siege of Kush continued for two years. At last, the besieged decided it was better to pay the 'jizya' (a tax on non Muslims under Islamic rule which exonerates them from military service) and Muhallab, following the reconciliation, returned from there.

The Betrayal of the People of Kush city and Huraith bin Qatna

When Muhallab came to Merv, the capital of Khorasan and then moved to the city of Kush, he left Mughira his son as Amir in his absence. While the siege of Kush was continuing, the news of Mughira's death reached Muhallab. Muhallab deputed his son, Yazid as the Administrator of Merv and sent him there with thirty men.

When he reached a pass near Bast, he confronted a raiding party of five hundred Turks. The Turks demanded all their possessions. Yazid refused. At last, one of his associates made them agree to take a little money. They took it and went away but immediately returned and told Yazid and his troops that they would not be spared without surrendering all their belongings.

Yazid with his thirty men fought with them and killed their leader and forced them to run away. Upon his arrival in Merv, he began to rule in place of his brother. A short time after that incident, Muhallab made peace with the people of Kush and returned. It was agreed that the inhabitants of Kush would hand over their king's sons to the Muslims and they would remain in their custody until the inhabitants of Kush paid the agreed amount to the Muslims. Muhallab had left Huraith bin Qatna there to collect the amount and return the boys. When Muhallab left Kush and arrived at Balkh, he sent word to Yazid and Huraith bin Qatna: "Don't return the boys after collecting the payment until you enter Balkh."

Muhallab's intention was to warn of the danger, which Huraith had to face. Huraith at once showed the letter to the people of Kush and said to them, "If you pay me the amount of 'jizya' at once, I shall hand over your boys to you now and tell Amir Muhallab that I had given back the boys to the people of Kush after collecting the amount, before this letter reached me." The people of Kush paid the money and took back the boys.

Upon his return from Kush, the marauding Turks treated Huraith in the same way they had treated Yazid. There was a fight and many of Huraith's men were killed and many were captured and they were released only after paying a ransom. When Harith reached Muhallab, the latter had him lashed twenty times for violating his orders. After the punishment, he swore that he would kill Muhallab. When Muhallab came to know of it, he sent for Huraith's brother Thabit bin Qatna and made him understand the situation in a calm way. He called Harith to him and Huraith repeated his impertinent oath. Muhallab ignored it and dismissed him. Huraith and Thabit feared for their positions and taking their three hundred men with them, fled

from him and went to Musa bin Abdullah bin Hazim at Termiz. Musa bin Abdullah, as mentioned earlier had founded an independent state and was at war with the governor of Khorasan. This took place in 82 A.H.

Muhallab's Death and His Will

Muhallab was shocked at his son Mughira's death. He did not live long after he arrived back in Merv. In the later months of 82 A.H., he died of a disease in Merv. His valor, good nature and loyalty were well known. His character was never involved in a breach of trust, disloyalty or rebellion. He thought it essential to obey and comply with the orders of the Amir of the time. At the time of his death he made his son Yazid the Governor of Khorasan and the other son the Imam (leader) of the Salat (prayer). He called all his sons to him and exhorted them saying:

"I want you to fear Allâh and treat your relatives kindly, for these acts prolong life, increase wealth and offspring. I warn you against giving up the fear of Allâh and kind treatment for their renunciation leads to Hell, causes disgrace and decreases offspring. It is compulsory for you to obey the Amir and agree with the Muslims. It is fitting that your actions be better than your words. Avoid answering impulsively and safeguard your tongue from a slip, for a man can controls the slip of the feet but the slip of the tongue ruins him. Give the people their dues because this just and equitable action is better than sitting and gossiping in the morning and in the evening and talking uselessly. Don't be deceived by flatterers, prefer generosity to miserliness, revive goodness and try to do good, be active and alert in war and for this valor is necessary. When there is a confrontation, destiny or death falls from heaven. If the man is prepared to act and acts cleverly, he achieves success. If he gets nervous, he fails but Allâh's Order dominates all. Make the recitation and learning of the Qur'ân, the application of the 'Sunnah', and respect for the pious compulsory for yourself. Avoid talking unnecessarily at meetings."

Hajjaj bin Yusuf and Abdur Rahman bin Mohammad

It has been mentioned above that in 78 A.H., Hajjaj had deputed Muhallab and Obaidullah bin Abi Bakra as governors of Khorasan, and Sajistan and Sindh respectively. Sindh and Sajistan had continuously been under attack by the Hindus from the east and by the Turks and the Mongols from the north. Hence, Hajjaj gave Hamyan bin Adi an active, agile and well-armed division of an army and stationed them at Kerman (city, provincial capital, and province in southeastern Iran) with the instructions to help the Governors of Sajistan and Sindh when needed. Obaidullah bin Abi Bakra arrived in his province and became busy with its affairs. Hamyan bin Adi, seeing a big army under his command at Kerman, rebelled and instead of helping Obaidullah, started attacking his province. When informed, Hajjaj sent Abdur Rahman bin Mohammad bin Ash'ath to discipline Hamyan bin Adi. Abdur Rahman defeated and drove him away and after staying for a few days at Kerman returned. It has been mentioned above that the king of Turkistan named Ratbeel had made peace with the Muslims by promising them to pay taxes. When Obaidullah came, he continued to pay him the taxes but then prepared to rebel against him. Ratbeel controlled Badakhshan, Kafiristan and Afghanistan up to Tibet. Obaidullah invaded his territory. He fled and lured Obaidullah into following him and took him to a place where the journey was very arduous. Finally, the Muslims were surrounded inside the passes of a very mountainous area. Many were killed. Shuraih bin Hani was also killed there. Those who returned, were in a very miserable condition. When Hajjaj was informed of the destruction of the army, he reported to Abdul Malik and sought his permission to invade Ratbeel's territory. Abdul Malik granted the permission and Hajjaj took twenty thousand men from Kufa and twenty thousand infantry from Basra and made Abdur Rahman bin Mohammad bin Ash'ath the commander of these veteran armies. Meanwhile news arrived of the death of Obaidullah bin Abi Bakra in Sajistan.

Hajjaj granted Abdur Rahman credentials and a certificate of Governorship of Sajistan and sent him to invade Ratbeel's territory.

When Abdur Rahman arrived there with the Islamic forces and Ratbeel was informed of it, Ratbeel was extremely nervous but could do nothing about it. Abdur Rahman began to conquer his country and took care to depute guards near passes and valleys as he moved forward. In short, he conquered half of his country and postponed a further advance until the following year. He informed Hajjaj of the victory by letter and also told him that the rest of the country remained to be conquered which would be done the following year so that he could consolidate his position and manage the affairs of the conquered territory efficiently and the army could also be refreshed.

Hajjaj was very angry when he read the letter. He at once ordered him to continue his advance, slay Ratbeel's soldiers in captivity and pull down their forts. He had written a second and third letter of the same content before the-first one reached him. In the third letter he said: "If you obey my order, good; if you disobey, deem yourself dismissed and your brother Ishaq bin Mohammad bin Ash'ath will be the commander of the army." Those three orders reached Abdur Rahman one after another. Abdur Rahman read them and called the army together and made the following speech:

"I had decided our present strategy after consulting you that we would manage the conquered territories of the Turks and after fortifying ourselves and completing the required preparations, we would conquer the rest of the territory the following year. However, Hajjaj writes to us to fight with them without making any further delay. He does not care for your fatigue and the necessity of your recuperation. This is the same country where our brothers were destroyed. I am also your brother and a man like you. If you are ready, fight and move forward. I am also with you.

Hearing the speech, all the Kufans and Basraites flew into a rage and said in one voice, "We won't obey Hajjaj." Ail bin Wasla said, "Hajjaj is Allâh's enemy. Dismiss him and take the oath with Abdur Rahman bin Ash'ath bin Rabia." All unanimously cried out, "Yes, yes. We all agree to it." Abdur Rahman stood up and asked them, "Let us go and turn Allâh's enemy Hajjaj out of our city." Hearing it, all rushed to take the oath at his hands and all took a pledge that they would not rest until Hajjaj was expelled from Iraq. At that same time, Abdur

Rahman sent word to Ratbeel and an agreement for peace was at once signed on the condition that if they succeeded in the expulsion of Hajjaj, all taxes on Ratbeel's territory would be excused. If Hajjaj won, Ratbeel would prevent Hajjaj's soldiers from entering his country and fight against him.

The army therefore left the conquered territory and returned to Iraq. When Hajjaj was informed about it, he wrote to Abdul Malik about the gravity of the situation and requested him to send an army to help him. Abdul Malik did accordingly. When Muhallab came to know the details, he wrote to Hajjaj in support: "Let the Iraqis return home but for the time don't do anything with them in the least."

Hajjaj did not appreciate his advice he actually came to harbor an ill feeling against the Iraqis in his heart. He misunderstood Muhallab and Hajjaj felt that Muhallab being the governor of Khorasan, might also have been their adviser and was sympathetic to them. When Abdul Malik's army arrived, Hajjaj took it and moved beyond Basra, and arrived at Tustar (in Khuzestan, an Iranian province at the top of the Arabian Gulf) and sent ahead a division. Abdur Rahman had also come nearer. His soldiers defeated and routed Hajjaj's soldiers and put a good number of them to death.

Thus compelled Hajjaj returned to Basra and turned to a place named Zawia. Abdur Rahman entered Basra directly. The Basraites took the oath at his hands. Hajjaj recalled Muhallab's advice and then realized that what he had written was quite right. The Basraites were sick of Hajjaj's strictness and all were bent on annulling Abdul Malik's caliphate and fighting with Hajjaj.

This occurred at the end of Dhul Hijja 81 A.H. Then a series of battles between Hajjaj and Abdur Rahman started in the beginning of Ramadan 82 A.H. First Hajjaj won, then Abdur Rahman won. However, a battle that took place on 29 Muharram 82 A.H. saw Abdur Rahman badly defeated. He took his defeated men and went to Kufa and occupied Kufa's Darul Emarah (the Amir's headquarter). Following Abdur Rahman bin Mohammad's defeat, the Basraites took the oath at the hands of Abdur Rahman bin Abbâs bin Rabia bin Harith bin Abdul Mutallib and continued the chain of battles and

confrontations with Hajjaj. Abdur Rahman bin Abbâs faced Hajjaj ferociously. His preoccupation with these battles and confrontations gave a respite to Abdur Rahman bin Mohammad and enabled him to occupy Kufa. At last, Abdur Rahman bin Abbâs, along with a good number of the Basraites, advanced towards Kufa and joined Abdur Rahman bin Mohammad. Hajjaj entered Basra and appointed Hakeem bin Ayyub Thaqfi to the post of Governor of Basra, and proceeded towards Kufa and encamped at Dairqarah. From the other side Abdur Rahman bin Mohammad came out and made fortifications at Dairjam. Moats, fortifications and walls were made by both sides and the battle began. It continued for a long time. Everyday men from both sides came onto the battlefield and pushed back the other side but they did not wage a decisive battle. At last, Abdul Malik sent his son Abdullah and his brother, Muhammad bin Marwan along with a large army to Kufa and conveyed through them a message to the Iraqis:

"We dismiss Hajjaj. We will fix the salaries of the Iraqis at par with those of the Syrians and Abdur Rahman bin Mohammad will be given the Governorship of the province he likes."

The message hurt Hajjaj very much. He stopped Abdullah and Mohammad from conveying the message and wrote a letter to Abdul Malik saying, "Your policy will never make the Iraqis your subjects and they will grow more headstrong." But Abdul Malik disapproved of Hajjaj's views and Abdullah and Mohammad communicated his message to the Iraqis.

To the Iraqis it spelt a great victory and Abdur Rahman bin Mohammad was ready to recognize it. But the army did not agree to it and raised its voice against it and renewed its oath for annulling Abdul Malik's oath. Grasping the situation, both Abdullah and Mohammad left the army with Hajjaj and returned to Abdul Malik. Again, the battle between the parties raged with renewed vigor, fresh preparations and strategies it continued in this manner for a year. Daily they came out fought and returned to their bases in the evening. In those battles, Abdur Rahman had an edge over his rival Hajjaj who suffered heavy losses. But Hajjaj continued to receive regular reinforcements from Syria. At last, on Jumad al-Thani 83 A.H. there was a decisive battle. It went in favor of Hajjaj due to a certain set of

accidental occurrences and he at once entered Kufa and occupied it. Abdur Rahman bin Mohammad returned to Basra and expelled Hajjaj's governor from there, and captured Basra. Hajjaj started taking the oath from the Kufans and who ever hesitated, was instantly killed.

Abdur Rahman bin Mohammad collected a large army at Basra and intended to attack Hajjaj. Hearing this news, Hajjaj took a large Syrian army and moved towards Basra. The battle began on 1, Shaban 83 A.H. It continued fiercely until 15 Shaban. Hajjaj suffered defeat several times but he remained steady. Abdul Malik bin Muhallab was also present in his army. When Abdul Malik bin Muhallab attacked Abdur Rahman with his men, Abdur Rahman and his men reversed their position and ransacked Hajjaj's camp and forced him to runaway from the battlefield and they returned victorious to their base however they were stunned and terrified by a sudden attack by Abdul Malik bin Muhallab. They had to retreat. Many of them died, falling into the moat and many were killed and many escaped.

Hajjaj who had suffered a defeat returned and occupied Abdur Rahman bin Mohammad's camp. After being defeated, Abdur Rahman went to Ratbeel the king of Turkistan, by passing through Sos, Sabur, Kerman, Ziranj and Bist. Abdur Rahman bin Mohammad's men assembled at Sajistan and made Abdur Rahman bin Abbâs bin Rabia bin Abdul Mutallib the Imam of their Salats. They called all their colleagues from all directions and sent word to Abdur Rahman bin Mohammad to return and occupy Khorasan. He replied that Khorasan was ruled over by Yazid bin Muhallab and it would not be easy to snatch it from him. But they insisted and Abdur Rahman yielded to their pressure and he returned from Ratbeel. They numbered twenty thousand. He took them to Herat and captured it. Yazid bin Muhallab came with his army. When they came to face each other, Abdur Rahman bin Mohammad's men began leaving before the beginning of the battle. Under compulsion, he fought supported by only a few men. Many were killed and captured. Abdur Rahman fled to the Sindh. Yazid stopped his army from pursuing him and Abdur Rahman arrived in Sindh.

Yazid took the captives of Herat to Merv and from there, he sent them to Hajjaj. Muhammad bin Sad bin Abi Waqaas was also among them and he was executed by the order of Hajjaj. Abdur Rahman bin

Ash'ath left Sindh and went to Ratbeel. There he contracted tuberculosis. Hajjaj wrote to Ratbeel to cut off his head and send it to him assuring him that he would exempt him from paying taxes for ten years in lieu thereof. Ratbeel complied, killed Abdur Rahman bin Muhammad and sent his head to Hajjaj. This took place in 84 A.H.

The Population of the City of Wasit

You have read above that Hajjaj had to ask for help from Abdul Malik repeatedly in order to face Abdur Rahman bin Muhammad. When Abdur Rahman came to Sajistan dethroned, Hajjaj had a big Syrian army under his command. He had no respite from the Kufans and Basraites because they had fought against him along with Abdur Rahman bin Mohammad. Therefore keeping the Syrian army with him for an extended period was very essential. First, Hajjaj issued instructions to the Kufans to keep the Syrians with them in their homes. But after a few days, the Syrians started misbehaving with the Kufan's women folk. When Hajjaj was informed of it, he thought it proper to establish a separate military headquarters for the Syrian army. He therefore constituted a body of veteran soldiers to select a suitable site for it. They saw an ascetic who was purifying a place. When he was asked to explain the reason, he replied that they had read in their scripture that they would build a house of Allâh on that site. They came back to Hajjaj and narrated the incident. Hajjaj built a mosque there and established a military headquarter around it. That was the beginning of the city of Wasit. It occurred in 83 A.H.

Yazid bin Muhallab Dismissed

After freeing himself from the problems of Abdur Rahman bin Mohammad, Hajjaj continued to deal harshly with the Iraqis. He began to pick out their leaders and murder them. No household of any significance in Iraq, Kufa and Basra was left where a member was not killed by Hajjaj's order and they had to suffer humiliation from him. Only Muhallab's household was spared due to its loyalty to Hajjaj. Yazid bin Muhallab was the Governor of Khorasan and obedient to Abdul Malik and Hajjaj. Hajjaj called Yazid to Kufa several times but every time he was in the midst of some engagement in Khorasan and made some excuse and failed to visit Kufa. Hajjaj, who was suspicious

by nature misunderstood Yazid and made up his mind to take away from him of the Governorship of Khorasan. He began to write letters to Abdul Malik containing complaints against Yazid. Each time Abdul Malik wrote back to Hajjaj that Muhallab and his sons were loyal supporters and they deserved all possible concessions. However, Hajjaj continued his moves against them. At last getting sick of constant complaints, Abdul Malik wrote to him, "Since you insist on your proposal, I permit you to choose anyone you like for the Governorship of Khorasan. In order to prevent the problem of Khorasan getting complicated and saving Khorasan from being captured by another Governor, Hajjaj first of all sent word to Yazid that after handing over Khorasan to his brother Mofaddal bin Muhallab he should come to him. Yazid was packing for the journey when he received Hajjaj's order as well as the letter of Governorship in the name of Mofaddal. Yazid said to his brother "Don't be deceived by this letter of Governorship of Khorasan although he has appointed you to this post after a short time he will dismiss you too." Saying this, he left for Merv in Rabia al-Thani 85 A.H. Yazid proved right. Hajjaj dismissed Mofaddal bin Muhallab after nine months and deputed Qutaiba bin Muslim instead.

Musa bin Hazim

It has already been mentioned that Musa bin Abdullah bin Hazim had founded an independent state at Termiz and that Huraith and Thabit, Qatna Khazai's sons, fled from Muhallab and went to Musa bin Abdullah at Termiz. When Muhallab became the Governor of Khorasan, he did not disturb Musa and exhorted his sons, "Always leave Musa alone and forgive him for if there is no Musa, somebody else from among Banu Qais will be the Governor of Khorasan" When Abdur Rahman bin Mohammad was defeated by Yazid bin Muhallab at Herat, Abdur Rahman bin Mohammad and Abdur Rahman bin Abbâs' men who fled from the conflict with Yazid, went directly to Musa bin Abdullah at Termiz. When Ratbeel chopped off Abdur Rahman bin Mohammad's head and sent it to Hajjaj, Abdur Rahman's men fled from Ratbeel and went to Musa bin Abdullah and took refuge at Termiz. In this way, Musa bin Abdullah came to have eight thousand Arabs under his command. Both brothers, Huraith and Thabit, served as commanders and Musa bin Abdullah was an independent king. Huraith

and Thabit said to Musa, "The people of Bukhara and all the Turkish chiefs are displeased with Yazid bin Muhallab. If we let them be with us, we can expel Yazid bin Muhallab and occupy Khorasan ourselves. Musa said, "If we expel Yazid from Khorasan, some other governor of Abdul Malik' will occupy it and we will not be able to save Khorasan. It is better to expel Abdul Malik's governors from Turkistan. We then would be able to maintain our hold on that territory because Abdul Malik's troops will not have an approach, and the Turks and the Mongols who are present near the borders will help us." Following this decision, all the Governors of Abdul Malik were expelled from the area and Musa bin Abdullah's government became strong and stable.

After a short time the Turks, the Mongols and the Tibetans invaded Musa's country jointly. The leader of the Turks along with ten thousand soldiers were stationed on a mound, Huraith bin Qatna attacked them. The attack was so fierce that the Turks had to take shelter behind the mound. It was during that confusion and uproar that an arrow hit Huraith on the forehead. The wound proved fatal and he died after two days. Because evening had set in, the fight was postponed. The next day Musa attacked and vanquished the Turks and returned with a good deal of spoils of war to their fort at Termiz. After the death of Huraith, his brother Thabit bin Qatna, taking a wrong idea about Musa's intentions parted with him. He left Termiz and halted at Hoshra and began to rally the Arabs and non-Arabs round him. When Musa left with an army to fight with him, the people of Bukhara, Kush and Nasf stood up in support of Thabit. Musa had to return to Termiz helpless. After a few days, all the Turks assembled and taking Thabit bin Qatna with them laid siege to Termiz with a staggering eight thousand soldiers. Musa defended with great courage. Thabit was killed and the Turks became disorganized and left raising the siege,.

Only a short time had passed following this confusion when Yazid bin Muhallab after having been dismissed from the governorship of Khorasan, left for Kufa and in his place his brother Mofaddal bin Muhallab was chosen as the governor of Khorasan. Immediately after taking control he gave an army to Uthman bin Masood and sent him from Merv to invade Musa bin Abdullah bin Hazim and wrote to his own brother Mud'rik bin Muhallab who lived in Balkh to set out with his army to launch an attack on Termiz. Moreover, he

wrote to Ratbeel and Tarkhoon, the Turkish kings, to arrive there with their troops to help Uthman bin Masood. Those Turkish chiefs who had already grown jealous of Musa and had suffered defeat at his hands repeatedly, immediately left with their armies for Termiz. His enemies converged on his territory from four different directions compelling him to remain besieged in the fort. The siege laid by those massive armies continued for two months and there was no end in sight. At last, Musa bin Abdullah said to his men, "We can not exercise self restraint any more. It is more fitting that we attack the enemies all of a sudden." All agreed to the proposal. Musa deputed his nephew Nadar bin Sulaiman in the city and the fort and exhorted him, "If I am killed, don't surrender the city and the fort to Uthman bin Masood rather surrender them to Mudrik bin Muhallab."

Musa deputed one-third of his men to face Uthman with the instructions not to begin the attack first and taking two-thirds of the men attacked the flank led by Tarkhoon and Ratbeel. Unable to face Musa they retreated. Musa chased them for a great distance. When he returned, the people of Saghad and other Turks blocked his way to the fort. Renewed fighting began. He was surrounded on all sides. Uthman bin Masood also turned his attention to him. First Musa's horse was killed and then he also followed it fighting bravely.

After having ruled over Termiz independently for fifteen years, Musa who came from the tribe of Qais left this world. Mofaddal wrote the letter of the good tidings to Hajjaj, but the latter was not happy. Nadar bin Sulaiman surrendered Termiz to Mudrik and Mudrik gave it to Uthman.

The Beginning of the Islamic Coins

Among the many firsts attributed to Abdul Malik bin Marwan, it was during his regime that the Muslims for the first time cast and introduced their own coins. Until then, Roman coins were in currency in Syria, Arabia and Egypt. In Iraq, the Iranian coins were in use. In Arabia, there was neither a strong government nor were there Arabic coins. Roman coins had been in circulation in all those countries since ancient times. When the Islamic Sultanate was established and it extended from Balkh and Jaihoon to the Atlantic Ocean, still no one thought of introducing Islamic coins.

By chance Abdul Malik bin Marwan happened to write a few letters to the Emperor of Rome. In accordance with the Islamic way, he wrote "There is no true god but Allah and Muhammad is his Messenger" and prayers for the Prophet (ﷺ) on the top of these letters. The Emperor wrote back to him saying, "Don't mention your Allâh and the Prophet (ﷺ) on the top of your letters. We don't like it. If you don't give it up, we will cast in our mint coins, which will be bearing your Prophet's name in an insulting manner and then send them into circulation and that will hurt you more."

Abdul Malik was very concerned and disconcerted while going through that letter. He sought counsel from Khalid bin Yazid bin Muawiya. He said to him, "Stop the circulation of the Roman coins in your country, mint your own coins and put them into circulation." Abdul Malik liked the idea. He set up a mint and had 14-carat dirhams minted which weighed 5 'mashas' – each. Then Hajjaj had قل هو الله أحد (Say He is Allah, One) minted on one side of the dirham and dinar. Abdul Malik proclaimed that from that time forth only Arabic coins would be accepted in payment of taxes. By this method, the Arabic dinar and dirham became circulated in all the countries.

Some points regarding important events remain to be mentioned. For example, Abdul Malik bin Marwan went on the Hajj pilgrimage for the first time in 75 A.H. after becoming caliph. In 77 A.H., the fort of Harqla was conqured. That same year Abdul Malik's brother Abdul Aziz bin Marwan the Governor of Egypt, pulled down the Jama Masjid (the Grand or Main Mosque) and reconstructed it and expanded it from all sides. In 81 A.H., he won Qaliqala from the Romans. In 82 A.H., the Fort of Senan was brought under possession. Mofaddal bin Muhallab, the Governor of Khorasan, after becoming free from the trouble in Khorasan by killing of Musa bin Abdullah, occupied Badghais. In 84 A.H. Abdullah bin Abdul Malik conqurred Masisa from the Romans. In 85 A.H. Abdul Aziz bin Abu Hatim bin Noman Bahli populated the city of Ardabil (town in northwestern Iran, 38 miles from the Caspian Sea). In Jamad al-Awwal 85 A.H., Abdul Malik's brother Abdul Aziz bin Marwan died in Egypt and Abdul Malik appointed his own son Abdullah, as the Governor of Egypt in his place.

Succession of Waleed and Sulaiman

Abdul Malik remained engrossed in the thought of how to dismiss his brother Abdul Aziz from being the heir apparent and install his own sons in his place. The task was not simple because there was always the risk of inviting opposition from the people at large. When he received the news of Abdul Aziz's death, Abdul Malik found an easy opportunity to see his wish fulfilled. In Ramadan 86 A.H. therefore, he issued commands to all his Governors and Administrators of the Provinces to take the oath for Waleed and Sulaiman on the night of Eid ul Fitr (the holiday following the fasting of Ramadan), that being the first day of Shawwal. The oath was taken on the fixed day in all the territories for the succession of both Waleed and Sulaiman.

The administrator of Madinah was Hisham bin Ismail Makhzumi. When he asked the inhabitants of Madinah to take the oath, all obeyed but Sayeed bin Musayyib refused. Hisham had him caught and lashed, and after he took him in publicity, threw him into prison. When Abdul Malik found out about it, he wrote Hisham a letter saying: "You have committed a mistake in dealing harshly with Sayeed bin Musayyib, because the latter harbors neither animosity nor opposition nor hypocrisy. Such a person should not have been hurt."

The Death of Abdul Malik bin Marwan

After taking the oath for Waleed and Sulaiman, Abdul Malik did not live more than a month. He died of a disease on Thursday the 15th of Shawwal 85 A.H. corresponding to 19 October 705 A.C. Abdul Malik lived for 13 years 3 months and 23 days following Abdullah bin Zubair's martyrdom and that was the period of his caliphate. At the time of his death, he called his sons and exhorted them saying: "I want you to keep fearing Allâh for it is the fear of Allâh that is the best adornment and the best refuge. Your elders ought to have affection for the youth and the youth should respect the elders. Always honor the opinion and counsel of the Muslims and avoid opposition because these are the jaws with which you chew and these are the teeth with which you bite. Accommodate the wise for they deserve it."

Then he mentioned things, which have been recorded before in the introductory chapter on Abdul Malik. After that, he breathed his last. Then the people took the oath at Waleed bin Abdul Malik's hands. Abdul Malik had 15 or 16 sons and several daughters. Among his wives were the daughters of Yazid bin Muawiya, the daughter of Ali (رضي الله عنه) and the daughter of Abdullah bin Jafar (رضي الله عنه). Waleed and Sulaiman were born of Walada bint Abbâs.

Summary

Abdul Malik bin Marwan was one of the most famous and fortunate caliphs of the Banu Umayyah. He succeeded in the amalgaMotion of the entire Islamic world with a strong center. He removed the dissention that was created following Uthman's martyrdom and re-established the Islamic government. He adopted stern and violent measures to do this work and in the way of an excuse, he used to say: "If Abu Bakr Siddiq (رضي الله عنه) and Umar bin Khatab (رضي الله عنه) had to face such ignorant and headstrong people, they would have done what I have done." Abdul Malik made the government of Banu Umayyah firmly rooted, which had become quite uncertain and weak.

Abdul Malik combined in his nature strictness, wisdom and truthfulness. We have to appreciate his courage and determination. The major blunder he committed was that he gave Hajjaj more power and authority than he deserved and Hajjaj employed his tyrannical measures to the full. But such an error is possible to be committed by a ruler who wants his government to be firmly established and stabilized.

It was Obaidullah bin Zeyad, Hajjaj bin Yusuf Thaqfi and Muhallab bin Abi Sofra who were responsible for the series of successes of Abdul Malik. During his regime, the Muslims conquered many countries and their bickering and internal conflicts vanished one by one. On the basis of his achievements during his 13 year long caliphate, he is regarded as one of the most popular and successful caliphs. He was also a grand and powerful caliph. He ranks high in respect of knowledge and virtue. From the viewpoint of valor and military skill, he is counted as one of the brave and well-known generals. At the juncture of his death, we have come out of a tempestuous age and entered one that may be characterized as peaceful and serene.

Chapter 2

Caliphate of Banu Umayyah

(Second Phase)

Waleed bin Abdul Malik

Abul Abbas Waleed bin Abdul Malik bin Marwan was born in 50 A.H. and at the age of 36, following his father's death, he sat on the throne as caliph. Since he was brought up in a pampered way, he was deficient in studies and lacked knowledge and virtue. After the funeral of his father he went to Central Mosque and delivered a sermon saying:

"O people! No one can push the man into the rear that Allâh pushes to the forefront and no one can push the man to the forefront that Allâh pushes into the rear. Death was in the ancient knowledge of Allâh which He has made inevitable for all the prophets and the righteous, Allâh has made the responsible of this "Ummah" (community) a man who makes up his mind to discipline the criminals treat the men of virtue and righteousness mildly and maintain the limits of the Shariah (system of Islamic law). He has a mind to perform Hajj, declare Jihad (literally: struggle; In Islam it means fighting or struggling in the way of Allâh) on the borders and to keep attacking the enemies of the religion. He wants neither to be lazy nor to exceed the limits in this

matter. O people obey the caliph and maintain unity among the Muslims. The man who disobeys will see his head broken and he who keeps silent will die of his own disease".

The people then took *'bai'yat'*, (the oath of allegiance) for the caliphate at his hands. After he became the caliph, he maintained the status quo by retaining Hajjaj in a place of authority. Hajjaj appointed Qutaiba bin Muslim Bahli, the Administrator of Rayy, as the Governor of Khorasan in place of Mufaddal bin Muhallab. Qutaiba bin Muslim conquered the territories up to China and Turkistan. In the west Musa bin Nusayr, the Governor of Africa, extended the Islamic conquest through Morocco into Spain. Waleed's brother Maslama bin Abdul Malik won many cities and forts from the Romans.

Mohammed bin Qasim bin Thaqfi who was Hajjaj's nephew and son-in-law conquered the Sindh and India. Waleed appointed his cousin Umar bin Abdul Aziz the Governor of Madinah Munawwara. He had the Mosque of the Prophet ﷺ reconstructed under Umar bin Abdul Aziz's supervision. He incorporated the Prophet's wives' rooms into the mosque and expanded it. The Roman Emperor also sent precious stones and experienced masons as gifts to Waleed. Waleed did a significant amount of welfare work. He built new roads, opened new schools in villages and towns, constructed inns, dug wells, started hospitals and made arrangements for peace and security of the travelers. Madinah lacked a canal so he had one dug and thus removed the suffering of Madinah. He started homes for the destitute. He cared very much for redressing the public grievances and providing them relief of all kinds. During his regime the chain of conquests continued. No internal feud or rebellion worth mentioning broke out. The series of victories reminded the people of the days of Umar bin Khatab (رضي الله عنه). Waleed fixed the allowance for the poor Fuqaha (plural of *faqih:* man learned in knowledge of the science of applying the system of Islamic law known as *fiqh*, and by virtue of his knowledge can give a legal judgment, *fatwa*) and Ulama (plural of Alim, a scholar, particularly in the sciences of Islam) so high that they became well off and happy. He introduced useful rules and regulations for the welfare of the people. Waleed dismissed Hisham bin Ismail Makhzumi and appointed Umar bin Abdul Aziz the

Governor of Madinah. Immediately after taking office, Umar bin Abdul Aziz selected ten scholars from among the *fuqaha* of Madinah. He began to execute the duties of governor in accordance with the counsel and advice of the consultative body he formed known as the *Majlis as-Shoora* consisting of the ten selected scholars. By allowing the members of the *Majlis as-Shoora* to share in the government he set such an excellent example for the other government officials that the people of Madinah wrote letters of thanks and blessing to Waleed for appointing Umar bin Abdul Aziz as Governor.

It was after Waleed bin Abdul Malik's succession to the throne that Hajjaj accused Yazid bin Muhallab and his brothers of embezzling. In 87 A.H., Maslama bin Abdul Malik attacked the Roman lands via Masisa and captured the forts of Laulaq, Akhram, Bules and Qamiqam. In 88 A.H., Jarsumah and Tawanah were conquered. In 89 A.H., Maslama bin Abdul Malik and Abbas bin Waleed invaded Roman territory. A massive Roman army faced them but the Muslims defeated it on all fronts and forced them to retreat. The Muslims conquered the forts of Soriya, Ardoliya, Omuriya, Harqula, and Qamruliya. That same year Maslama bin Abdul Malik invaded the Turks near Azerbaijan and conquered many forts and cities. In the same year the islands of Mayorca and Minorca in the Mediterranean Sea off the coast of Spain were also taken into possession. In 90 A.H., Abbas bin Waleed captured five strong forts in the territories of Soriya.

In 91 A.H., Waleed dismissed, his uncle Mohammed bin Marwan from the governorship of Jazirah (Island: The region lies between the Euphrates and Tigris rivers and is bounded on the south by a line running between Takrit and Anbar. It is the northern reaches of Mesopotamia, now making up part of northern Iraq and extending into eastern Turkey and extreme northeastern Syria) and Armenia and deputed his own brother Maslama bin Abdul Malik instead. The Muslims declared a *Jihad* on the Turks through Azerbaijan and continued to conquer territory up to Babol (northern Caspian Sea). That year the forts of Nasf, Kush and Shoman were conquered by the Muslims.

In 92 A.H., Maslama bin Abdul Malik conquered three forts and banished the inhabitants of Sarsina to Roman territory. That same year

Debal was conquered in Sindh. The same year also saw the conquest of Karkh, Barham, Baja, Baiza, Khawarzim and Sabad.

In 93 A.H., Maslama bin Abdul Malik and Waleed's sons, Abbas and Marwan, invaded the Roman territory and captured the forts of Sabitala, Hanjara, Masha, Hisnul Hadeed, Ghazala, and Maltia.

In 94 A.H., Abbas bin Waleed and Abdul Aziz bin Waleed conquered Antakia and Ghazala respectively, that same year Waleed bin Hisham Moiti Murooj al-Hamam and Yazid bin Abi Kabsha continued conquering Soriya respectively. That very year Kabul, Farghana Shash, and Sindh were conquered.

In 95 A.H., when the inhabitants of Heraqla found the Islamic forces busy on other fronts they rebelled, Abbas bin Waleed conquered it again. That same year, Mauqan Madinatul Bab were conquered.

In 96 A.H., Tus (ancient city that is an offshoot of Meshed in Eastern Iran) and the adjoining territories were conquered. If all the battles and wars that were fought in Waleed bin Abdul Malik's times are recorded in detail several volumes of this concise book would not suffice to cover Waleed's regime alone. Therefore, keeping brevity in view, the feats of a few famous and victorious generals of Waleed's times are recorded as a reference so that the readers of this book may feel ease in taking stock of the condition of Waleed bin Abdul Malik's regime and that of the Islamic world. Maslama bin Abdul Malik is one of the victorious generals of Waleed's times whose conquests have found mention above. Now read the conditions and circumstances of some of the other generals.

Qutaiba bin Muslim Bahli

Hajjaj deputed Qutaiba bin Muslim Bahli as the governor of Khorasan in 86 A.H. Qutaiba arrived in Merv and appointed Ayas bin Abdullah bin Amr the officer of defense and chief of police. He entrusted the management of finance to Uthman bin Sad. Taking a large army, he set out towards Talaqan. There the Turkish King of Safad paid a visit to him and agreed to conform and pay the required taxes and at the end of the meeting the king induced him to launch an attack on Akhroon and Shoman which were part of the land of Tagharistan.

When Qutaiba reached Akhroon and Shoman, their kings agreed to obey and pay him the taxes and made peace with him. He sent his brothers Saleh to Farghana and he returned to Merv. Saleh conquered Kashana Darasht and Akhshakeet in the land of Farghana. In 87 A.H., Qutaiba invaded Bukhara. The Turks in the area put up a defense of the territory but in vain. The Islamic forces collected a large amount of spoils of war. In 88 A.H., the inhabitants of Safad and Farghana revolted and making the Chinese king's sister's son their leader had gathered a huge army of two hundred thousand and came to face Qutaiba. He fought and defeated them and returned to Merv. In 89 A.H., the chiefs of Bukhara Kush, Nasf and Safad jointly rebelled. They were also defeated unconditionally and compelled to surrender.

In 90 A.H. Durdan, the king of Bukhara and the king of Safad and the Turkish chiefs of the surrounding territories were prepared to rebel but Nizak Turkhan, the prince of Badghais remained loyal to the Muslims. Qutaiba, taking Turkhan with him, moved towards Bukhara, the Turks fought bravely. They at first vanquished the local vanguard but when the Islamic forces steadied and attacked, they captured the Turkish positions. The Turk's leader and his son were wounded and escaped and the Muslims scored a major victory. Tarkhoon, the king of Safad agreed to pay the Jizya annually and Qutaiba returned to Merv. (Jizya: A tax paid by non-Muslims living under an Islamic Government. Since the non-Muslims are exempt from military service and taxes imposed on Muslims, they must pay this tax to compensate. It guarantees them security and protection. If the State cannot protect those who paid jizya, then the amount they paid is returned to them.) As soon as he returned to Merv, Nizak arrived in Tukharistan (now part of northern Afghanistan) and revolted. Then Asbahand, the king of Balkh, Bazan the king of Mardarood, the Prince of Talqan, Fayarab, the Prince of Jurjan and the king of Kabul jointly hatched a conspiracy and expelled Qutaiba's Governor. Qutaiba sent his brother Abdur Rahman bin Muslim with an army of twelve thousand with the instructions to encamp at Yardqan. With the end of winter, Qutaiba sent some armies to Nishapur (modern: Neyshabur, 50 kilometers west of Meshed) and led a multi pronged attack against the rebels. As a result, they were punished in proportion to their crime and all of them agreed to remain loyal and

pay the Jizya. In this campaign, the fort of Samangan was captured and annexed to the Islamic territory. Nizak was caught and killed.

The king of Jurjan was pardoned and allowed to remain king in his own country. In brief, the Turkish chiefs rebelled repeatedly and they were defeated each time by Qutaiba until the idea of rebellion left their minds. In 92 A.H. Ratbeel, who has been mentioned in the previous pages, intended to revolt but when Qutaiba arrived in his territory with his army Ratbeel begged for forgiveness and paid the Jizya. In 93 A.H., Qutaiba won the land of Khwarizm, took a promise from its king to pay the legitimate taxes and then returned the country to him. When Qutaiba was capturing Khwarizm, the natives of Safad saw that the former was at a great distance from them expelled Qutaiba's governor and rebelled against him. Qutaiba sent the booty from Khwarizm to Madinah, and he himself with an army rushed towards Safad with terrific speed.

Having heard Qutaiba's arrival the inhabitants of Safad requested the Chinese emperor to help them and he sent his veteran generals and princes for their defense. The Turks prepared to defend the fort of Samarkand. Qutaiba came and began to the fight. Several bloody battles were fought. The son of the Chinese emperor was killed. The fort was brought under Muslim control by virtue of their strength and thousands of Turks were put to death. Heavy taxes were imposed on them and the leaders of the revolt who were arrested were sent to Hajjaj. Among the captives was a woman who was a descendent of Yazdegerd (who was the child ruler of Persia at the time of its fall to the Muslims). He sent the woman to Waleed bin Abdul Malik who married her. She gave birth to his son Yazid. After coming back to Merv, Qutaiba appointed Mughira bin Abdullah the Governor of Nishapur. In 94 A.H., the inhabitants of Shash seem to be ready to revolt, Qutaiba asked the rules of Bukhara Kush, Nasf and Khwarizm for help. All responded and an army of ten thousand soldiers was collected. Qutaiba encamped at Khajand and sent the army to Shash led by the leaders of the above-mentioned forces. Shash was conquered and Qutaiba returned to Merv while he was returning he was informed of Hajjaj's death. At that time, the Muslims occupied all the territories up to Kashgar and had established Islamic rule firmly over all of

Turkistan. He sent a delegation to the Chinese emperor under the leadership of Habira bin Mashmarj Kilabi with the message. "Accept Islamic rule or the horses of the Islamic warriors will run over China".

Mohammad bin Qasim

During the time when the Muslims marched victoriously out of Arabia, the Sindh was ruled over by a Buddhist king. When the Iranian empire was shattered to pieces at the hands of the Muslims, many Iranian chiefs fled to the Sindh, Turkistan and China and were engaged in preparing for war against the Muslims. Some others embraced Islam and began to lead happy lives in their countries. It was by sheer chance that when the Sectional and family rivalries between Banu Hashim and Banu Umayyah increased, the Iranians were also reminded of their own age-old national rivalry and they began to take part in the conspiracies hatched by Abdullah bin Saba and other hypocrites. These conspiracies and the civil wars among the Muslims breathed new life into the plans of those Iranians who were in exile in Sindh, Kabul, China, and Tibet and among those who were engaged in preparing to fight the Islamic forces. This is one of the reasons that the Muslims had to face hardships repeatedly in Kufa, Basra, Iran and Khorasan.

Because Sindh was nearer to Basra and Kufa and it touched the Iranian border, the refuge of choice for many of the subversive Iranians was the Sindh. The king of Sindh seeing the flood of Islamic victories was very unhappy and employed all possible strategies to help the Iranians re-establish their ancient kingdom. The last king of Iran collected several armies and fought with the Muslims a number of times after the battle of Nahavand (the decisive battle that marked the conquest of Iran). In all those battles, the army of Sindh always allied themselves with the king of Iran. When the Iranian emperor was killed, the king of Sindh annexed the bordering provinces of Iranian and the vanquished Iranians surrendered Kerman and Baluchistan to him willingly so that they might not be occupied by the Muslims and they might continue to enjoy the privilege of the support of the king of Sindh.

All these considerations made it imperative for the Muslims to launch

an attack on the king of Sindh and to force him to cut off aid to the Iranian subversives. However, before the Muslims could occupy Iran and Khorasan completely during the caliphate of Uthman bin Affan (رضي الله عنه), the internal feuds in the heartlands of the Islamic territories broke out and no attention was paid to the Sindh, or to any other critical military site. Amir Muawiya, (رضي الله عنه) after freeing himself from internal disruptions, turned his attention to the foreign lands and it was during his regime that the first efforts were made to regain the Iranian territory annexed by the king of Sindh. In that connection, a few skirmishes took place with his army but then the internecine wars re-started during Yazid's regime and consequently the Muslims did not fulfill their military priorities abroad.

During Abdul Malik's regime, the Muslims again did not have an opportunity to pay attention to foreign campaigns. Hajjaj who was the governor of the eastern countries considered it more strategic to contain Ratbeel the Governor of Afghanistan and Badakhshan than to attack the Sindh simply because Ratbeel was the greater danger to the Islamic province of Khorasan. Therefore, his attention remained centered on Ratbeel. Hajjaj's Governor Qutaiba achieved continued success in disciplining the rebels in the territories extending all the way to China. Sindh was the only country where the Muslims still had a security situation that was pending. However, before the Muslims could take an initiative on this important work, the king of Sindh himself challenged them virtually inviting an invasion of his country.

The following are the details of the king of Sindh's fateful error. It is said that a few Muslims traders died in Sri Lanka in the course of their business expedition. The Sri Lankan king decided to use the presence of the orphans and the widows of these traders on the island to attract the kindness and the attention of Hajjaj bin Yusuf and Caliph Waleed bin Abdul Malik to himself. The Sri Lankan king had heard the legendary news of Muslim victories. He was overawed by their successes and had been in search of an opportunity and a way to express and pay his respect to the new and dominant nation in the region. He therefore sent the orphans and the widows on his own ship with an escort of some of his most trusted men to Hajjaj. Many invaluable gifts to Hajjaj and the Caliph Waleed also were sent

accompanying them with the hope that the orphans and the widows would appreciate his good and kind gesture and applaud him before Hajjaj. The boats left Lanka and sailed towards the Arabian Gulf along the coast. They intended to land in the Gulf and travel to Kufa in order to return the families of the traders and present the gifts to Hajjaj. A storm over took them on the way and they were forced to take shelter in the port of Debal. There the soldiers of Dahir, the king of Sindh, looted the boats and made the passengers their captives. When Hajjaj was informed, he wrote to the king that those boats were on the way to him and so he should punish the looters suitably and send him the passengers along with all the goods that were confiscated. The King gave a very proud and impertinent reply. Hajjaj immediately sent Abdullah Aslami along with six thousand soldiers to Sindh. Abdullah was killed while fighting the king of Sindh and the expedition met with failure. Next, Hajjaj sent another commander named Budail. He also went there along with six thousand soldiers and he was martyred while fighting against the king.

Hajjaj was distressed to hear this news. He then sent Mohammad bin Qasim his nephew and son-in-law, a youth only 17 years old, along with six thousand Syrian troops. This time he chose Syrian troops to accompany Mohammed bin Qasim because Hajjaj suspected that the Iraqi and the Iranian soldiers were in league with the Sindhis. Mohammed bin Qasim first captured the province of Makran (coastal area that is part of modern Iran and Pakistan), which was under the occupation of the Sindhis. Then he came to Debal and conquered it and next moved towards Niroon and Brahminabad. Not only Iranian subversives but also many Arabs who had rebelled against the caliph had fled and taken refuge with King Dahir in Sindh. This was another reason why the invasion of the Sindh was inevitable. King Dahir fought against the Muslim forces but was killed. Then Mohammed bin Qasim started conquering the cities of Sindh one after another until all of Sindh and Multan came under his occupation.

During the conquest of Sindh, Hajjaj kept his attention concentrated on Mohammed bin Qasim. He sent for news and gave instructions daily. Mohammed bin Qasim proved himself to be an extremely benevolent and merciful victor who was concerned about the general

welfare of the people. The equality, humility and generosity that this young victor displayed are rarely found anywhere in the annals of world history. He had completed the conquest of Multan when he received the news of Hajjaj's death but he continued his series of conquests and by 96 A.H., he had brought all of Western India from Surat to Kashmir under his control.

Hajjaj bin Yusuf Thaqfi

Hajjaj has continually been mentioned throughout the previous pages. Immediately after Waleed bin Abdul Malik's succession to the throne, Hajjaj removed Yazid bin Muhallab and Habib bin Muhallab from the Governorship of Khorasan and Kerman respectively and put them into prison he also imprisoned their sons too. Yazid along with his brothers fled from the jail and went to Waleed bin Abdul Malik's brother Sulaiman bin Abdul Malik in Palestine where he was the administrator. Hajjaj wrote a letter to Waleed complaining against Yazid bin Muhallab but on the recommendation of Sulaiman, Waleed did not punish Yazid bin Muhallab or his brothers. Hajjaj's hard temperament had harassed the Iraqis to the extent that many of them, after getting tired of him, fled from Iraq and settled in Makkah and Madinah where Umar bin Abdul Aziz was the Governor. He treated them kindly. In. 93 A.H., Umar bin Abdul Aziz wrote a letter to Waleed complaining about Hajjaj and that he had put Iraq through a long period of persecution. He also complained that Hajjaj had also crossed the limits by perpetrating atrocities against the people of Iraq. When Hajjaj came to know of these complaints he sent a letter to Waleed making a counter complaint against Umar bin Abdul Aziz saying that most of the trouble makers and hypocrites wanted in Iraq go to Umar bin Abdul Aziz and he creates hurdles in their arrest. This will prove very harmful for running of our administration. It is only proper that you should remove him from the Governorship of the Hijaz." Waleed removed Umar bin Abdul Aziz from the Governorship of Hijaz and appointed Khalid bin Abdullah and Uthman bin Hebban as the governors of Makkah and Madinah. Immediately after assuming power, Khalid turned all the Iraqis out of Makkah and also threatened those who had rented out their houses to them. Sayeed bin Jubair was one of those who migrated to Makkah in order to escape from Hajjaj's atrocities. Sayeed

bin Jubair's only fault was that he had supported Abdul Rahman bin Ash'ath. It was not an ordinary fault in Hajjaj's eyes. Khalid arrested him and sent him to Hajjaj who killed him.

Sayeed bin Jubair was killed for no fault of his and his was not the only case of its kind but Hajjaj put many saintly and pious people to death mercilessly.

Sulaiman bin Abdul Malik was expecting to become caliph after Waleed bin Abdul Malik because Abdul Malik made Sulaiman his heir-apparent after Waleed and took the oath from the people for it. Waleed wanted to make his own son Abdul Aziz the heir-apparent and deprive his brother Sulaiman. He had spoken about it to his deputies separately. Hajjaj and Qutaiba appreciated the idea but the others warned him saying, "There is a great danger of this action causing *fitnah* (Arabic: evil disorder) among the Muslims." That same year in 95 A.H. in the month of Shawwal and after ruling in Iraq for twenty years Hajjaj died. At the time of his death, he appointed his son Abdullah bin Hajjaj the Governor of Iraq. Waleed bin Abdul Malik retained all the Governors that had been appointed by Hajjaj in their respective posts.

Musa bin Nusayr

Just as Hajjaj was the Governor of the eastern territories, similarly the Governor of the western territories during Waleed bin Abdul Malik's regime was Musa bin Nusayr whose headquarters was Qairwan. A few persons from Spain called on the strongest and most distinguished man of North Africa and complained to him against their King Roderick's atrocities and requested him to invade Spain and like Morocco annex it to his territory.

Musa thought over their request for a few days. Then he sent a slave of his with four boats and 400 soldiers on board to the Spanish coast to get a first hand understanding of the situation. At the same time, he requested permission from the caliph Waleed to invade Spain. The caliph granted it and the 400 soldiers returned safely.

In 92 A.H., Musa gave 7000 soldiers to his liberated slave, Tariq bin Zeyad to invade Spain. At that time, Tariq was the Governor of Tangier in Morocco. He along with his men boarded their boats and

after crossing the straits of Gibraltar landed on the coast of Spain and moved north. The Spanish king Roderick along with a one hundred thousand man army arrayed themselves to fight with him. The two forces clashed on the bank of a small river near Janda Lagoon adjoining Sidonia city in Ramadan 92 A.H. (July 711 C.E.). The fight continued ferociously for eight days. At last, on the eighth day, 28 Ramadan 92 A.H., Roderick was killed by Tariq and the Christian army fled away.

That same year the king of Sindh, Dahir, was killed by Mohammad bin Qasim. After his initial victory, Tariq found it far easier to conquer the cities of Spain and marched ahead conquering city after city. When Musa bin Nusayr was informed of the major victory they had achieved, he wrote to Tariq to stop any further advance and await his arrival. However, it was very difficult for Tariq and his valiant soldiers to put a stop to their conquests. Finally, Musa along with 18,000 soldiers reached Spain in the latter part of Ramadan 93 A.H. and conquered the entire peninsula up to the Pyrenees Mountains. After taking control of the eastern part of Spain Musa wrote to Waleed, "We have conquered the whole of Spain. Now allow me to go to Constantinople via Europe while conquering the European lands from Spain to Constantinople and I will visit you after the conquest of Constantinople"

However, Waleed bin Abdul Malik wrote to Musa to come to him along with Tariq via Africa after making some one Governor in Spain. Had Musa been permitted to go ahead it was not difficult at that time for him conquer the whole of Southern Europe.

Anyway, Musa, in compliance with the Caliph's order, deputed his son Abdul Aziz as the Governor in Spain, entrusted Morocco to his second son Abdul Malik and made his third son Abdullah his deputy in Qairwan, which was the headquarters of North Africa. After making the proper arrangements, he left for Damascus. On the day he arrived in Damascus, the caliph Waleed died.

Death of Waleed bin Abdul Malik

Waleed wanted to prevent his brother from succeeding to the throne and tried to replace him by his own son but in vain. Had he lived a few days more he would have probably succeeded. Due to these efforts by .Waleed to take the caliphate from his brother, Sulaiman

became hostile to the leaders who had supported Waleed and also to those whom Waleed loved. The results of this hostility proved extremely disastrous for the future of the Islamic world. Waleed after ruling as Caliph for nine years and eight months died at Dairmaran in Syria on 25 Jamad ath-Thani 96 A.H. (25 February 815 CE) leaving behind nineteen sons. During his caliphate, Sindh, Turkistan, Bukhara, Samarkand, most of the cities and forts of Spain and Asia Minor and several islands were annexed to the Islamic territory. His caliphate marked an epoch of internal peace, comfort and prosperity for the Muslims with a vast expansion of territory. With the exception of Umar bin Khatab's caliphate, none of the previous caliphates experienced such a great age of major and significant conquests. When Waleed died, his brother Sulaiman bin Abdul Malik was at Ramla, in Palestine.

Sulaiman bin Abdul Malik

Sulaiman was younger than his brother Waleed by four years. The oath for caliph was done at his hand on Jamad ath-Thani 96 A.H. after Waleed's death. Hajjaj and Qutaiba were unanimous with Waleed in deposing Sulaiman and as Qutaiba bin Muslim supported Hajjaj and Waleed, they were the targets of his hatred. Hajjaj had died before Sulaiman came into power and Qutaiba the Governor of Khorasan was the staunchest supporter of Waleed that remained alive. Qutaiba had a feeling how he would be treated during this caliphate.

The Murder of Qutaiba

When Qutaiba bin Muslim Bahli heard of Waleed's demise and Sulaiman bin Abdul Malik's succession to the throne, he assembled all the leaders and army of Khorasan and suggested that they should refuse to recognize Sulaiman's caliphate. A sizable number of soldiers in Qutaiba's army consisted mainly of the tribe of Banu Tamim. The leader of the Banu Tamim was named Waki. When Waki understood the situation, he began to take the oath on behalf of Sulaiman. Gradually the news spread among all the soldiers and all tribes rallied round Waki. Qutaiba tried his level best to make them listen to him but in vain. They actually started becoming rude to him openly. Qutaiba was joined and supported by his brother's sons and relatives, finally the

soldiers started looting and burning his things. His relatives wanted to protect his tents but they all were killed and Qutaiba falling wounded and unconscious to the ground had his head cut off at once. Eleven men including his brothers and sons were killed. From among his brothers Umar bin Muslim survived because his mother came from Banu Tamim. Waki sent Qutaiba's head and ring to Sulaiman bin Abdul Malik. Qutaiba bin Muslim was a great conqueror and a popular chief from Banu Umayyah. Such a death of such a chief was very sad indeed. He acted imprudently in opposing the caliph of the time, Sulaiman bin Abdul Malik can not be accused of Qutaiba's murder.

Death of Mohammed bin Qasim

The greatest charge that can be leveled against Sulaiman bin Abdul Malik in respect to Mohammed bin Qasim is that if the caliph hated Hajjaj, he should not have extended it unnecessarily to include his relatives. It is unfortunate that Sulaiman considered Mohammed bin Qasim worthy of execution. Mohammed bin Qasim was a wise, brave gentle and pious youth. As a young man, he excelled Rustam and Alexander in the size of his conquests of Sindh and India and proved himself superior to Nausherwan the Just in matters of imparting justice and loving the people. He had never done anything against Sulaiman, except be the relative of the hated Hajjaj.

Even after Hajjaj's death, he continued to conquer new territory. His army was fond of him and obeyed him completely and this is the greatest proof of the fact that he was a highly capable general. It is possible that if Muhammad bin Qasim, whose beginning as a youth was so magnificent, had been trained and his services utilized, he could have conquered the whole of the Asian continent up to China and Japan for Sulaiman. Overwhelmed with a deep seeded hatred of all those connected to Hajjaj and Waleed, Sulaiman sent Yazid bin Abu Kabsha as the Governor of Sindh with instructions to send Mohammed bin Qasim back as a captive. Sulaiman's order was a great discouragement and it destroyed the spirit of all the efficient and victorious commanders. No shame for a caliph or a king is greater than the fact that he, instead of honoring and rewarding his commanders for their grand and praiseworthy achievements and feats should catch and throw them into jail.

Yazid bin Abu Kasha could not have overpowered Mohammed bin Qasim in Sindh. When Muhammad bin Qasim's comrades came to know of the Caliph's order, they said to him "Don't comply with this order. We recognize you as our Amir and will take the oath at your hands for obedience. The Caliph can not reach you". It was a fact that Caliph Sulaiman would have strained all his resources to subdue him, due to his popularity, he had many resources at his disposal in Sindh and many would have rushed to his rescue. However, that pious and noble youth surrendered himself to Abu Kabsha without any hesitation saying, "I will never commit the crime of disobeying the Caliph." After arresting him, Abu Kabsha sent him to Damascus. There he was put in the jail at Wasit and Saleh bin Abdur Rahman acting for the caliph, tortured him to death.

The End of Musa bin Nusayr

It has been mentioned above that Musa bin Nusayr maintained peace in the entire of North Africa and completed the conquest of Spain. His father Nusayr was Abdul Aziz bin Marwan bin Hakam's liberated slave and by virtue of that was considered to be a member of Marwan's family. The courage of this brave and resourceful general can be gauged by the fact that he was determined to conquer the whole of the European continent with only 20,000 soldiers. When he reached Damascus, Caliph Waleed, who knew his worth had just died. Sulaiman, instead of honoring and appreciating him, took him captive and levied upon him such a heavy fine that was beyond his ability to pay. In order to pay it he had to beg from other Arab leaders and this caused him to lose honor, prestige and popularity.

From among Waleed's commanders, only Maslama bin Abdul Malik remained safe from being humiliated by Sulaiman and remained at his post as usual. Maslama was Sulaiman's brother and he was not connected with the issue of succession and so the caliph did not regard him as an enemy or a threat.

Yazid bin Muhallab

Mention has been made above that Hajjaj was displeased with Muhallab's sons and he had imprisoned them along with his brothers.

Yazid bin Muhallab escaped from jail and joined Sulaiman bin Abdul Malik in Palestine, who was at that time the Governor there. It has also been recorded that at the time of his death, Hajjaj had made his son Abdullah bin Hajjaj the Governor of Iraq in his place and Waleed bin Abdul Malik authorized it. Sulaiman bin Abdul Malik dismissed Hajjaj's son Abdullah as one of his first orders of business and appointed Yazid bin Muhallab. Yazid knew that if he put too much pressure on the people in collecting taxes, he would lose his reputation and if he adopted measures that were too lenient, he would lose respect in Sulaiman's eyes. He persuaded Sulaiman to appoint Saleh bin Abdur Rahman for the collection of taxes and the rest of the administrative and military affairs would be his responsibility as the Governor of Iraq.

Sulaiman did not think Yazid's request was strange because he knew that Hajjaj had accused Yazid of embezzlement of Government funds and had put him into prison. Therefore, Saleh bin Abdur Rahman was recruited as the finance officer and was sent to Iraq ahead of Yazid bin Muhallab who followed as Governor. When Yazid reached Kufa, he fell out with Saleh and his presence became a point of contention for Yazid.

During this period, news came that Qutaiba bin Muslim had been killed in Khorasan. Yazid preferred the Governorship of Khorasan because he and his father had once been Governors there. Sulaiman in accordance with Yazid's wishes gave him the certificate of Governorship for Khorasan and also left Iraq under him. Yazid recruited his deputies in Kufa, Basra and Wasit separately. He himself set out for Khorasan. Immediately after arriving there, he invaded Qahistan and then Jurjan and entered into compromise with the rebel chiefs there after collecting fines and taxes from them. The Jurjanis revolted again and Yazid attacked and killed 40,000 Turks in the battle, he laid the foundation stone of the city of Jurjan with his own hands and appointed Jahm bin Dhukhr Ju'fi as the Governor. Prior to that, Jurjan did not have a city it was a hilly region with many small villages. Yazid populated this city, which came to be known as Jurjan. He then captured Tabristan and installed a Governor there.

Maslama bin Abdul Malik

In 97 A.H., Maslama bin Abdul Malik conquered Razakhia. In 98 A.H., a Roman commander named Alqaun came to Sulaiman's court and induced him to conquer Constantinople. He sent his son Dawood and brother Maslama to Constantinople with an army and Maslama as the commander. He laid a siege to the city. When the Islamic army reached the vicinity of the siege, Maslama asked each of his soldiers to take a handful of grain and deposit it near the army's headquarters. When the grain was collected near the end of the siege, it was piled so high it looked like some hills. He had houses of clay and stone built for the soldiers and ordered them to cultivate the land and the fields ripened. To meet the daily consumption of food they also raided the area for grain. The inhabitants of the city were concerned to see the siege continuing with such a firm determination and courage. When a year had passed, the Romans sent secret messages to Alqaun the Roman commander and offered him half of the territory if he could get the Muslims to raise the siege. He agreed. Then he advised Maslama, "If you set your store of grains and fields on fire, the Romans will think that now the Muslims are going to launch a final and decisive attack. Out of fear they will probably hand over the city to you and thus without loss of life it will be easily captured." Maslama believed his words and fell into his trap. Though the Romans had already sent word to Maslama to take the *Jizya* at the rate of one tenth per head and raise the siege he had rejected it. If the siege had continued, there is little doubt that it would have resulted in a victorious conquest. However, Allâh had not ordained for the Muslims to capture and occupy Constantinople at this time. Maslama burned the stored grain and all the grain fields. The Romans were extremely pleased to see this foolish act and it encouraged them to fight. The Muslims soon felt the crisis of a food shortage. Then Alqaun with all his supporters deserted the Islamic forces and joined the Romans. When Maslama had left Sulaiman bin Abdul Malik he was camping at Dabiq and from there he used to send help of all kinds to him. At this juncture, the stored grains and ripened fields had been reduced to ashes and Sulaiman was not able to manage the supply of provisions due to the advent of winter and this led to starvation. They

began to starve to death because food could not be procured by raiding parties in the adjoining areas because of the severity of the winter.

When a Roman commander, named Borjohn, who was the Governor of the city of Saqalia, saw the critical condition of the Muslims he invaded them with a huge army. Maslama fought and defeated him and captured the city. At this time, news came of Sulaiman bin Abdul Malik's death.

Morals and Habits of Sulaiman bin Abdul Malik

Sulaiman bin Abdul Malik was a man of eloquence. He was fond of justice and liked jihad. He had made Umar bin Abdul Aziz his advisor and minister. This is the main reason that Sulaiman cultivated good habits. During the period of Banu Umayyah a bad custom came into vogue, they offered their *salat* (obligatory prayer) in the last part of the time for the prayer. Sulaiman put an end to that harmful custom and began to do it at the beginning of the time for each prayer, which is the correct method. He hated singing and the playing of musical instruments and had it banned. He was very handsome. He was a healthy and voracious eater. Once he ate 70 pomegranates, a large amount of raisins a six month old goat and half a dozen chickens and was able to digest it all.

Succession

Sulaiman bin Abdul Malik had made his son, Ayyub, his heir-apparent but when Ayyub fell ill at Abaq, he consulted Raja bin Haiwa regarding his successor. First Sulaiman mentioned his son Dawood. Raja bin Haiwa said, "He is engaged in the siege of Constantinople and is at war with the unbelievers. No news has come from there for a long period. Allâh knows better whether he is living or dead. Moreover, the distance is also long. I can not advise you to declare such a man the heir apparent." Then Sulaiman referred to his younger son. Raja bin Haiwa said that he was still of a tender age and unfit to stand the burden of the caliphate. Then Sulaiman asked him as to whom he should make his successor. Raja bin Haiwa said "As a pious, pure, noble man interested in the welfare of the Muslims, it is expected of you that you should make your cousin, Umar bin Abdul

Aziz (رحمه الله), your heir-apparent for none better than he is available. Also as your Prime Minister he has the most experience in the matter of administration". Sulaiman agreed to this saying, "I also regard him as the best man. I am afraid that my brothers, the other sons of Abdul Malik may not agree and stand against him". Raja bin Haiwa said "After making Umar bin Abdul Aziz (رحمه الله) the caliph, leave a will that Yazid bin Abdul Malik will succeed him". Sulaiman appreciated and accepted the idea and after writing the declaration of caliphate for Umar bin Abdul Aziz (رحمه الله) he sealed it. Then he put it into an envelope and sealed it too and giving it to Raja bin Haiwa he said, "Go out and showing this envelope, tell the people that the Amir al-Muminin has chosen the man who will be the next caliph and has also written a declaration that the oath should be taken in the name of the man whose name this envelope contains." When Raja bin Haiwa went out and read it to the people, they said that they would not take the oath until they knew his name. Raja bin Haiwa returned and explained to Sulaiman, he said that the city magistrate and the police should be called to take the oath from the people and cut off the heads of those who disobeyed. Hearing that all took the oath without any further hesitation.

When Raja bin Haiwa was returning to the palace after taking the oath, he came across Hisham bin Abdul Malik. He said to him "I am afraid Amir al-Muminin might have deprived me. If my fears are correct, please tell me so that I may make arrangements for myself". Raja bin Haiwa said, "The Amir Al-Muminin has given me a sealed envelope. He has kept it a guarded secret. What can I tell you?" As he continued on, he met Umar bin Abdul Aziz (رحمه الله), He said, "I am very afraid that Sulaiman might have written my name. If you know, please tell me so that I may try to evade this trouble and rid myself of this burden". Raja gave him the same reply, which had already given to Hisham bin Abdul Malik.

Death of Sulaiman bin Abdul Malik

In 98 A.H., Sulaiman left Damascus with an intention of making jihad, he sent an army towards the front. He stayed at Dabiq and continued working on the success of the expedition. Therefore, it may be said

that he died in that state of jihad itself. He died on Friday the 10th of Safar 99 A. H. at Dabiq adjacent to Qansareen (one of the five original provinces that the conquering Arabs divided greater Syria into, now northern Syria). He was 45 years old. He ruled for two and three quarter years. During his caliphate, the Muslims gained victories and occupied many lands. Activities against the Islamic laws were stopped. Hajjaj's Governors were dismissed wherever they were found because they were inclined to be like Hajjaj and perpetrated atrocities on the people. However, it is understood that the treatment that was meted out to Mohammed bin Qasim (رحمه الله) was a gross mistake committed by Sulaiman. Among his most praiseworthy and greatest feats is the fact that he made Umar bin Abdul Aziz (رحمه الله) his successor. Compared to this virtuous act, all of Sulaiman's errors and mistakes may easily be pardoned and so it appears that he deserves praise.

Umar bin Abdul Aziz (رحمه الله)

Abu Hafs, Umar bin Abdul Aziz bin Marwan bin Hakam is considered the fifth caliph among the *Khulafa ar-Rashideen* (The rightly guided caliphs). He is also known as *Khalifa as-Saleh* (the capable or authentic caliph). Most of the scholars among the Muslims say that the *Khulafa ar-Rashideen* are five: Abu Bakr (رضي الله عنه), Umar (رضي الله عنه), Uthman (رضي الله عنه), Ali (رضي الله عنه) and Umar bin Abdul Aziz (رحمه الله). Umar bin Abdul Aziz's father Abdul Aziz bin Marwan was the Governor of Egypt. Umar bin Abdul Aziz was born in 62 A.H. His mother was Umar bin Khatab's grand daughter that is, Asim bin Umar bin Khatab's daughter. His father was supposed to succeed Abdul Malik bin Marwan as caliph but he died in Abdul Malik's lifetime and so he did not become the caliph. Umar bin Abdul Aziz had a 'scar on his face because a horse had kicked him while he was a child. Umar bin Khatab (رضي الله عنه) used to say " There will come a descendent of mine with a scar on his face. He will fill the earth with justice and righteousness." That was why when the horse kicked him and he began to bleed, his father continued to mop his face and say, "If you are the one spoken about with the scar, you are fortunate." Ibn Sad says that Umar bin Khatab used to say "I wish that I might have found the times of my scarred son who would fill the world with

justice and righteousness after being full of tyranny". There was a scar on the face of another grandson, Belal bin Abdullah bin Umar, so it was thought that it might apply to him. However, when Umar bin Abdul Aziz (رحمه الله) became caliph, everyone came to know that Umar bin Khatab meant him. Prior to it, some people used to say that the world will not come to an end so long as Umar's ideal caliph had not become the ruler.

Umar bin Abdul Aziz's father sent him to Madinah when he was a child. He was trained there. His life was spent in the company of the learned legal scholars of Madinah. It was from them that he learned theology. He enjoyed such a high status in knowledge and virtue that had he not been the caliph he would have been counted among the religious scholars and been recognized as a great imam. His father had sent him to Obaidullah bin Abdullah in Madinah and it was under his tutelage that he was trained. Zaid bin Aslam has narrated on the authority of Anas (رضي الله عنه) "After the Prophet (ﷺ) we have never performed our *Salat* (obligatory prayers) in a way that resembled the Prophet's *Salat* except the *Salat* we made behind Umar bin Abdul Aziz (رحمه الله). Zaid says, "He used to do *ruku* (bowing) and *sijda* (prostration) fully but did not make delay in *qiyam* (standing) and *qaood* (sitting). Someone asked Muhammad bin Ali bin Husain about Umar bin Abdul Aziz. He said "He is *najib* (highborn) among Banu Umayyah and will rise as a single nation on the Day of Judgment"

Before becoming caliph Umar bin Abdul Aziz wore showy and costly clothes. However, after becoming caliph he adopted the life style of a poor in his food and clothing. Maimoon bin Mehran says that many well known scholars used to live in his company as students. Mujahid says "We went to Umar bin Abdul Aziz (رحمه الله) with the intention that he would learn something from us but after coming to him we had much to learn from him".

When his father Abdul Aziz bin Marwan died, he was present in Madinah. At the news of his death, Abdul Malik bin Marwan called him to Damascus and married his daughter Fatima to him. When Waleed became caliph after Abdul Malik's death, he placed him as the Governor of Madinah. He therefore remained in power from 86 A.H. to 93 A.H. He performed Hajj several times as *Amir al-Hajj* (leader of

the pilgrimage). During the period of his governorship of Madinah, all the scholars and learned Muslims used to gather round him.

He had set up a council of legal scholars in Madinah and used to dispose of the affairs of expeditions in consultation with them. Because of Hajjaj's complaint, Waleed dismissed him from the governorship of Madinah and called him to live in Syria. When Waleed wanted to depose his brother Sulaiman from the succession and put his own son in his place, Hajjaj and Qutaiba seconded his proposal but other leaders disliked it. The first man who openly and vehemently opposed Waleed was Umar bin Abdul Aziz (رحمہ اللہ). Because of this, Waleed threw him into prison. He remained there for three years and was released on some one's recommendation. Sulaiman bin Abdul Malik was highly obliged to him for his sacrifice. That is why when Sulaiman became Caliph, he selected him as his Prime Minister and left in his will for him to be caliph after his death.

Caliphate

When Sulaiman bin Abdul Malik passed away, Raja bin Haiwa went to the mosque at Dabiq. He gathered all of the Banu Umayyah and all who were related to the army and who were then present. He had the sealed decree of the heir apparent in his hands. He informed them of the Caliph's death and took the oath on the sealed decree again. Then he opened it and read it to them. Sulaiman bin Abdul Malik had written.

"From the slave of Allâh, Amir Al-Muminin, Sulaiman bin Abdul Malik, to Umar bin Abdul Aziz. I hereby nominate you after me and then Yazid bin Abdul Malik after you, to be the heir apparent. The people should listen and obey and fear Allâh and avoid creating dissension among themselves so that others may not feel tempted to overpower you.

Having heard the royal letter, Hisham bin Abdul Malik said that he would not take the oath with Umar bin Abdul Aziz (رحمہ اللہ). However, Raja bin Haiwa courageously and sternly answered, "I shall cut off your head". Hisham became silent when he heard this. Abdul Malik's descendents took the will and decree as a deprivation of their privileges but the people in general liked Umar bin Abdul Aziz as

Caliph and did not want anybody else. Because Yazid bin Abdul Malik was made the heir apparent after Umar bin Abdul Aziz (رحمه الله) his descendents were somewhat satisfied that after Umar bin Abdul Aziz's (رحمه الله) the caliphate would come into their family again. When Raja read Sulaiman's will, Umar bin Abdul Aziz was uttering إنا لله وإنا إليه راجعون, To Allâh do we belong and to Him is our return, (Editors note: In Islam, this statement is advised to be read when a calamity befalls someone). When he heard his name he kept sitting and was virtually rooted to his place. Raja grabbed him by his hand and lifted him up and made him sit on the pulpit. He first called Hisham bin Abdul Malik to come and take the oath. He obeyed. Then others followed suit with pleasure and no one raised any objection or protest. After the taking of the oath was completed, Umar bin Abdul Aziz led the funeral prayer for Sulaiman bin Abdul Malik. When the burial services were finished, they brought a horse from the royal stable for him. He said that his personal mule was sufficient for him. So, he rode on his mule to go to his tent. They wanted to take him to the royal palace. He said "Ayyub bin Sulaiman's family members are there. As long as they are there, I shall live in my tent" After the oath of caliphate, he made a speech:

"He praised Allâh and said, O people! There is no Book after the Qur'an and there is no Prophet after Mohammed (ﷺ). I am not going to initiate anything new but I am supposed to complete (what has been left incomplete). I am not a *mubtadi* (initiator) but a *muttabi* (follower) and I am by no means better than you. Yes, my load is heavier. One who runs away from a tyrannical king, can not be a tyrant himself, remember obedience to any creature against the divine commandments is not lawful.

When he was returning from the funeral of Sulaiman bin Abdul Malik, his slave said to him "You look sad". He said, "If any body has a right to be grieved today, it is me. Is it a light burden? Before I am asked to explain the written register of my actions, I will have to give the people their dues". When he finished the oath for caliphate and the funeral service and entered his house, his beard was wet with tears. His wife, becoming alarmed, asked him whether he was well. He said, " How can I be well? The burden of the entire *Ummah*

(community) has been put around my neck. I have been overburdened with the naked, the hungry, the sick, the oppressed, the travelers, the captives, the children, the old, and the poor with large families. I am weeping for the fear of being asked to render accounts and my possible failure to do so on the Day of Reckoning".

After becoming caliph, he said to his wife, Fatima bint Abdul Malik "Deposit all your jewelry in the *bait al mal* (treasury) or I shall part with you because I don't like that you, your jewelry and I should live under the same roof". His wife sent all her jewelry including an invaluable pearl, which Abdul Malik had given to his daughter, to the treasury.

When Yazid bin Abdul Malik succeeded to the caliphate following Umar bin Abdul Aziz's death, he asked Fatima bint Abdul Malik to take back her jewelry if she willed. She replied that she had deposited her jewelry in the *bait al mal* (treasury) willingly and that it was impossible for her to take them back after Umar bin Abdul Aziz.

Abdul Aziz bin Waleed was not present at the time of Sulaiman's death nor did he know anything about the oath for the caliphate of Umar bin Abdul Aziz. Upon hearing of Sulaiman's death, he decided to claim the caliphate and took an army and he went to Damascus. When he reached there and was told about Umar bin Abdul Aziz's caliphate, he came to him without any inhibition and took the oath and said that he did not know that people had taken the oath at his hand. Umar bin Abdul Aziz said "Had you been interested in taking the governance and caliphate, I would never have stood in your way or fought against you rather I would have evaded it and sat at home." Abdul Aziz bin Waleed said, "By Allâh, I don't think anybody else other than you deserves it."

Immediately after becoming caliph Umar bin Abdul Aziz (رحمہ اللہ) issued instructions that from that time nobody should talk badly of Ali (رضی اللہ عنہ). Until that time Banu Umayyah had been abusing Ali (رضی اللہ عنہ) and in the Friday *khutba* (sermon) they never hesitated in cursing and reproaching him.

He took Hajjaj bin Yusuf Thaqfi to be a tyrant. Therefore, during Sulaiman's regime he had dismissed all the governors and associates

who toed Hajjaj's line. He regarded Yazid bin Muhallab, the Governor of Khorasan, as a bad person. He knew that he did not send the taxes to the treasury after their collection. He therefore sent for him. When he came, he invented excuses in respect of the taxes. He said to him "This is the wealth of the Muslims. How can I excuse it?". He therefore dismissed him and put him into prison in the fort of Halab and sent Jarrah bin Abdullah Hakmi as the Governor of Khorasan in his place. He recalled Maslama bin Abdul Malik and his soldiers who had been continuously busy fighting the Romans and besieging Constantinople. They were exhausted and shattered. After short time, he received a complaint against Jarrah bin Abdullah that he was sending liberated slaves on jihad without salary and collecting *khiraj* (taxes on revenue from land or the work of slaves) even from the *dhimmis* (non Muslims who have paid the jizya and have the right to protection and are not expected to pay another type of tax). Upon hearing the complaint he sent him the order: "Excuse the jizya of those who make *Salat*" (Editors note: The jizya is applied to non Muslims but apparently the governor was not convinced of the sincerity of the new Muslims' Islam and therefore continued to collect the jizya, which is the protection tax on non Muslims that excludes other taxes and releases those who pay it from military duty. The caliph was telling the governor that the discerning point is the prayer, in other words if someone was praying like a Muslim he should be considered a Muslim and free from paying the jizya).

As soon the people heard this order, they began to embrace Islam in group after group, Jarrah bin Abdullah Aslami was not satisfied with the new converts sincerity. He tested them on the basis of circumcision [Editors note: The governor instead of seeing if the new Muslims made their obligatory prayer checked to see if they were circumcised. Circumcision is a very strongly recommended in Islam but is not considered absolutely necessary.] When Umar bin Abdul Aziz received this news, he wrote to Jarrah, "Allâh sent Mohammad (ﷺ) as a *da'yi* (one who invites the people to Allâh) not as a *Khatin* (one who circumcises)". He then had him recalled to Damascus. Jarrah left Abdur Rahman bin Naim as his deputy and presented himself at the court of the Caliph. Umar bin Abdul Aziz (رحمه الله) said, "When did you leave Khorasan?" He said, "In the month of Ramadan" He said: "He

who calls you an oppressor is right. Why did you not stay there and wait until the end of the month of Ramadan?"

Then he appointed Abdur Rahman bin Naim as the Amir of defense and *Salat* and Abdur Rahman Qushairi as the collector of taxes.

Attacks were launched against the Muslims in Azerbaijan and they were plundered. Umar bin Abdul Aziz gave an army to Ibn Hatim Bahli and sent him there. He went and punished them suitably and restored respect for Islamic rule. It was during his regime that the Sindhis and their kings embraced Islam willingly and Islam was propagated there extensively. He sent an army with provisions and weapons to Spain. He had some victories against the Romans also.

Causes of Banu Umayyah's Displeasure

During their caliphate and rule, Banu Umayyah had taken possession of the best of selected lands and villages beyond what they deserved. This led to the deprivation of other Muslims but as they were the rulers, no one dared raise a voice in protest. When Umar bin Abdul Aziz became caliph, he first had the jewelry of his wife, considered undeserved by him, taken out of his house and sent to the treasury. Then he gathered Banu Umayyah and said:

The Prophet (ﷺ) owned the orchard of Fadak with its income he (ﷺ) used to maintain the children of Banu Hashim and helped arrange marriages for their widows. Fatima bint Muhammad (رضی اللہ عنہا) wanted the orchard for herself but he (ﷺ) refused to give it to her. During Abu Bakr Siddiq's and Umar bin Khatab's regime, it remained untouched. Finally, Marwan took it into his possession and from him I inherited it. However, I fail to understand how a thing, which the Prophet (ﷺ) refused to give to his daughter became lawful for me. I, therefore, want you to stand witness that I leave the orchard of Fadak intact as it was during the Prophet's times."

Then he made all his relatives and then Banu Umayyah return their properties, goods and wealth, which were under their possession illegally. Auzai relates that one day when most of the nobles and leaders of Banu Umayyah were sitting at his house, he said to them,

"You want me to make you the commanders of armies or the governors of some territories. Remember, I don't want the floor of my house made impure with your feet. Your condition is highly pitiable. I can not make you the masters of my piety and the business of the Muslims." They said "Do we not deserve any right or virtue due to your kinship?" He said, "In this matter I don't find even an iota of difference between you and any other Muslim." After the *Khilafat ar-Rashideh* (the rightly guided Caliphate) the glory of democracy had disappeared and the same type of autocracy in government was discernable that was the hallmark of the governments of Caesar and Kisra. Umar bin Abdul Aziz (رحمه الله) tried to restore the lost glory of Islamic democracy and similarities to the administrations of Abu Baker Siddiq (رضي الله عنه) and Umar bin Khatab (رضي الله عنه) began to resurface and remind the people of these great times.

As Banu Umayyah suffered heavy losses during his caliphate and the assets they occupied illegally were taken back and the high status, pomp and grandeur they enjoyed during their rule in comparison with other tribes, started changing into equality and impartiality, all of them began to consider Umar bin Abdul Aziz's caliphate to be highly detrimental to their interests. They were compelled to accept and appreciate his piety and purity of nature just as others were but Banu Umayyah regarded his presence as a deadly poison for their clain and tribe.

Once Banu Umayyah, in order to save their property, made a plan. They went to Umar bin Abdul Aziz's paternal aunt Fatima bint Marwan and requested her to recommend them to him. He respected her very much. She came and made her recommendation for Banu Umayyah. He explained to her in the same way he had told the leaders of Banu Umayyah. She felt compelled to admit "I did come to you to convince you on the insistence of your brethren. However, since you cherish such pure and noble thoughts, I don't like to say anything more." Having said that she went back and said to Banu Umayyah "You established relations with the grand daughter of Umar bin Khatab (رضي الله عنه) and now his blood is present in your descendents"

Virtues and Habits

Hakam bin Umar says that one day he was with Umar bin Abdul Aziz (رحمه الله) and the stable-keeper came and demanded the expenses for the stable. He said to him. "Take all these horses to the cities in Syria and sell them at any price and give the money in the path of Allâh . For me my mule is enough."

Zuhri says that Umar bin Abdul Aziz (رحمه الله) asked Salim bin Abdullah through a letter as to Umar bin Khatab's (رضي الله عنه) way regarding *Sadaqa* (charity). He replied adding at the end "If you follow Umar bin Khatab (رضي الله عنه) in treating people, you will get a greater status than he before Allâh." When Umar bin Abdul Aziz was made caliph and the people took the oath at his hands, he began to weep and said "I have a great fear for myself". Hammad said, "Please declare how much love you have for *dirhams* and *dinars*?" Umar bin Abdul Aziz (رحمه الله) said, "Not a bit". Hammad said, " Then why are you worried? Allâh will help you."

Hanifa bin Sayeed bin Aas said to Umar bin Abdul Aziz (رحمه الله). "All the caliphs before you used to give us rewards. However you, after becoming caliph, put a stop to that, I have some land and if you permit, I would like to take something from it in order to maintain my family somehow." He said, "Whatever you get from hard labor, is yours". Then he further said, "Remember death often for if you are in trouble, you will get pleasure and if you are in pleasure, you will not find it lessened." Some Governor wrote to him that the forts and roads of their cities were in urgent need of repair and so would he kindly send them money for their repair. He wrote back that immediately after going through the letter they should set out to build forts of justice in their cities and purify the roads by removing oppression from them.

Ibrahim Sakuni (رضي الله عنه) says that Umar bin Abdul Aziz used to say, "When I came to know that lying is a vice, I have never done so since then" Wahb bin Munabbih says that if there is a Mahdi to be born in this ummat (community), he is Umar bin Abdul Aziz.

Mohammad bin Fadala relates that Abdullah bin Umar bin Abdul

Aziz passed by an ascetic who lived on an island. The ascetic saw him and went to him though he had never gone to anyone before and began to say to him, "Do you know why I have come to you?" He replied in the negative. Then he said "Simply because you are the son of a righteous and just imam (leader)."

Malik bin Dinar (رضي الله عنه) relates that when Umar bin Abdul Aziz became caliph, the shepherds began to ask. "Who has become the caliph? Now the wolves do not harm our goats" Musa bin Ayum says, "We used to graze our goats in Kerman. The wolves used to move. along with our goats but they did not harm them. One day it so happened that a wolf took away a goat. I cried out, "The righteous caliph must have died today". When information on the matter was sought after, it transpired that on that same day Umar bin Abdul Aziz (رحمه الله) expired.

Waleed bin Muslim says that an inhabitant of Khorasan had a dream that someone asked him to take the oath when a scarred man of Banu Umayyah became caliph. He therefore made queries about each caliph. When Umar bin Abdul Aziz (رحمه الله) became caliph, he had a dream three nights in succession that the same person was telling him to go and take the oath. At that, he left Khorasan and took the oath at Umar bin Abdul Aziz's hand.

Habib bin Hind Aslami says that Sayeed bin Musayyib (رحمه الله) said to him, "There are three caliphs. They are Abu Bakr (رضي الله عنه), Umar (رضي الله عنه) and Umar bin Abdul Aziz (رحمه الله)." He said to him, "I know the former two. Who is the third?" He said, "If you remain alive you will see for yourself. If you die, he will come after you." Ibn Musayyib (رحمه الله) had breathed his last before Umar bin Abdul Aziz became caliph. Malik bin Dinar (رحمه الله) relates, "People used to say, 'If anyone can be said to be a *Zahid* (ascetic), he is Umar bin Abdul Aziz (رحمه الله)'". The world came to him and he renounced it. Yunus bin Abi Shabib says "I had seen Umar bin Abdul Aziz before he became caliph. Then the belt of his trouser was sunken into his abdomen due to his plumpness but after he became caliph he became so thin that each and every bone could be counted." Umar bin Abdul Aziz's son says, "Abu Jafar Mansoor asked me about his wealth when he.died. I said four hundred dinars and had he lived a few days more, it would have come down more."

Maslama bin Abdul Malik says, "I visited Umar bin Abdul Aziz during his sickness. I saw that he was wearing a dirty shirt. I said to my sister that is, his wife, 'Why don't you wash his shirt'? She said 'He has no other shirt to change into'". His slave Abu Omayya says, "One day I said to my master's respectable wife, 'I am sick of eating lentils'. She said, 'your master eats them daily'"

One day he said to his wife, "I want to eat grapes. If you have some money, lend it to me." She said, "I don't have a single dirham. You are the Amir Al-Muminin (chief of the believers) and you haven't got enough money to purchase grapes". He said, "It is better to carry away the longing for grapes buried in my heart than eating abrasions of chains in hell tomorrow".

His wife states during his caliphate when he used to come home from outside he would go into *Sijda* (prostration) and he would fall asleep weeping. When he awoke, he would start weeping again. Waleed bin Abi Sayeb says that he had not seen a man greater in fearing Allâh than Umar bin Abdul Aziz (رحمه الله).

Sayeed bin Saweed says that once when Umar bin Abdul Aziz came to lead the congregational prayer on Friday, he saw his shirt had patches both in front and in the back. A man said to him, "Amir Al-Muminin, Allâh has given you everything. Why don't you get new cloths tailored?" He continued to ponder for some time with his head bent and then said, "Moderation in prosperity and forgiveness in power are great things."

One day he said, "Even if I live among you for fifty years, I cannot take the status of justice to its perfection. I want to do justice and root out the worldly temptation from your hearts. But I see that your hearts will not be able to stand it" Ibrahim bin Maisara said to Taoos "Umar bin Abdul Aziz is *Mahdi*." He replied, "He is not only *Mahdi*. He is a perfect judge too". At the time of his death, people visited him with plenty of wealth. He said to them. "Take it away and use it." Then he added his own wealth to it. Juwairia says, "We went to Fatima bint Ali bin Abi Talib. She praised Umar bin Abdul Aziz very much and said, 'Had he been alive, we would not have run short of anything'."

According to Auzayi (رحمه الله) it was his habit that whenever he wanted

to punish anybody, he used to keep him in custody for three days as a precautionary measure so that he might not punish him in a state of anger or in haste. He said "Whenever I gave to my self anything of its choice, it willed something better." Umar bin Muhajir says that his daily wages was fixed at 2 dirhams and his lamp stand was made of three sticks with clay on them. Once he asked his slave to heat water for him. The slave went and brought it by heating it in the royal kitchen. When he came to know where it came from, he sent firewood worth a dirham to replace it. It was his custom that so long as people kept sitting by him and talking about affairs of state, he kept the lamp of the treasury burning and when they left, he put it out and lit his own lamp.[1]

The caliphs had a hundred sentinels and city magistrates in regular attendance of them. When he became caliph, he said to them, "For my safely destiny and death are sufficient, I don't need you. But even if any one of you wants to live with me, he would be given ten dinars a month and if he does not like it, he is at liberty to go and live with his family"

Umar bin Muhajir says that once he wanted to eat pomegranate. A relative of his sent some to him. He praised him very much and said to his slave, "Convey my greetings to the man who has sent it to me and then give them back to him and tell him that his gift reached the man concerned." The slave said to him, Amir Al-Muminin your close relative has sent it to you. What is the harm in accepting it? The Prophet (ﷺ) used to accept gifts". He said, "those were gifts for him (ﷺ) but for me it is a bribe." He did not have anyone whipped except a man who had abused Amir Muawiya (رضي الله عنه).

When he reduced the expenditure of his family, the members complained. He said, "My wealth is not sufficient to continue your previous expenditures. As for *baitul mal* (the treasury), you have as much right to it as any other Muslims has." Yahya Ghassani states that when Umar bin Abdul Aziz (رحمه الله) appointed him Governor of Mosul, he saw that thefts were very common there. He informed him and wanted to know whether he should pass judgment on the basis of evidence or on that of his personal opinion or intuition. He ordered that in every case taking evidence was essential. If truth did not reform

them, Allâh would never reform them. He complied with the orders and consequently Mosul turned into the cleanest and safest place.

Raja bin Haiwa says that one day when he was sitting with Umar bin Abdul Aziz (رحمه الله), the lamp went out. His slave was sleeping there. He wanted to wake him up but Umar bin Abdul Aziz (رحمه الله) prevented him from doing so. Then the narrator wanted to light the lamp himself but he said "It is a discourtesy to give trouble to a guest." Then he himself got up, put oil into the lamp, lighted it and resumed his seat, and said " I am the same Umar bin Abdul Aziz as before, lighting the lamp did not affect my status" Ata relates that Umar bin Abdul Aziz (رحمه الله) used to gather legal scholars at night and discussed death and doomsday with them causing him to weep so much as if there was a dead body in front of him. Abdullah bin Ghabra says that one day Umar bin Abdul Aziz (رحمه الله) urged the people in his *khutba* (sermon), "O people! Reform your internal affairs and your external affairs will automatically be reformed and corrected. Act for the world hereafter and attend to this world in proportion to its need and remember that death has eaten up your ancestors".

He used to say, "Follow the pious ancestors for they were superior to you both in character and knowledge." When his son Abdul Malik died, he began to eulogize him. Maslama said, "Why do you praise him?" He said, "It should be seen whether the deceased was praise worthy in my eyes alone or in the eyes of others too, for in the eyes of a father the son is always commendable and so his act is unreliable." Osama bin Zaid's daughter visited him. He welcomed her and sat down respectfully before her. He gave her whatever she asked for.

Once his relatives said that, they would draw Amir Al-Muminin's attention to them through wit and humor. So several persons assembled and went to him. One of them said something good humouredly and the others supported him. Umar bin Abdul Aziz (رحمه الله) said, "You have assembled over a very unworthy thing which will result in animosity. It is better to learn the Qur'ân and the traditions of the Prophet ﷺ and ponder over the meaning of them".

Yahya Ghassani states that he forbade the caliph Sulaiman bin Abdul Malik from killing a certain Kharij and advised him to keep him in captivity until he became penitent. Sulaiman called the Kharij and

asked him to speak what he wanted. He said, "O corrupted one and the son of corruption ask what you want to ask." Sulaiman said, "I am helpless due to Umar bin Abdul Aziz's opinion," Then he called Umar bin Abdul Aziz (رحمه الله) and asked him to hear what this person had said. The Kharij repeated his words. Sulaiman said, "Now tell me what do you say about this man?" Umar bin Abdul Aziz (رحمه الله) was silent for some time and then said "O Amir Al-Muminin, abuse him too as he has abused you." Caliph Sulaiman said, "No it is not proper." So, he ordered his execution and he was executed. When he left, he came across Khalid the city magistrate on the way. He said, "You gave sage counsel to Amir Al-Muminin that he should abuse the Kharij as he had abused him however, I was afraid that the Amir Al-Muminin would order your execution."

Umar bin Abdul Aziz (رحمه الله) asked whether he would have cut off his head, had he been ordered to do so. Khalid replied in the affirmative. When Umar bin Abdul Aziz (رحمه الله) became caliph, Khalid came and stood near him as usual. He ordered him to put his sword down and consider himself dismissed. Then he called Amr bin Mahajir Ansari, appointed him the city magistrate and said that he had often seen him reciting the Qur'ân and performing his *Salat* at such a place as none could have seen him. He used to say, "He who kept away from disputes, anger and temptations, received salvation." Somebody advised him to be alert and cautious in the matter of taking food so that he would not be poisoned. He said "O Allâh! If I fear anything except the Day of Reckoning that You have promised, don't keep me safe from it." Once he said "O people! Fear Allâh and don't wander in search of livelihood. The allotted livelihood whether buried in a mountain or in the land must reach you." Azhar states that he saw him reading the Friday sermon wearing a shirt with patches.

Once he made Amr bin Qais Sakuni the commander of the army of Saifa and at the time of departure said, "Listen to the pious there and forgive the wicked. Don't start slaying them as soon as you arrive there and become notorious later on but be moderate so that they might not forget your status and keep wanting to listen to you."

Jarrah bin Abdullah, the Governor of Khorasan, wrote to him that the people there were very rough and they would not be disciplined

without the sword. He wrote back in reply that it was a lie that they could not be straightened out without the sword. Justice and giving the people their dues are things that automatically reform the people. So these two things should be propagated amongst them.

Saleh bin Jubair relates that some times he told him something and he got angry. Once it was mentioned with reference to a book that people should fear a king's displeasure and when his anger cools down, then they should go before him. After hearing that he said, "Saleh, I allow you not to apply this restraint in my respect."

Dhahbi says that during Umar bin Abdul Aziz's regime a man named Ghailan denied the destiny. He called him and urged him to be penitent. He told him that had he gone astray he would guide him then. He (رحمه الله) prayed "O Allâh! If this man is truthful, it is good and chop off his hands and feet if he is a liar." Saying this he released him. Ghailan stuck to his faith and continued to propagate it and caliph Hisham bin Abdul Malik caught him and cut off his limbs and sent him to the executioner for his crime.

Once Banu Marwan gathered at Umar bin Abdul Aziz's door and said to his son, "Go and tell your father that until now all the caliph's had been endowing us with land and other rewards but you have deprived us of all these things after becoming caliph." His son conveyed the message to him. He (رحمه الله) asked his son to tell them that his father said. "إني اخاف ان عصيت ربي عذاب يوم عظيم!" (I fear, if I disobey my Lord, have the Penalty of a Mighty Day) [Q.6:15.]

Khawarij

After reading the conditions up to this point it is clear that the mischief of the Khawarij continued unabated and at no time was it stamped out. Whenever a powerful caliph took the throne, they waited and watched silently and whenever they had an opportunity, they came out onto the field. Iraq and Khorasan had been the center of the Khawarij for all their intrigues and rebellions and it was there that their plots were hatched and reared as will be evident from the following events. Anyway the Khawarij sometimes openly and sometimes secretly remained busy with their seditious activities.

When Umar bin Abdul Aziz (رحمه الله) became caliph and the people knew of his nobility and piety, the Khawarij too were ashamed to see his virtue and courtesy and they decided not to undertake any revolutionary steps against the authority of such a pious caliph as Umar bin Abdul Aziz (رحمه الله) and better to postpone all their activities while a caliph with such angelic traits was present. Therefore, during his caliphate they did not take up arms against him.

Once they revolted in Khorasan. He wrote to the Governor there that unless they killed someone no step should be taken against them but keep him of informed of all their activities. Then he (رحمه الله) wrote a letter to the chief of the Khawarij. I have come to know that you have stood up in support of Allâh and the Prophet (ﷺ) but in this respect we are supposed to do it more than you do. Come and discuss and debate with us. If we are justified, join us, if you are justified, we shall join you." After reading the letter, the chief of the Khawarij sent two of his most clever followers for the debate. They came and debated with Umar bin Abdul Aziz (رحمه الله). The Khawarij said, "Your ancestors, Banu Umayyah were unbelievers and cursing them is obligatory." Umar bin Abdul Aziz (رحمه الله) said, "You have never cursed even Pharaoh though he was an unbeliever. Don't take cursing to be essential. How can they be labeled as unbelievers who believed in *Tawhid* and the *Risalah* (Message) and practiced the pillars of Islam?" The result of the debate was that one of the Khawarij renounced his group and joined the general Muslim population. The rest of the Khawarij kept silent and suspended all their activities.

Death

It has been mentioned previously that Banu Umayyah were extremely displeased with Umar bin Abdul Aziz because their lands, property and wealth, which they had taken over, were confiscated and no further illegal gratifications were given by his government. Finally, their patience wore thin and they planned to murder him. Murdering him was not a tough job for he never kept bodyguards nor did he take precautions in matters of eating and drinking. The best way of removing him, they thought, was by poison, therefore, they allured his slave and made him their accomplice and he poisoned Umar bin

Abdul Aziz (رحمه الله). After he was poisoned, he became aware of it. When the pain became excruciating, the people advised him to take an antidote. He said that at the time of my poisoning if some body had said that I could get well by touching the lobe of my ear, I would not have touched it."

Mujahid relates that once he (رحمه الله) asked him what the people said about him (رحمه الله). He replied that they believed that a spell was cast on him. He replied that he was not charmed, and that he knew at once when he was administered poison. Then he called his slave who had poisoned him. When he came, he said to him, "Alas! You have poisoned me. What tempted you to do so"? He said that he was given one thousand dinars plus a promise of liberty. He (رحمه الله) asked him to bring those dinars to him. He brought them to him. He had them deposited in the *bait al mal* (treasury) at once and ordered the slave to run away, so that he might not be seen any longer.

Obaid bin Hassan (رحمه الله) says that when his end came and the pain of death started, he asked the people to leave him alone and everybody went out. Maslama bin Abdul Malik and his wife Fatima bint Abdul Malik remained standing at the door. They heard him say, "*Bismillah* (In the Name of Allâh), Please come. These faces are neither of men nor jinn", and then he recited the verse:

﴿تِلْكَ الدَّارُ الْآخِرَةُ نَجْعَلُهَا لِلَّذِينَ لَا يُرِيدُونَ عُلُوًّا فِي الْأَرْضِ وَلَا فَسَادًا وَالْعَاقِبَةُ لِلْمُتَّقِينَ﴾

> That House of the Hereafter We shall give to those who intend not high-handedness or mischief on the earth: and the End is (best) for the righteous. Q.28:83.

When no more voices were audible, they both entered and found him dead. He died on the 25th of Rajab 101A.H. at Dairsaman in Hims after remaining Caliph for two years five months and four days. When Imam Hasan Basri (رحمه الله) was informed of his death, he said, "Alas! The best man in the world has died". Qatada says that Umar bin Abdul Aziz wrote a note to Yazid bin Abdul Malik that read, "In the name of Allah who is most Beneficent and most Merciful. This is from the slave of Allah Umar bin Abdul Aziz to Yazid bin Abdul Malik.

After greeting with peace, I praise Allah except Him there is no other God. I write this letter to you in a state of great torment. I know that I will be questioned about the period of my rule and the questioner is the Master of the world and the hereafter. It is not possible for me to hide any act of mine from Him. If He is pleased with me, I receive salvation otherwise I will be ruined. I ask Him to forgive me by His grace, protect me from the punishment of hell and, being pleased, give me paradise. You must fear Allah and make allowances for the people. You will also not live long in this world after I die."

Children and Wives

He left three wives and eleven sons. His wife Fatima bint Abdul Malik was as gentle and pious as she was a Caliph's daughter, a Caliph's sister and a Caliph's wife. She lived a life of abstinence. His sons Ishaq, Yaqub, Musa, Abdullah, Bakr, Ibrahim were born of his wives and the rest Abdul Malik, Waleed, Asim, Yazid, Abdullah, Abdul Aziz and Rayyan were born of slavegirls. His son Abdul Malik resembled his father in many respects. He often said, "My son, Abdul Malik, inspires me with good deeds and prayers" but he died in his lifetime.

The inheritance that he left came to a sum of 21 dinars. Some of it was spent on his burial and the rest was distributed among his sons and daughters. Abdur Rahman bin Qasim bin Mohammad bin Abu Bakr says that Umar bin Abdul Aziz (رحمہ اللہ) left eleven sons and Hisham also left eleven sons. Umar bin Abdul Aziz's sons received one dinar each in inheritance and Hisham bin Abdul Malik's sons inherited from their father a sum of one million dirhams each. The narrator saw one of Umar bin Abdul Aziz's sons giving away 100 horses for *jihad* and one of Hisham's sons was found taking charity from the people.

A Glance at Umar bin Abdul Aziz's Administration

Umar bin Abdul Aziz's period as caliph like Abu Bakr's (رضی اللہ عنہ) was very short. But just as Abu Bakr Siddiq's regime was very important and invaluable, similarly Umar bin Abdul Aziz's was very precious for the world of Islam. Banu Umayyah's rule had created in the people a love for worldly prosperity, ego and power, this made them

indifferent to the hereafter. Umar bin Abdul Aziz's caliphate in a very short time removed those evils and inclined them to spiritualism and righteous deeds. His greatest achievement was that he set the Islamic caliphate on the model of the rightly guided caliphs and restored the style of government of Abu Bakr Siddiq and Umar bin Khattab (رضی الله عنهما) to the world.

He hated repression and tyranny perpetrated by a Caliph. By establishing liberty and peace in the world, he wanted every individual to profit from their human rights. He did not want even an atheist to feel compelled. He even gave the Khawarij opportunities to give vent to their feelings. He wanted to see the status of the Caliph of the Muslims established but only to the extent that justice was maintained. Even if a criminal verbally abused a Caliph, the most the Caliph could do would be to retaliate in like manner, in other words his retaliation should not go beyond verbally abusing the criminal. He never wanted his subordinates to agree to his proposals without reference to Islamic law. He regarded a Caliph not as the ruler but as an affectionate father of the Muslims. In short, whatever we have seen during the regimes of Abu Bakr Siddiq (رضی الله عنه) and Umar bin Khattab (رضی الله عنه) all the essentials were also apparent during Umar bin Abdul Aziz's administration. It can justifiably be said that with Umar bin Abdul Aziz's death, the rightly guided caliphate came to an end. During the period of his caliphate, many people embraced Islam willingly. These large numbers of converts have not been found in the time of other caliphs although only a few military expeditions were fought in his time. His authority extended from Sindh, Punjab, Bukhara, and Turkistan in the east to Morocco, Spain and France in the west. People enjoyed absolute peace everywhere although the Islamic domain was vast in size.

During his administration, new roads were made, schools and hospitals were built in every state. The world has never seen the prevalence of true justice to such a degree again. Because of the peoples' awareness of this, his death was mourned not only in the houses of the Muslims but also the Christians and Jews were found even more distressed. The Christian clergy in their monasteries and churches ruefully mourned saying that justice, the one who established it and its protector has left the world.

Umar bin Abdul Aziz put an end to the distinction of Shia, Sunni and Khawarij. Until the present, there is no one who harbors any ill feeling against him from any sect. The opportunity is there for everyone to think and reflect over the fact that whoever follows Islam most closely becomes most beloved by all. His personality was the embodiment of what Islam is, the people of all religions responded to it. The closer a ruler comes to living Islam in its reality the greater the response from his people. The life of Umar bin Abdul Aziz was an example of this.

The Europeans hold Abu Bakr ﷺ, Umar bin Khattab ﷺ Umar bin Abdul Aziz, Nuruddin Zangi and Salahuddin Ayyubi in great reverence due to their nobility, wisdom and graciousness. They should also reflect on how close they followed Islam and that all their qualities were totally dependent on this single fact. They were true Muslims and they tried to follow Islam both in letter and spirit. We know that Umar bin Abdul Aziz was the ruler of the greatest empire in the world at the time and we also find him giving the Friday sermon from the pulpit wearing a patched shirt, as students of history we can be justly astonished. What kind of sense of duty and responsibility can there be in a man who had lived in great comfort and luxury but after assuming the office of caliph was reduced to skin and bones within a two and a half year period?

Yazid bin Abdul Malik

Abu Khalid Yazid bin Abdul Malik bin Marwan sat on the throne as caliph in accordance with the will of his brother Sulaiman bin Abdul Malik. When he acceded to the throne, he said, "I need Allâh more than Umar bin Abdul Aziz." Hence, he followed his footsteps for forty days.

When Banu Umayyah saw that even after Umar bin Abdul Aziz no solution to their problem was forthcoming, they tried to induce Yazid bin Abdul Malik to adopt a pro-Banu Umayyah policy. All such efforts proved futile before Umar bin Abdul Aziz but Yazid bin Abdul Malik was not Umar bin Abdul Aziz. After a bit of effort he was swept off his feet. The details of how it happened follow. Forty white haired bearded men came to his palace and stood witness that whatever he as caliph did, he would not be held accountable nor would he be punished in hell. The plan met with instant success. His ignorance led

him slowly and gradually to decadence until he began to drink wine and take drugs like Yazid I. He was the first caliph who openly drank wine and wasted his time in singing and playing on musical instruments. Banu Umayyah then had many opportunities for exploitation. They imposed themselves upon the caliph's court and squashed all the amendments and reformations interfering with their capturing lands and property illegally and they were worse in matters of justice. The downfall of the caliphate of Banu Umayyah started with Umar bin Abdul Aziz's death. This was the time when Banu Abbas and Hashimites had a golden chance of maneuvering against Banu Umayyah.

Mohammad bin Yusuf, Hajjaj bin Yusuf Thaqfi's brother, had during his regime, levied a new tax on the Yemenis which Umar bin Abdul Aziz during his caliphate abolished and fixed a one tenth tax and said, "Compared to the fixation of this tax I would prefer not to receive even a single dirham of tax from Yemen." When Yazid bin Abdul Malik became caliph, he wrote to the governor of Yemen that he must collect the old tax that was originally imposed by Muhammad bin Yusuf from the Yemenis however displeased they might become. Yazid's uncle Mohammad bin Marwan, the governor of Azerbaijan, died at that same time and he sent brother, Maslama bin Abdul Malik, as governor in his place.

It has been recorded earlier that Umar bin Abdul Aziz interned Yazid bin Muhallab for embezzling from the taxes of Jurjan. He remained in jail until he heard that Umar bin Abdul Aziz was poisoned by Banu Umayyah and he had very little chance of surviving. There had been an estrangement between Yazid bin Muhallab and Yazid bin Abdul Malik since the time of Sulaiman bin Abdul Malik. When Yazid bin Muhallab came to know that Umar bin Abdul Aziz's life was in mortal danger and Yazid bin Abdul Malik was to succeed him, he heavily bribed those guarding him and fled so that Yazid bin Abdul Malik would not have a chance to take revenge on him. He fled from the jail and went towards Basra. While fleeing, he sent a note to Umar bin Abdul Aziz that said, "If I had been sure you would survive, I would never have escaped from your punishment. However, fearing that Yazid bin Abdul Malik will kill me mercilessly after you, I am

fleeing from here." The note reached Umar bin Abdul Aziz when he was at the point of death. Having read the letter he said, "O Allâh! If Yazid bin Muhallab has run away to cause harm to the Muslims, punish him for he has cheated me. When Yazid bin Abdul Malik became caliph, he briefed the governor of Basra named Adi bin Artat about Yazid's flight and asked him to arrest his family. Adi arrested his sons, Mofaddal and Marwan, and threw them into prison. Meanwhile Yazid bin Muhallab arrived in Basra. The Basraites supported him and so Adi was forced to escape from Basra. Yazid bin Muhallab occupied Basra and extended his rule up to Ahwaz and founded a kingdom with a large army. He induced the Iraqis into believing that declaring a *Jihad* on the Syrians was better than fighting the Turks.

[Editors note: The Turks referred to here are not the Turks of modern day Turkey but the Turkic tribes from the areas north of present day Turkey, Iran and Afghanistan until and including parts of modern day China. These Turkic tribes were not Muslim at the time, so to declare jihad on Syrians who were Muslims and forgo jihad on the Turkic tribes who were non-Muslims without very exceptional circumstances is not sanctioned by Islam.]

Imam Hasan Basri opposed it but the people, fearing that Yazid bin Muhallab would kill him, compelled him to keep quiet. Yazid led the army to Kufa. Yazid bin Abdul Malik came to know about the invasion and sent his brother Maslama Abdul Malik with an army. A bloody battle took place and both sides fought bravely and heroically. Finally, Yazid bin Muhallab and his brother Habib were killed on the battlefield and Maslama bin Abdul Malik was victorious. When the rest of the descendents of Muhallab were informed of the death of Yazid and Habib and the defeat of the army, they escaped from Basra and set out towards the east by boat. A regiment was sent after them and there was a confrontation between them at Qandabeel. The whole of Muhallab's family, except two children Abu Arba bin Muhallab and Uthman bin Mofaddal, were killed.

After the battle, Yazid bin Abdul Malik made Maslama bin Abdul Malik the governor of Iraq and then in place of the latter he fixed Amr bin Hubaira as the Administrator of Iraq. When the inhabitants of

Safad and Samarkand took arms against him, Amr bin Hubaira deputed Sayeed Harshi as the Amir of Khorasan and sent him to Khorasan with an army. He went there and punished them.

There was a rebellion in Khazar (covering the southeastern section of modern European Russia and in their early history up to the Caucasus) and Armenia. The people there took reinforcements from the people of Qabehaq and invaded the Muslims and put to death the greater part of the Islamic army. After the defeat, they went to Yazid bin Abdul Malik in Damascus. Yazid gave an army to Jarrah bin Abdullah Hakami who went there and waged a battle in which the Muslims defeated them. Jarrah continued his march onwards and captured new territories. Their leaders surrendered to him and the entire region came under the occupation of the Muslims.

Abdur Rahman bin Dhahak had been governing the Hijaz since Umar bin Abdul Aziz's time. He remained at that post for three years and at that time wanted to marry Husain bin Ali's ﷺ grand daughter. He sent the message to Fatima bint Husain ﷺ, the bride's mother. She refused. He then threatened that he would accuse her son of drinking wine and have him lashed. She sent a complaint to Yazid bin Abdul Malik. Yazid flew into a rage when he heard about it, and immediately wrote a letter to Abdul Wahid bin Abdullah Qasri in his own hand informing him that he appointed him the governor of Madinah and so he should go to Ibn Dhahak at once and depose him and collect forty thousand 'dinars' from him as a fine and torture him so much that his cries should be audible to him (the caliph) although he was at rest in his bed in Damascus. The envoy delivered the letter to Abdul Wahid. Abdul Wahid took charge of the governorship of Madinah and began to torture Dhahak. The people were not pleased with Dhahak and so after his dismissal satirical poems were composed about him. Abdul Wahid treated the Madinaites well. Everyone was pleased with him and Abdullah bin Umar's sons, Qasim and Salim, were advisors in all his activities. Ibn Dhahak's dismissal and Abdul Wahid's appointment took place in Shawwal 104 A.H.

As mentioned earlier, Sayeed Huraishi was the Administrator of Khorasan. After a short time, Ibn Hubaira dismissed Huraishi and put Muslim bin Sayeed bin Aslam bin Zara Kalabi in charge of Khorasan.

Ibn Hubaira continued to govern throughout Yazid bin Abdul Malik's administration.

Yazid bin Abdul Malik had made his brother Hisham bin Abdul Malik and after him his own son Waleed bin Yazid the heir-apparent. After ruling for four years and one month Yazid bin Abdul Malik died on 25 Shaban 105 A.H. at the age of 38 and then Hisham bin Abdul Malik succeeded him in keeping with Yazid's will.

Hisham bin Abdul Malik

Abul Waleed Hisham bin Abdul Malik was born in 72 A.H. His mother was Aysha bint Hashim bin Ismail Makhzumi. When Yazid bin Abdul Malik died, Hisham was in Hims. A messenger went there with news of Yazid's death, his staff and ring. Hisham left Hims and came to Damascus and took the oath for his caliphate.

Following his accession Hisham bin Abdul Malik dismissed Ibn Hubaira from the governorship of Iraq and replaced him by Khalid bin Abdullah Qasri by conferring on him the certificate of governorship. It has been mentioned above that Muslim bin Sayeed was appointed the administrator of Khorasan. He invaded the Turks and remained at war with them until the end of 105 A.H. he defeated them and collected the taxes due from them.

Events in Khorasan

In 106 A.H. Muslim bin Sayeed collected a large army with the purpose of *Jihad* and went to Bukhara and Farghana to punish the rebels. The Chinese leader helped the Farghanaites. Many bloody battles were waged between the Chinese leader and Muslim bin Sayeed leading ultimately to the Chinese leader's defeat and the capture of many important leaders of the Turks by the Muslims. That same year the caliph in Damascus, Hisham bin Abdul Malik, wrote a letter to Khalid bin Abdullah asking him to depose Muslim bin Sayeed from the governorship of Khorasan and to send his brother Asad bin Abdullah Qasri to take his place. Khalid bin Abdullah therefore gave to his brother Asad bin Abdullah the certificate of governorship of Khorasan and sent him. Muslim bin Sayeed handed over the

governorship of Khorasan willingly. When Khalid bin Abdullah sent his brother Asad bin Abdullah as the ruler of Khorasan, he had sent Abdur Rahman bin Naim as his deputy.

Immediately after taking over the administration of Khorasan, Asad bin Abdullah launched attacks on Herat and Ghowr (modern Ghowr in west-central Afghanistan) . The Muslims collected large amounts of spoils of war there. In those battles, Nasr bin Sayyar and Muslim bin Ahwar achieved renown. After a very short time Asad bin Abdullah displayed such a strong personal nature that he made the people worried and terrified. He had Nasr bin Sayyar lashed a hundred times, had Abdur Rahman's head shaved and then sent them to his brother Khalid bin Abdullah saying that they were accomplices in a conspiracy to murder him.

In the same way, he used to abuse the people of Khorasan and dealt harshly with them. When caliph Hisham was informed of it, he wrote to Khalid bin Abdullah to depose Asad bin Abdullah from the governorship of Khorasan. Then of his own accord he sent Ashras bin Abdullah Aslami as the governor of Khorasan and informed Khalid accordingly. When Ashras arrived in Khorasan, he pleased all with his kind treatment and good behavior. From there in 110 A.H. he sent Abu Saida Saleh bin Zareef and Rabi bin Imran Tamimi to Samarkand and Mawaraunnahr (between the Amu [Oxus] and Syr rivers in modern Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan) with a view to convincing the inhabitants of the qualities of Islam and bring them on the right path by making them aware of the evils of Shirk. Rebellions were common in those territories and Islamic rule was maintained by the point of sword. Ashras prescribed the best remedy, the people were educated in Islam and then converted to it. That naturally removed the evils from their lives and then their understanding removed the danger to Islamic rule. The result of this form of invitation to Islam was that people began to enter Islam in large numbers.

When the people started embracing Islam, the revenue from Jizya that was collected from the *Dhimmis* came down.

[Editors Note: *Jizya:* A tax paid by non-Muslims living under an Islamic Government. Since the non-Muslims are exempt from military service and taxes imposed on Muslims, they must pay this tax to

compensate. It guarantees them security and protection. If the State cannot protect those who paid jizya, then the amount they paid is returned to them. *Dhimmis*: non-Muslims who have paid the jizya and have the right to protection and are not expected to pay another type of tax.]

When the *Dhimmis* began to convert to Islam the revenue was reduced, Hasan bin Umar Taha, the Revenue Officer of Samarkand, wrote a letter of complaint to Ashras bin Abdullah Aslami, the governor of Khorasan. Ashras replied, "Most of them might have converted to Islam only for the sake of avoiding the Jizya and they may not have converted from the core of their hearts. Please see if they have been circumcised and make their *Salat* (obligatory prayer) in which case they should be excused from paying the Jizya, otherwise collect it from the rest of them despite their claim that they are Muslims." Ashras actually disapproved of this method but Khalid and Hisham desired that the converts should be dealt with strongly . On the receipt of this reply from Ashras, Hasan bin Umar Taha hesitated in its compliance simply because it was against Islamic Shariah (legal code). Ashras dismissed him and sent Hani ibn Hani in his place retaining his previous posts of the governorship and military commander of Samarkand. Hani came and began the collection campaign. Abu Saida stopped the converts from paying *Jizya* and forbid Hani to collect it. Hani wrote to Ashras that they had accepted Islam and had built mosques and so how could he collect *Jizya* from them. He received the reply that he must collect it from those who used to pay it regardless if they had embraced Islam or not.

In view of the situation, Abu Saida collected seven thousand converts and taking them encamped a few miles away from Samarkand to fight. Since he was justified, many Muslim leaders parted with the army of Samarkand and went to him in support of the converts. When Ashras realized the situation, he dismissed Hani from the governorship of Samarkand and deputed Mahshar bin Muzahim Sulami in his place. Mahshar reached Samarkand, called Abu Said and his associates on the pretext of reconciliation and imprisoned them and then sent them to Ashras. The converts selected Abu Fatima as their chief. Finally, those Muslims were exempted from paying the

Jizya, when their unity and collective power declined, they began to be dealt with harshly and humiliated in different ways. The consequences of these actions were disastrous. Those who had embraced Islam, turned apostate and rebelled and prepared to fight they requested the leader of the Chinese to help them. The Chinese emperor came with a large army and started a series of battles against the Muslims. Ashras himself came to fight and both armies fought heroically many Muslims and Turks were killed and finally, it ended in reconciliation.

At this point, let us reflect on the commonly held concept that Islam was spread by the sword. We should pause and think whether the Muslims in general used the sword for the propagation of Islam or did a few foolish rulers among them use the power of the sword to stop it from spreading.

In 111 A. H., Hisham bin Abdul Malik dismissed Ashras while he was at war with the Turks and Samarkandis and replaced him by Junaid bin Abdur Rahman bin Omar bin Harith bin Kharja bin Sanan bin Abi Harsa Murri. When Junaid arrived in the capital city of Merv, he did not find Ashras, who was in the field, but his deputy Khattab bin Mehraz Sulami. He stayed there for a day and then marched to Mawaraunnahr leaving Mahshar bin Muzahim Sulami in Merv and took Khattab with him. He along with Ashras defeated the Chinese leader and the inhabitants of Bukhara and returned to Merv at the end of 111 A. H. Then he deputed Qatan bin Qutaiba bin Muslim to Bukhara, Waleed bin Qaqa Absi to Herat and Muslim bin Abdur Rahman Bahli to Balkh but after a few days, he dismissed Muslim bin Abdur Rahman and put Yahya bin Zabya in charge of Balkh.

In 112 A.H., Junaid sent Amara bin Maryam with an army of eighteen thousand fighters and Ibrahim bin Bassam with ten thousand warriors from another side to Tukharistan and its capital, Balkh (now part of northern Afghanistan) in order to discipline the rebels. He also started preparing to go there. When the Turks found out these armies were headed in their direction, they made the Chinese leader their Commander-in-chief and gathered a huge army and invaded Samarkand. At that time the governor of Samarkand was Sura bin Aljabr. He informed Junaid that The Chinese leader was marching

towards Samarkand with a large army and he should send him reinforcements at once. Mahshar bin Muzahim advised Junaid that he should march towards Samarkand with a minimum of fifty thousand soldiers because fighting the Turks would not be an easy task. Because his army was decimated and he had only a small number of soldiers left with him, so he was advised not go to Samarkand. Junaid heaved a sigh and said, "How is it possible that my brother Sura bin Aljabr is in trouble and I should remain sitting here waiting to collect fifty thousand soldiers?" Saying this, he set out for Samarkand. When the Chinese leader and the Turks were informed that Junaid himself was on way to Samarkand, they left a small army to continue the siege of Samarkand and intercepted him on the way and they began to fight. Junaid and his handful of friends fought so bravely and heroically that the Turks were confounded. Some of the Muslims fighters were killed while the dead bodies of the Turks started to pile up.

The number of the Turkish and Chinese soldiers was very large. Keeping the mountain at his back Junaid pushed them to the rear and made the Turks retreat. Finally, at the instance of his commanders Sura bin Aljabr in Samarkand was informed, "We are fighting at a short distance from you. Gather your courage and come out of Samarkand and join us, you should advance along the canal and attack the Turks from the opposite flank." Sura bin Aljabr set out but contrary to the directions given to him he changed course with the result that he quickly became surrounded by the Turks and many of his soldiers were killed. Because of this Junaid was denied any reinforcements. Finally, the Muslims launched more fierce attacks and put the Turks and the Chinese leader to rout.

He sent a detailed report through a fast messenger to Hisham bin Abdul Malik in Damascus. The Caliph ordered the governors of Kufa and Basra each to send a force of ten thousand armed men to Junaid. He asked Junaid to continue fighting and that he was sending twenty thousand soldiers, thirty thousand spears and thirty thousand swords to reinforce him from Kufa and Basra. The message reached Junaid in Samarkand and he remained at his post.

After only a few days, he heard that the Chinese leader who had fled from Junaid was thinking of attacking Bukhara and was gathering an

army. Bukhara was governed by Qatan bin Qutaiba. Junaid was afraid that Qatan might meet the same fate that Sura had met in Samarkand so he left Uthman bin Abdullah with four hundred cavaliers and arranged all of the necessary provisions for him. Then along with his women and children and the necessary supplies, he left Samarkand and moved towards Bukhara. The confrontation between him and the Chinese leader took place at Kominia near Towees on the first of Ramadan 112 A.H. Junaid was victorious, he found the way ahead clear and continued to Bukhara. Once again, he had to fight the Turks on the way and defeated them. Finally, he entered Bukhara and at that time the armies of Kufa and Basra also arrived there.

By constantly inflicting defeat on the Turks, he established peace in Khorasan. When he had established security in Khorasan, he married Fadila bint Yazid bin Muhallab. The Caliph, Hisham bin Abdul Malik, had a strong dislike against the Muhallab family and when he received the news of the marriage, he was displeased and dismissed Junaid from the governorship of Khorasan. He sent Asim bin Abdullah bin Yazid Hilali with the certificate of governorship of Khorasan, to replace him. While Asim was traveling to Khorasan, the condition of Junaid who suffered from dropsy worsened. The day he entered Merv, Junaid had died on the previous day. Asim upon arrival to Khorasan, dismissed all the governors appointed by Junaid and appointed his own.

Harith bin Shuraih

Banu Abbas had started a series of secret maneuvers to establish their caliphate and destroy that of Banu Umayyah in 100 A.H. when Umar bin Abdul Aziz رحمه الله was Caliph. These conspiracies were conceived and carried out with great care and wisdom. A few particular Hadiths (statements) of the Prophet ﷺ were given much publicity and some were fabricated expediently. To some statements, a few sentences were added and all of them were designed to convince the masses that the Islamic Caliphate was destined to come to Banu Abbas very soon. Since the insurgent parties had been using Banu Hashim's claim to caliphate and the illegal capture of power of Banu Umayyah as a weapon, these factors were exaggerated and manipulated. For this

particular mission specially qualified persons were pressed into service. Banu Umayyah, in their intoxication of power never attached much importance to these ploys nor did they think it necessary to stamp them out nor did they like to involve themselves in the investigation of these types of secret intrigues.

In parallel with the Abbasids, the Fatimids and Alawiites also had been carrying on similar manipulations and conspiracies for a long time and all of these conspiracies had been nurtured in Khorasan because the atmosphere there was most suitable for them. Harith bin Shuraih, the chief of the well-known tribe of Azd in Khorasan was captivated with the ideas of the Alawiites and the Fatimids. In 116 A.H., he wore black clothes and invited people to the Qur'ân and Sunnah and to pledge themselves to Imam Rada, arriving in Faryab, he started the mission.

[Editor's note: Black was the color of the Abbasids therefore it indicated opposition to the Umayyahs. Invitation to the Book and Sunnah refers to the Qur'an and the traditions of the Prophet Muhammad ﷺ. These are unassailably correct and all Muslims agree on them and every political activist knows the people will support such a platform. The oath of allegiance to Imam Rada however, was the political objective of Harith bin Shuraih.

Four thousand dedicated people gathered round him. He led the army towards Balkh, which at that time was ruled by Nasr bin Sayyar. He came out with ten thousand soldiers to fight but was defeated. Harith bin Shuraih captured Balkh, deputed Sulaiman bin Abdullah bin Hazim there and marched towards Jurjan. He easily occupied it and then moved towards Merv. In Merv Asim bin Abdullah wanted to persuade the people to gather and fight but Harith bin Shuraih had won them to his side through secret correspondences.

Harith had gathered sixty thousand people around him that included the well known chiefs of Azd and Tamim and the large land owners of Faryab and Taliqan. Asim bin Abdullah had made all possible preparations to repel the attack. Harith invaded Merv with great courage but just at the time the battle began four thousand people of the Azd and Tamim tribes deserted him and joined Asim's army. That

resulted in the lessening of the fighting spirit of Harith's troops but the battle continued on unabated. Harith eventually had to retreat and Asim did not pursue them. When Asim reached Rahban and encamped there, he had a cavalry of only three thousand men that remained with him. Harith then steadied himself and began to fortify and build up his captured territory and put it on a war footing.

When informed of the situation Hisham bin Abdul Malik from Damascus asked Asim to explain, the latter replied that because Khorasan's authority was directly linked to the caliph's court delay was caused in sending news and receiving reinforcements on time. It was therefore appropriate, he argued, that just as the province of Khorasan was once under Iraq; similarly it should be brought under Iraq again, so that help from both Basra and Kufa could arrive in time. Hisham appreciated the idea but dismissed him from the governorship of Khorasan and wrote to the governor of Iraq Khalid bin Abdullah Qasri to make his brother Asad bin Abdullah the governor of Khorasan.

When Asim became aware of his dismissal and of the new arrangements, he reconciled with Harith bin Shuraih and said to him, "Come and let us write a missionary letter to him and invite him to follow the Book and the Sunnah. If he refuses we will jointly try to oppose him." But the reconciliation did not last long nor did it bear fruit. Both disagreed on some point and the disagreement escalated to the extent that they began fighting against each other.

In the battle, Harith was defeated and most of his supporters were arrested and killed by Asim. Asim wanted to please Hisham bin Abdul Malik with the victory but Asad bin Abdullah had almost reached there with the certificate of governorship and as soon as he arrived, he arrested Asim

This happened in 117 A.H., immediately after taking control of Khorasan, Asad began to take back the cities of Khorasan from Harith. He captured Balkh and then turned to Termiz (city in southern Uzbekistan). In brief, he remained at war with Harith and the Turks for two years. Harith's condition deteriorated considerably and he along with a few followers of his, continued to search for a place to take refuge. In 119 A.H., two important Chinese leaders were killed

while fighting against the Islamic army and the chain of Asad's victories crossed Turkistan and reached western China.

In Rabia al-Awwal 120 A.H., Asad died in Balkh. At the time of his death, he declared Jafar bin Hanzala Nahrwani to be his deputy who remained at this post for four months. After that in Rajab, Nasr bin Sayyar was made the governor of Khorasan. That same year, 120 A.H. the enemies of the Iraqi governor, Khalid bin Abdullah complained to Hisham bin Abdul Malik against him with the result that the he was dismissed and replaced by Yusuf bin Umar Thaqfi. While Yusuf did not indulge in vices and performed the obligatory religious duties he was at the same time merciless and foolish.

When Nasr bin Sayyar took over the governmental responsibilities he first tried to stop the unjust practice of the collecting the *Jizya* from the converts. He was able to put an end to it and an immediate impact was seen, Islam started spreading among the Turks very rapidly.

Cities of Khadar and Armenia

Hisham bin Abdul Malik appointed Jarrah bin Abdullah Hakami the governor of Armenia. In 111 A.H. Jarrah, making *Jihad* from the side of Taflees entered Turkistan and after capturing the famous city of Baiza, he returned. In 112 A.H., the Turks arrayed their joint armies and attacked the Islamic territory. Jarrah came out to face them. Both fought at the plain of Ardabil (town in northwestern Iran, 38 miles from the Caspian Sea). The Muslims were outnumbered and Jarrah met his martyrdom fighting but not before making his brother Hajjaj bin Abdullah Hakami his deputy. Jarrah's death encouraged the Turkmen and the Turks in their intoxication of victory advanced near to Mosil.

When the news reached the capital of Damascus, Hisham bin Abdul Malik called Sayeed Huraishi and said to him, "Jarrah fled after being defeated." Sayeed said, "Jarrah feared Allâh more than running away after defeat. He could not tolerate the shame of defeat at the hands of the Turks plus flight. I think he met his martyrdom." Hisham said, "What should be done now?" Sayeed said, "Please send me there with only forty men and keep sending forty men daily, also send orders to

all the governors and administrators to extend reinforcements to me if need be."

Hisham liked the idea and Sayeed set out with forty men. They met Jarrah's defeated comrades on the way. Sayeed took them with him and wherever he passed by tribes of Muslims, he induced them to join the *Jihad*. In this way, people continued to join him everywhere. At Khalat, he fought the Turks. After a fierce battle, the Turks suffered a defeat and the Muslims captured a large amount of spoils of war. Then Sayeed encamped at Barzgha. The Turks had besieged Warsan. Sayeed informed the people of Warsan of the arrival of the Islamic forces and threatened the Turks to either lift the siege or face them.

The Turks were terrifiedand they raised the siege and left. Sayeed entered Warsan and then continued to advance up to Ardabil and encamped there. He was informed that an army of ten thousand Turks was encamping at a distance of eight miles from there and they had five thousand Muslim captives with them. Sayeed attacked at night, killed all ten thousand Turks and freed the Muslim captives. He set out for Bajarwan while a spy informed him that another army of Turks was encamping near by. Sayeed led a night attack there also and freed all the Muslim captives after killing all the Turks. Jarrah's sons and other members of his family were among the captives, the Turks then rallied again and prepared a large army and fought with the Muslims at Zarand. The Turks had to retreat after a fierce battle. Trying to recover some of their losses, they again prepared for a confrontation and retaliation and assembled along the side of Began River. Sayeed arrived and started the fight. Many Turks were killed and of those who escaped most were drowned in the river.

Following the victory Huraishi returned to Bajarwan and encamped there and sent the good news of his victories to Caliph Hisham with the fifth part of the spoils of war. Hisham then recalled Huraishi to Damascus and sent his own brother Maslama bin Abdul Malik with the documents of governorship to Armenia and Azerbaijan.

The Turks again rallied after Sayeed's departure. They prepared a huge army with a vast amount of weapons and provisions. Maslama was a veteran commander and a brave person. It was not out of cowardice but out of shortage of men and a good estimation of the

enemies strength that he moved the Muslims' weapons, provisions, women and children to Derbent (city in Dagestan republic in southwestern Russia) to avoid the risk of them being captured by the Turks. During his one and a half or two-year rule, he treated the Turks in Armenia kindly, which helped to discourage them from revolting against the Muslims. Following Maslama's arrival at Derbent, Marwan bin Mohammad bin Marwan who was in Maslama's army, left and went to Damascus. He complained to Hisham about Maslama stating that he dealt with the Turks in Armenia and Azerbaijan with great leniency, which encouraged them to revolt and when he was expected to fight them, he retreated and returned to Derbent. He claimed that if the caliph provided him with 120,000 warriors and sent him there, he would straighten out the problem with the Turks completely.

Hisham bin Abdul Malik agreed to his request and gave him the number of warriors he asked for and sent him to the cities of Khadar and Armenia. Meanwhile Maslama became sick and died in Derbent. When the Turks saw such a huge army with Marwan, they lost their nerve and surrendered. Marwan as he had said, completely corrected the situation and restored peace in the entire region of Armenia and Khadar. Hisham sent Marwan to Armenia in 114 A.H.

Caesar of Rome

During Hisham bin Abdul Malik's regime, the Muslims defeated Caesar's army repeatedly. Summer and winter armies had been reserved in the north for launching attacks since Amir Muawiya's times. Those summer and winter armies continued to invade Constantinople and Caesar's territories and because of this constant onslaught, the Romans were overawed by the Muslims. In Hisham's time princes like Muawiya bin Hisham, Sayeed bin Hisham, Sulaiman bin Hisham, Maslama bin Abdul Malik, Marwan bin Mohammad, Abbas bin Waleed all led attacks on them. Famous commanders like Abdullah Battal and Abdul Wahab bin Bakht were known to the Romans and feared by them. The Romans suffered great losses at the hands of the Muslims and failed to achieve any major victory against them.

Abdullah bin Oqba's feats in Spain were sufficient to keep the European Christians and the Christian kings fearful at the mention of

the name of the Muslims. Peace was also restored in the Hijaz and Yemen.

Zaid bin Ali

The treatment that was meted out to Husain bin Ali bin Abi Talib at Karbala and to Abdullah bin Zubair in Makkah by the government of the Banu Umayyah and after that the policy that was adopted by Hajjaj and Ibn Zeyad in the Hijaz and Iraq, all combined to terrify and silence the Arab tribes of the Hijaz and Iraq. Moreover, their acquisition and use of wealth created such a negative impression on the masses that it gave rise to ill feelings ultimately leading to the gradual disappearance of sincerity and sympathy for Banu Umayyah. Hisham's 20-year rule was outwardly an age of peace. In his time, there were no tyrants like Hajjaj and Ibn Zeyad in Iraq and the Hijaz. Banu Hashim were repeatedly reminded of their own ruin and Banu Umayyah's successes. They considered those who were not taking extraordinary advantages of the government directly to be their sympathizers. The fear and awe they had inspired also vanished. In this atmosphere, Banu Hashim made up their mind to pull down Banu Umayyah's government and establish their own. They had been watching and gaining experience. Since the administrations of Uthman bin Affan and Ali bin Abi Talib, they felt that strategy and planning was more effective than swords in changing governments. Therefore, secret planning, conspiracies and subversive activities were started on a large scale. The work was simultaneously begun by two families of Banu Hashim. The descendents of Ali bin Abi Talib and the descendents of Abbas bin Abdul Muttalib began their struggles separately. The struggles made by the Abbasids will follow later. At present mention is being made about the struggles of the Alawites or Fatimids.

It has been mentioned above that Hisham bin Abdul Malik deputed Yusuf bin Umar Thaqfi as the governor of Iraq. During his regime in 122 A.H. Zaid bin Ali bin Husain bin Ali bin Abi Talib began to take the oath from the people secretly. As the popularity of Banu Umayyah due to reasons mentioned above had declined so much, Zaid bin Ali was highly successful in the matter of taking the oath and 15,000

people took the oath at his hands in Kufa.

Imam Abu Hanifa was one of the supporters of Zaid bin Ali. [Editor's note: Imam Abu Hanifa is the founder of one of the four schools of Islamic jurisprudence that are universally accepted by Muslims.]

Those who watched and understood the past historical developments advised Zaid bin Ali not to revolt but to wait for some time, he did not act upon their counsel and he revolted in Kufa. Yusuf bin Umar Thaqfi tried his best to put it down and the parties clashed. Just as the Kufans had betrayed Husain bin Ali ؓ and Musab bin Zubair, similarly they betrayed Zaid bin Ali.

When the time for using swords and displaying valor came, they started cross arguing like students. They said to him, "First tell us what is your opinion about Abu Bakr Siddiq (رضی اللہ عنہ) and Umar bin Khattab (رضی اللہ عنہ)"? He. said, "I never heard anyone in my family calling them bad names". They said, "The members of your family were entitled to the caliphate and they did not feel offended at the taking of the caliphate by these two (Abu Bakr and Umar رضی اللہ عنہم), and now Banu Umayyah instead of you has taken it, so how can you call them unjustified and fight with them?" Having said so, they annulled their oath and left. Zaid bin Ali called them Rafdees "refusers". Only 220 persons were left with him. With that handful of men, he faced several thousand fighters of Yusuf Thaqfi. He had called at the house of each one of them to remind them of their oath and solicited their support but none was forthcoming. Finally, after defeating the Governor's army several times, he received an arrow on the forehead and succumbed to the wound. Yusuf bin Umar Thaqfi had his head cut off and sent to Hisham bin Abdul Malik in Damascus. Zaid bin Ali's son Yahya bin Zaid left for Nainwa (situated on the east bank of the Tigris opposite Mosil in Iraq) after his father's death and remained in hiding there and then finding an opportunity went to Khorasan.

Zaid bin Ali's attempt ended in failure due to his haste and lack of foresight. But the Abbasids did not lag behind in taking advantage of it and they learnt the lesson of being more careful and foresighted in the matter and they were able to take a more correct estimation of the

influence of Banu Umayyah in the country. Zaid bin Ali's death did even more to induce and predispose the people to sympathize with Banu Hashim because Hisham bin Abdul Malik had Zaid bin Ali's head hung on the entry gate to Damascus. Yusuf Thaqfi in Kufa, hung up the dead bodies of Zaid bin Ali's comrades, which continued to dangle there for years making the people hate Banu Umayyah and sympathize with Banu Hashim even more.

The Conspiracy of the Abbasids

The caliphs of Banu Umayyah like Sulaiman bin Abdul Malik venerated and entertained Abu Hashim Abdullah bin Mohammad bin Hanfia bin Ali bin Abi Talib. However, he too was prejudiced against Banu Umayyah because of his being a Hashimite and he wanted to ruin Banu Umayyah's rule and bring Banu Hashim into power. His efforts were confined to his followers and friends whom he confided in if he found them capable. Such people were available to him in abundance and they were found both in Iraq, Khorasan and the Hijaz.

Mohammad bin Ali bin Abdullah bin Abbas bin Abdul Muttalib also was busy thinking how to dethrone Banu Umayyah and establish the caliphate of Banu Abbas. During Sulaiman bin Abdul Malik's rule, Abu Hashim Abdullah bin Mohammad went to Sulaiman bin Abdul Malik in Damascus. On his return journey, he stayed with Mohammad bin Ali bin Abdullah bin Abbas in Balqa (west-central Jordan). By chance, he fell ill and died there. On his deathbed, he asked him to try to take the Islamic caliphate. This was a form of authorization and all those people who were Abu Hashim's followers and confidants came and took the oath at Mohammad bin Ali's hands secretly. After that in 100 A.H. during Umar bin Abdul Aziz's caliphate Mohammad bin Ali Abbasi sent his agents to the Islamic countries like Iraq, Khorasan, Hijaz, Yemen, and Egypt. Though Umar bin Abdul Aziz had reduced, to a great extent, the hatred and enmity, most of the people harbored dislike in their hearts against Banu Umayyah and Mohammad bin Ali's movement remained continuously active. On his behalf, Maisarah in Iraq and Abu Mohammad Sadiq in Khorasan continued suggesting to the people the benefits of an Abbasid caliphate. Mohammad bin Ali settled on the

outskirts of Balqa and from there, he made publicity for his movement in the other Islamic countries. After a short time, he appointed 12 deputies and sent them to spread their message to all the Islamic countries and they met with success everywhere.

In 102 A.H. or according to another narration in 104 A.H. Abu Mohammad Sadiq, along with some influential persons of Khorasan who agreed with his mission, came to Mohammad bin Ali. It was during that time that Mohammad bin Ali came with his 15 day old son and said to them, "This will be your chief". (That child later came to be known as Abdullah Saffah and became the first Abbasid caliph). Then Bukair bin Mahan who was in Sindh with Junaid, visited Kufa and met Abu Mohammad Sadiq. He invited Bukair and he accepted at once. These events occurred in 105 A.H. In 107 A.H. Bukair who was the responsible officer in charge of the movement in Iraq and Khorasan, sent Abu Ikrama, Abu Mohammad Sadiq, Mohammad Khaneen, and Ammar Ebadi to Khorasan for advancing the cause of the caliphate of the Abbasids, Asad Qasri was the Governor of Khorasan at that time. He came to know by chance that some persons were asking people to support the caliphate of the Abbasids. He had all of them arrested and killed. Only Ammar managed to escape and informed Bukair. Bukair sent the details to Mohammad bin Ali who replied, "Thank Allah! Your missionary work and struggles have proved successful and fruitful. Now you should await your own death's too". In 118 A.H., Bukair made Ammar bin Zaid the chief of the supporters of Banu Abbas and sent him to Khorasan. He went there and introduced himself as Kharash. He preferred sympathy with Banu Abbas to even prayer and fasting and said to the people, "Far superior to fasting and prayer is the struggle to establish the caliphate of Banu Abbas and keep it a guarded secret and save it from exposure". Hearing about these statements Mohammad bin Ali expressed his displeasure with him. When the Governor of Khorasan, Asad Qasri, became aware of Kharash's activities, he had him arrested and killed. Mohammad bin Ali was annoyed at the weak faith of the Khorasanis. After which, an influential delegation from Khorasan came to him and begged to be excused for their weakness.

Mohammad bin Ali made one of them his deputy and sent them back to Khorasan. He gave them some wooden staffs, which symbolized

power and authority. In 124 A.H., Mohammad bin Ali died in captivity. He made his son Ibrahim his successor at the time of his death and left a will for his deputies and disciples to recognize Ibrahim bin Mohammad bin Ali as their leader and obey him. Bukair paid a visit to Ibrahim and received instructions from him, then set out to Khorasan to communicate to the people there the news of Mohammad bin Ali's death and the succession of his son as their leader. Bukair reached Khorasan and after collecting the people of the same mind, informed them of the situation and gave them instructions. The supporters of Banu Abbas brought the little cash they had and deposited it with him. Bukair went back to Imam Ibrahim with the money and in 124 A.H., Ibrahim sent Abu Muslim to Khorasan. The details about Abu Muslim and Imam Ibrahim and the future situation of the movement will be narrated later on.

The state of Hisham bin Abdul Malik's caliphate has already been narrated in brief. According to Yazid bin Abdul Malik's will, Waleed bin Yazid was the heir-apparent after Hisham. However, Hisham wanted to depose Waleed and make his own son his successor. The noblemen and leaders of the government were not willing to accept it and he did not succeed in his aim. The attempted dismissal of Waleed created enmity between Hisham and Waleed. On 6 Rabi-al-Thani 125 A.H. after running the caliphate for nineteen and a half years Hisham bin Abdul Malik died.

Waleed bin Yazid bin Abdul Malik

Abul Abbas Waleed bin Yazid bin Abdul Malik bin Marwan bin Hakam was born in 90 A.H. His mother was Hajjaj bin Yusuf Thaqfi's niece and Mohammad bin Yusuf's daughter. He was quite young at the time of Yazid bin Abdul Malik's death. From the beginning of his adulthood, his conduct was not good. He was notorious for his indulgence in sin, immorality and debauchery. This was the main reason of Hisham's intention of deposing him, which was justified. However, the opposition of short sighted noblemen and leaders did not allow him to succeed in his intention and Waleed bin Yazid succeeded Hisham bin Abdul Malik. Waleed bin Yazid's regime marked the opening of the door of ruin for the caliphate of Banu Umayyah.

Immediately after accession to the throne Waleed bin Yazid began to take revenge on his opponents. Some lost their salaries, some were thrown into jail and some were killed. Sulaiman bin Hisham caught hold of his brother and had him lashed and his beard shaved off and publicly exposed. He made several of Yazid bin Hisham's and Waleed bin Abdul Malik's sons captives. In brief, with his succession the first thing he did was to turn his entire family into his enemies. Then he arrested the Governor of Madinah Hisham bin Ismail Makhzumi's sons and the ex-Governor of Iraq, Khalid bin Abdullah Qasri and handed them over to Yusuf bin Umar, the Governor of Iraq, who tortured those noblemen to death.

In the first year 125 A.H., of Waleed bin Yazid's caliphate he took the oath from the people for his sons Uthman and Hakam. Though the practice of taking the oath for the heir apparent had been in practice for many years and the people had become accustomed to this form of oath, no one took the oath for those boys willingly and it left much resentment in the hearts of the people.

Waleed refused to keep his misdeeds to himself he offended the people with openly drinking and he made public his wrong beliefs and thoughts. He not only drank wine but he committed adultery. All these things discouraged the Governors of the provinces and territories very much. Whoever took the oath of obedience did it out of fear. Real support and sympathy vanished from the hearts of all.

In the very first year of his caliphate 125 A.H., he brought Khorasan under Iraq and dismissed the Governor of Khorasan Nasr bin Sayyar. Nasr received from Waleed bin Yazid as well as from Yusuf bin Umar, the Governor of Iraq, the orders of his dismissal asking him further to go to the capital, Damascus, at once and present the accounts of the province.

Division of Provinces During Banu Umayyah's Regime

At this point, it is essential to understand how the caliphate of Banu Umayyah divided all the Islamic territory into administrative provinces. One Amir or deputy of the State was appointed for each province. He enjoyed absolute royal power in his province and appointed his own Governors in the states of his province. There were

large provinces like Hijaz, Iraq, Jazirah, Armenia, Syria, Egypt, North Africa, Andalusia (Spain) and Khorasan. The Hijaz included Makkah, Madinah, Taif and Yemen. Sometimes Yemen was taken from under the Hijaz's control and considered a separate province and its governor was appointed by the caliph. Syria included Jordan, Hims, Damascus and Qansareen. North Africa sometimes was included with Egypt and sometimes it was separated from Egypt and considered as an independent province and the Governor for Qairwan (North Africa) was appointed by the court of the caliph.

Similarly sometimes Spain was separated and its Governor was appointed by the Caliph himself and sometimes it was brought under the Amir of Qairwan and included in the province of North Africa. In that case, the Amir of Qairwan used to appoint the Governor in Spain by his own authority. The same was the case with Iraq and Khorasan, that is, Khorasan was sometimes segregated as a Province and its Governor or Amir was appointed by the caliph and sometimes it was annexed to the province of Iraq. In that case, the ruler of Khorasan was appointed by the Governor of Iraq. The Amirs in the provinces and governors in their states had absolute power. However, sometimes the Revenue Officers responsible for collecting the taxes were appointed by the caliph independently. Officers appointed in this way were not considered to be working under the ruler of the Province or state. However, the head of the armed forces of the Province and the one responsible for the maintenance of law and order was always the Amir of the Province or the governor of the state concerned. As in the case of the Revenue Officers sometimes, even the magistrate or head judge was sent by the caliph's court but the leader of the prayer was always the Amir or the governor. The leadership and military head were inter-related. Later on, the leadership of the prayers and governorship of the Provinces were segregated although the sermon of the Friday prayer remained the prerogative of the Amir or governor of the Province or state who was also the military Commander.

When Nasr bin Sayyar received the order of his dismissal, he first intended to obey it but then decided not to leave Khorasan and he proclaimed his independence.

In order to maintain the chain of events one incident must be mentioned here. Before Nasr had received the orders of his dismissal and when he still recognized the caliphate of Waleed bin Yazid, he received the order that he should arrest and send Yahya bin Zaid bin Ali bin Husain bin Ali bin Abi Talib to Damascus. Yahya bin Zaid was staying in Balkh following his father's death. Nasr had Yahya bin Zaid imprisoned. Waleed bin Yazid ordered that Nasr should send Yahya to him. Nasr released Yahya and ordered him to go to the Caliph in Damascus. Yahya left but turned back and returned to Khorasan. A large number of his followers rallied round him. Nasr sent an army to fight against them and Yahya was hit by an arrow in the forehead and died from the injury just like his father and all his comrades were slain. This happened at Jurjan in 125 A.H. Yahya's head was sent to Waleed and his dead body was hung on a cross, which remained there for seven years. It was Abu Muslim Khorasani who later took it down. Not only had the atrocities Waleed bin Yazid perpetrated on the people already incensed them but also his cousins whom he had tyrannized began to move against him. His cousin Yazid bin Waleed bin Abdul Malik in particular worked against him. Yazid bin Waleed was considered to be one of the very gentle and pious members of Waleed bin Yazid's dynasty. He therefore began to expose the caliph's unlawful activities and very soon, many came to agree with him. On his mission, he received the support not only of the leaders of the army and the Amirs of the Provinces but also of the family of the Caliph. The result was that all took the oath at Yazid bin Waleed's hands secretly and thus the larger part of the Syrian army joined him. He left Damascus and stayed at at a village a little distance from Damascus and from there he sent his agents to all the Islamic territories to inform them of the misdeeds and sinful acts of Waleed bin Yazid and mobilize their opinion against Waleed bin Yazid and for Yazid bin Waleed. This was the first time that Banu Umayyah and the royal family were disunited and split up, the opposition grew so strong that secret conspiracies and deceit were resorted to. Consequently, the condition of Waleed's authority deteriorated and Yazid's authority was enhanced. Yazid bin Waleed's brother Abbas bin Waleed, disapproved of what Yazid was doing and wanted to stop his brother from rebelling. It was due to his opposition that compelled Yazid to leave Damascus and seek another place to live at.

Yazid was satisfied about his position in all respects and fixed Friday 27 Jamad-al-Thani 126 A.H. for the uprising. He entered Damascus after the night prayer and arrested the city magistrate and then captured the government arsenal. Waleed did not have any prior information about the rebellion and its preparations. When he realized what was transpiring he became nervous and confused and could do nothing. He sat down and closed the doors of the palace. The inhabitants and people living in the adjoining areas began to arrive and take the oath from Yazid bin Waleed openly. Waleed wanted to leave Damascus and go to Hims but Yazid besieged Waleed in the palace of Noman. Waleed's comrades fought desperately. Abbas bin Waleed, Yazid's brother, left Damascus with a group of warriors to support Waleed and oppose Yazid but Mansoor bin Jamhoor arrested him on the way and presented him before Yazid bin Waleed. When Waleed bin Yazid realized there was no way out, he said. "This is the same type of day that befell Uthman bin Affan (رضي الله عنه)" and then he sat down to read the Qur'an. Yazid's men scaled over the palace walls, entered it and cut off his head. Mansoor bin Jamhoor took it to Yazid bin Waleed. Yazid said, "Let it be displayed in public and then sent to his brother Sulaiman bin Yazid" and it was done accordingly. Waleed, after being caliph for a year and three months, was killed on 28 Jamad-al-Thani 126 A.H. and the same day Yazid bin Waleed bin Abdul Malik acceded to the throne. The suffering caused by this civil war among the Banu Umayyah continued to bring about misfortunes and ultimately lead to its extermination.

Yazid bin Waleed bin Abdul Malik

Abu Khalid Yazid bin Waleed bin Abdul Malik bin Marwan bin Hakam is also known as Yazid the III and 'Yazid Naqis' (Yazid the reducer). He was called by this name because he slashed the salaries of the army. When Waleed bin Yazid had taken over as Caliph, he had increased the salaries by ten 'dirhams'. When Yazid became Caliph, he abolished the increment and restored the previous pay scale that was used by caliph Hisham. After becoming Caliph, Yazid gathered the people and said, "Waleed was a disbeliever and therefore he was assassinated. Now I shall treat you well. You will get your salaries on time. No one will be given any land until I fortify the borders of the

Islamic territories and fill the cities with justice and righteousness. I shall not keep watch at my door so that everyone may have easy access to me". After that, he took the oath for his brother Ibrahim bin Waleed and Abdul Aziz bin Hajjaj bin Abdul Malik to succeed after him.

When the inhabitants of Hims learned that Waleed bin Yazid was assassinated, they took up arms and made Yazid bin Khalid bin Yazid bin Muawiya their leader and set out for Damascus to avenge Waleed's death. Yazid bin Waleed gave an army to Sulaiman bin Hisham bin Abdul Malik for defense. He first made a proposal for reconciliation to the inhabitants of Hims and when they refused, he began to fight them. The consequence was that Yazid bin Khalid was caught and the rebels of Hims were killed in large numbers and the rest ran away from the battlefield.

When the Palestinians received the news, they also revolted. They made Yazid bin Sulaiman bin Abdul Malik their leader and when the Jordanians heard, they enthroned Mohammad bin Abdul Malik as their king and joined the Palestinians. The forces of the Palestinians and Jordanians moved jointly to Damascus. Waleed had already won the people of those places to his side but since it was an issue of the Caliph's assassination, they were enveloped by a strong wave of sympathy for the murdered Caliph and hatred against the present one. This was not surprising when we see a criminal executed although he is guilty our previous hatred and loathing for him dissipates. The office of the caliph is a cherished one and any foul play connected to it brings a negative reaction and because of these factors the Jordanians and Palestinians revolted. Hearing about the advancing army, Yazid deputed Sulaiman bin Hisham with a large army to discipline and correct them. Sulaiman defeated them all and forced them to obey the new Caliph.

After suppressing these revolts in Syria, Yazid dismissed Yusuf bin Umar as the Amir of Iraq and Khorasan and replaced him with Mansoor bin Jamhoor. Yusuf did not officially hand over the authority to him instead he left for Damascus covertly. As soon as he arrived in Damascus, Yazid bin Waleed arrested him and he died in captivity. Mansoor reached Kufa and released all the prisoners Yusuf had jailed

and sent his own brother as the Governor of Khorasan. Nasr bin Sayyar did not allow him entry into Khorasan and before the issue was settled, Yazid bin Waleed dismissed Mansoor and replaced him by Abdullah bin Umar bin Abdul Aziz and sent him to Iraq, not even two months had elapsed between the appointment of Mansoor and his replacement by Abdullah. Mansoor officially handed over the responsibilities of Amir to Abdullah and went to Syria. Abdullah bin Umar appointed Nasr bin Sayyar governor of Khorasan. At that time, the state of Yamamah was governed along with the province of Iraq. Sometimes Yamamah was annexed to the Hijaz and at other times to Iraq. The inhabitants of Yamamah had proclaimed their independence during Yusuf bin Umar's regime by expelling Ali bin Muhajir, the Governor of Yamamah. They were still independent and nothing could be done to bring them under the central government's rule.

When Abdullah bin Umar bin Abdul Aziz took over as the Amir of Iraq and appointed Nasr bin Sayyar the Governor of Khorasan, Jadi bin Kermani Azdi revolted against him. Jadi was in fact an Azdi but because he was born in Kerman, he was known as Kermani. Because Nasr had declared his independence as ruler of Khorasan and then was appointed to the post of Governor he seemingly was rewarded for his rebellion, so Jadi felt resentment. He said to his friends, "They are falling into mischief. Choose your own leader for your work". Nasr bin Sayyar and Kermani had disagreed in the past and there was resentment still lingering between them. For starting this new problem, Nasr arrested him and put him into jail on 27 Ramadan 126 A.H. Kermani remained there for a few days and then managed to escape. He was able to immediately gathered 3000 men. Nasr appointed a military commander to humble and discipline him. However, the people intervened and stopped the fight and brought about reconciliation between them. That resulted in Kermani visiting Nasr who exhorted him to remain confined to his house. After a few days, Kermani wanted to revolt again. Several times they were ready to fight and then became reconciled. Finally, it was agreed that Kermani should leave Khorasan and go to Jurjan.

During the days when Nasr and Kermani were constantly disputing the situation turned very dangerous, Nasr had the apprehension that Kermani might call Harith bin Shuraih from Turkistan and strengthen

himself. Harith bin Shuraih has already been mentioned. He had been in Turkistan for 12 or 13 years. Therefore, Nasr sent Muqatil bin Hayani Nabti to bring Harith to him. He sent letters to Abdullah bin Umar bin Abdul Aziz in Kufa and to Yazid bin Waleed in Damascus expressing his opinion of the possible danger from Harith and requested for documents of safe passage and permission to call him to Khorasan. Letters guaranteeing his security came from both the places. Harith left Turkistan and arrived in Khorasan where Nasr entertained him splendidly and lodged him at Marwrood. He fixed 50 dirhams as his daily allowance and said to him, "Choose the state and you will be made the Governor there". Harith said, "I don't want material benefits or power. I am interested in bringing into practice the Book and the Sunnah (practical application of the Quran and the methods of the Prophet ﷺ). I became sick of atrocities and I left these cities now after 13 years you have recalled me to them". Nasr was silent upon hearing this. Harith then sent word to Kermani, "If Nasr bin Sayyar is acting upon the Book and the Sunnah I shall fight against his enemies and support him and if he fails to act accordingly, I shall join you provided that you too promise to act upon the Book and Sunnah". Then Harith drew the tribe of Tamim and others to his command and within a few days, 3,000 people took the oath for his leadership.

This was the situation in Khorasan. In Armenia, Marwan bin Mohammad bin Marwan and in Jazira, Abduh bin Riyah Ghassani were the Amirs. When Waleed bin Yazid was killed, Abdu Ghassani left Jazirah (Literally: island. The region lies between the Euphrates and Tigris rivers and is bounded on the south by a line running between Takrit and Anbar. It is the northern reaches of Mesopotamia, now making up part of northern Iraq and extending into eastern Turkey and extreme northeastern Syria) and went to Syria. Marwan bin Mohammad's son, Abdul Malik, finding the province of Jazirah deserted, captured it and then sent his agents to various places and wrote to his father, Marwan bin Mohammad bin Marwan, "This is a big opportunity please stand up and avenge Waleed's death". Yazid bin Waleed had hardly become free from the uprisings in Hims, Jordan and Palestine, when he received the news of Marwan's revolt. Because the situation was highly critical for Yazid he wrote to

Marwan, "If you take the oath at my hands I shall give you the authority over all the states of Jazirah, Azerbaijan, Armenia and Mosil and send you the certificate making you the Amir". Marwan bin Mohammad took the oath from Yazid, and as promised, Yazid sent him the documents making him the Amir. Marwan then began to rule over the Provinces mentioned, previously he was the ruler of Armenia alone but now he was made the Amir of all territories up to Mosil.

Yazid bin Waleed, popularly known as Yazid Naqis (the reducer) was not bad from the view point of his morals and merits but he did not live long and after ruling for about six months, he died of plague on 20 Dhul Hijja 126 A.H. at the age of 35.

Ibrahim bin Waleed bin Abdul Malik

Abu Ishaq Ibrahim bin Waleed bin Abdul Malik took over as caliph after his brother Yazid Naqis in keeping with his will. All the people did not take the oath from Ibrahim. Some continued refusing to do so. When Marwan bin Mohammad bin Marwan, the Amir of Armenia, heard of Yazid's death, he advanced towards Damascus with his army. First, he arrived at Qansareen (one of the five original provinces that the conquering Arabs divided greater Syria into, now northern Syria). After capturing it, he moved towards Hims. The situation in Hims was strange. The inhabitants of Hims had not taken the oath with Ibrahim. Because of this the Syrian army from Damascus under the command of Abdul Aziz bin Hajjaj bin Abdul Malik, the commander of Ibrahim, was besieging Hims. When Abdul Aziz heard Marwan bin Mohammad was approaching, he raised the siege and went to Damascus. When Marwan arrived in Hims, the inhabitants of Hims took the oath without any hesitation. When Ibrahim was informed of it, he sent Sulaiman bin Hisham with an army of 120,000 to fight with Marwan. Marwan had 80,000 soldiers only. Before the fight, Marwan sent the message that read, "We give up our claim to Waleed binYazid's blood. Simply release his sons Hakam and Uthman whom Waleed had made his heirs apparent". Sulaiman bin Hisham turned down the request and the battle began. Sulaiman suffered a crushing defeat after getting his 17,000 men killed. Marwan took the oath for Hakam and Uthman and moved towards Damascus. In

Damascus Ibrahim and his advisors agreed to murder Hakam and Uthman and that is how they did. Marwan entered Damascus as the victor and Ibrahim and Sulaiman fled from Damascus towards Tadmur (ancient Syrian city, now in south-central Syria). Marwan found the dead bodies of Hakam and Uthman and was extremely aggrieved. He performed the funeral prayer and buried them and then put the question to the people, "Whom do you want to be made your Caliph"? They all unanimously took the oath with Marwan bin Mohammad bin Marwan bin Hakam. That occurred on Monday 24 Safar 127 A.H. Marwan granted pardon to Ibrahim and the latter willingly renounced his claim to the caliphate in favor of Marwan bin Muhammad. Historians differ on Ibrahim's caliphate. Some consider him to be a caliph and some do not because his caliphate was not recognized all over the Islamic world and he also abdicated. His caliphate whatever it may be considered lasted for only two months and a few days.

Marwan bin Mohammad bin Marwan bin Hakam

Marwan bin Mohammad is the last of the caliphs of the Banu Umayyah dynasty. Historically he is sometimes referred to as Marwan II. The caliph was known for his patience because the days of his caliphate were passed in waging many battles and he proved himself very forbearing and enduring. Marwan bin Mohammad lived at Harran instead of Damascus. He invited (the deposed caliph) Ibrahim from Tadmur and fixed him a salary. On 1 Shawwal Marwan received news that the inhabitants of Hims were fully prepared to take arms and that the Arab tribes from the adjoining areas had joined them. As soon as he heard the news, he took his forces and rushed towards Hims. Ibrahim and Sulaiman also accompanied him. They reached Hims on 30 Shawwal. They found the city gates closed. Marwan's officer shouted, "Why have you broken your oath with the 'Amir al-Muminin?" The city dwellers said, "We have not broken it. We are obedient and still firm on the oath". Then they opened the city gates and Marwan's men entered it. There were several factions in Hims, those opposed to him fought with Marwan and he defeated them. He pulled down about 300 yards of the city wall and leveled it to avoid another siege. He took the oath from the citizens. He was still in the

city when he received news that the citizens of Ghota had chosen Yazid bin Khalid as their leader, invaded Damascus and besieged its Governor. Marwan sent 10,000 soldiers to the help the Governor. The army arrived and the fight between them began. Marwan's army fought from outside and the people of Damascus fought from within. The Ghota people were defeated. Yazid bin Khalid was killed and his head was cut off and sent to Marwan. Immediately after the suppression of the uprising Thabit bin Naim gathered the Palestinians and laid siege to Tabria. It was then ruled over by Waleed bin Muawiya bin Marwan bin Hakam. Marwan at once sent his commander Abul Warda to put down the rebellion. Immediately after his arrival, the Taberians came out of the city and fought. The Palestinians were defeated. Abul Warda caught Thabit bin Naim's three sons and sent them to Marwan. Marwan appointed Ramahis bin Abdul Aziz Kanani as the ruler of Palestine. He searched for and arrested Thabit bin Naim and sent him to Marwan who chopped off his and his son's hands and feet and crucified them. After these events, the situation stabilized and Marwan bin Mohammad took the oath for the succession of his sons Abdullah and Obaidullah at Dair Ayyub and they married Hisham bin Abdul Malik's daughters. Then he invaded Tadmur because they were still claiming independence. They were forced to surrender and take the oath. Then he sent Yazid bin Umar bin Hubairah to Iraq to expel Dhahak Shebani Khawarji who had occupied Kufa. He stayed at Qarqisa in order to keep sending reinforcements from the rear. Before this, Sulaiman bin Hisham had encamped at RuSaffah (near present day Baghdad) to take rest. A large number of Syrians whom Marwan had sent to Iraq under the command of Yazid bin Umar bin Hubaira left him and went to Sulaiman bin Hisham and requested him to accept the caliphate. Sulaiman accepted it and taking them with him moved towards Qansareen. From there, he wrote letters to the different Syrian groups to which they responded and Syrians from all directions rallied round him and formed a big army. When Marwan heard about it, he ordered Yazid bin Umar bin Hubaira to halt and then he himself left Qarqisa and moved to face Sulaiman. Marwan and Sulaiman arrayed their forces outside of Qansareen at Hanaf and Marwan's forces defeated Sulaiman and forced him to escape. The captives from Sulaiman's men were slain. Sulaiman bin Hisham's son and Hisham bin Abdul

Malik's maternal uncle Khalid bin Hisham Makhzumi were killed on the battlefield. Sulaiman fled to Hims, gathered more armed forces and repaired the city walls. Marwan arrived at Hims and there was a fierce battle. Marwan surrounded Hims and continued the siege for about six months. Eighty catapults constantly kept launching stones. Becoming helpless, the citizens of Hims begged for pardon and Sulaiman escaped to Tadmur. Finishing the siege of Hims, Marwan set out for Kufa to fight with Dhahak Khawarji.

Yazid bin Umar bin Hubaira went to Kufa and defeated Dhahak Khwarji. Dhahak reordered his army and Yazid bin Umar defeated him again and entered Kufa. The Khawarij rebelled several times but they were defeated each time. Yazid bin Umar bin Hubaira occupied Iraq and sent Nasr bin Sayyar to Khorasan as the Governor after he took the oath for Marwan bin Mohammad.

As mentioned above, Harith bin Shuraih was present in Khorasan and the number of his men kept increasing day by day. He knew that he was granted pardon and security by Yazid bin Waleed and not by Marwan bin Mohammad. The Governor of Kufa, Abdullah bin Umar bin Abdul Aziz had also granted him pardon but not the present Governor of Kufa, Yazid bin Umar bin Hubairah. Therefore, Harith announced his opposition to them. Nasr bin Sayyar argued with him on this point very much but he did not see reason. Finally, war became inevitable. The flames of war engulfed the streets of the capital city Merv. From the other side of Khorasan, Kermani in Kerman had become very powerful. Nasr bin Sayyar sent for Kermani with grave misgivings because his doubts about his loyalty were not clarified. Kermani prepared himself for opposition to both sides. In short, the three of them, Kermani, Harith and Nasr assembled at Merv with their armies. All of them were equally powerful and all of them had different goals in their hearts. None of them had sympathy for the other. At last, Harith and Kermani joined together and defeated Nasr and expelled him from Merv. After a few days, they fought with each other, which resulted in the death of Harith and Kermani captured Merv in 128 A.H. When Harith was killed, Nasr collected Harith's soldiers and started sending armies against Kermani. Battles were waged and in almost all the confrontations, Nasr's commanders

were defeated. At last, Nasr, taking a big army, went to Merv. The two sides made fortifications and a chain of battles began. The battles continued and neither side was able to subdue the other. Abu Muslim Khorasani, who finds mention in the coming pages, found the situation advantageous and collected an army, he entered into correspondence with Nasr and Kermani separately. He wrote to Nasr, "Imam Ibrahim (the leader of the Abbasid movement) has sent me some instructions about you and I think you will be benefited by them". Then he wrote the same type of letter to Kermani, "I am your sympathizer and Imam Ibrahim has written to me to help you in your time of need". He gave instructions to the messengers bearing the letters to show the letter addressed to Nasr, to those tribes which sympathized with him, and to show the letter, addressed to Kermani to those tribes who were Kermani's sympathizers. The aim was to win the sympathy of all the tribes. Similarly, he managed to gain the sympathy and support of the Khawarij by clever means. Abu Muslim Khorasani arrived with his army and encamped in between the fortifications of Kermani and Nasr. Both sides failed to guess whom he would support or oppose. The next day Abu Muslim sent word to Kermani, "I shall fight with Nasr from your side". Kermani was highly pleased. When Nasr came to know about it he wrote to Kermani, "Abu Muslim wants to harm you cleverly. Don't come into his snare. We should forget our differences and fight against him". Kermani agreed to Nasr's suggestion. The next day a meeting between the two was arranged. Kermani came out with 200 men to meet Nasr whose men taking the opportunity killed them. Kermani's son Ali came running to Abu Muslim for support and Kermani's and Abu Muslim's armies under the command of Ali and Abu Muslim attacked Nasr. Nasr was defeated. He fled and hid himself in a house. Abu Muslim and Ali captured Merv. Ali bin Kermani wanted to take the oath at Abu Muslim's hand but the latter said, "At present maintain the status quo. We shall do whatever is proper when the Imam's order comes". Nasr escaped from Merv and began to gather forces. Abu Muslim and Ali bin Kermani lived together. Abu Muslim persuaded the chief of the Khawarij Sheban bin Abdul Aziz Khwarji to join him because Nasr was inimical to the Khawarij. Ali bin Kermani joined Abu Muslim because he wanted to avenge his father's death. Nasr

sent word to the Khawarij leader in order separate him and Abu Muslim, saying that Abu Muslim was a Shiite. In brief, the Khawarij split with Abu Muslim, Kermani's son also left him. All these four groups, Abu Muslim, Sheban Khawariji, Ali bin Kermani and Nasr were wandering here and there in Khorasan all looking for an opportunity against the other. Nasr and Abu Muslim were more clever and more farsighted than the others. Consequently, Abu Muslim had an opportunity and murdered Sheban Khawariji and Kermani's son one after the other in 130 A.H. In 131 A.H., Nasr fell ill and died at Rayy and that left Abu Muslim with no rivals remaining in Khorasan.

Khawarij

A brief of the situation in Khorasan has been given above. We will now discuss the Khawarij factor. They observed the civil wars and weaknesses in Islamic territories and used these situations to assist them in their revolt. The Khawarij of Khorasan chose Dhahak bin Qais Shebani as their leader. Dhahak attacked Kufa and occupied it and Abdullah bin Umar bin Abdul Aziz had to retreat from Kufa and go to Wasit. Sulaiman bin Hisham, defeated by Marwan bin Mohammad, joined Dhahak bin Qais. That of course added to Dhahak's overall strength. Dhahak then invaded Mosil. There Marwan bin Mohammad's son, Abdullah bin Marwan, faced him with only 7000 soldiers while Dhahak had one hundred thousand fighters, and with this army he surrounded Abdullah bin Marwan. Marwan, Abdullah's father received this information and turned his attention to his son's predicament. After a fierce battle, Dhahak was killed and the Khawarij chose Sayeed bin Bahdal as their leader but he was also killed. Then they made Sheban bin Abdul Aziz their new leader. Marwan sent Yazid bin Hubaira towards Kufa. He went there and turned out all the Khawarij from that city. On the other side, Sheban bin Abdul Aziz, taking all the Khawarij with him, went towards Iran. There he joined Abu Muslim as has been mentioned above and was killed in 130 A.H. The Hijaz, Yemen and Hadramawt (ancient South Arabian kingdom that occupied what are now southern and southeastern Yemen and part of the present-day Sultanate of Oman) also saw rebellions and Abu Hamza Mukhtar bin Auf Azdi raised the

flag of rebellion and Abdullah bin Yahya, the ruler of Hadramawt joined him. Abu Hamza first captured Madinah and then moved towards Syria. Marwan bin Mohammad deputed Ibn Atya Sadi to confront him and they met at Wadi Qura. Abu Hamza was killed in the battle. Ibn Atya then proceeded to Yemen and confronted Abdullah bin Yahya who was ready to face him a battle ensued and it resulted in Abdullah bin Yahya's death. Ibn Atya cut off his head and sent it to Marwan. At the time Marwan bin Mohammad was at war with Dhahak Khwarji near Mosil, a letter written by Imam Ibrahim and addressed to Abu Muslim Khorasani was intercepted and given to Marwan. It contained instructions that included, "Don't spare even a single Arab or a descendent of an Arab. The natives of Khorasan who have embraced Islam will stand us in good stead. We should rely on them more". The letter also revealed that Banu Abbas had spread the net of conspiracy against Banu Umayyah for quite a long time and Imam Ibrahim whose center of operations was at Hamima in Balqa was the engineer of these plots.

Marwan bin Mohammad after reading the letter ordered his ruler in Balqa to arrest Imam Ibrahim and send him to the caliph. So, Imam Ibrahim bin Mohammad along with several members of his family was caught and sent to caliph Marwan as captives. They were put in jail at Harran. Along with Imam Ibrahim Sayeed bin Hisham bin Abdul Malik and his two sons, Uthman and Marwan, Abbas bin Waleed bin Abdul Malik, Abdullah bin Umar bin Abdul Aziz and Abu Muhammad Sufyani were also imprisoned. In a matter of days an epidemic broke out in Harran and Imam Ibrahim, Abbas bin Waleed and Abdullah bin Umar bin Abdul Aziz died from the disease.

Sayeed bin Hisham along with the other prisoners killed the jailer, broke open the jail door and escaped. The inhabitants of Harran caught the escaping prisoners and killed them. Abu Mohammad Sufyani did not escape from jail with the others. He was released by Marwan bin Mohammad after he returned defeated from Zab river battle. Imam Ibrahim left his will at the time of his arrest and imprisonment that after his death his brother Abdullah bin Mohammad, popularly known as Abul Abbas Saffah would be his successor. He also willed that Abul Abbas Saffah should not stay in

Balqa but in Kufa. Imam Ibrahim, before his arrest, had directed that Abu Muslim Khorasani should be as their officer to comply with this order and then Imam Ibrahim sent Qahtaba bin Shabeeb to Abu Muslim with a black flag to revolt and capture Khorasan. Abdullah bin Mohammad Saffah along with his family settled in Kufa in accordance with the will of his brother.

Abu Muslim brought under his control the whole of Khorasan between 130 A.H. and 131 A.H. Then he sent Qahtaba bin Shabeeb with an army towards Kufa. Kufa was captured and then the oath at the hand of Abul Abbas Saffah Abdullah bin Mohammad followed. Upon receiving this news Marwan bin Mohammad left Harran with 120,000 warriors and marched towards Kufa. The confrontation between his army and Saffah's army under the command of his uncle Abdullah bin Ali took place adjacent to the Zab River. If Marwan bin Mohammad's army had the desire to fight, it could have easily defeated Abul Abbas Saffah's army. However in the midst of the battle at the point that Marwan had forced the greater portion of Abdullah bin Ali's army into retreat and there was no doubt left that Marwan would be victorious, the greater portion of Marwan's army refused to attack and continue the fight as if their purpose was to cause his defeat.

Abdullah bin Ali, finding himself on the verge of defeat and deciding to risk everything, attacked with a selected group of men. None of Marwan's leaders came forward to meet this last desperate challenge. Marwan tempted them with rewards and special favors but without response. Then he poured all his treasure on to the battlefield and told them to attack and after killing the weakened enemies, they could distribute it among themselves. The army failed to follow his orders and became engrossed in looting the exposed valuables and even those few who were still fighting left the battle and also began looting. Shocked at this disorder and chaos Marwan sent his son, Abdullah to stop the looting. As soon he reached where they were looting the treasure, they began to flee and left Marwan with only a few persons. Marwan was disillusioned with the disloyalty and disobedience of his army and escaped. He arrived in Mousil where the people taunted him for his defeat. He realized the futility of staying there and went to

Harran where his nephew Abbas bin Yazid bin Mohammad was the Governor. Marwan was defeated on Saturday 11 Jamad-al-Thani 132 A.H. along side of the Zab River. He had stayed at Harran for 20 days when he heard of Abdullah bin Ali's approach and he immediately left for Hims. When Abdullah bin Ali reached Harran, its Governor Abbas came out in black clothes and holding a black flag to receive him and took the oath for Saffah's caliphate at his hands. Abdullah bin Ali granted him pardon. When Marwan reached Hims, the citizens at first showed their obedience and respect but when they realized his military weakness, they prepared to revolt and fight him. Marwan left Hims after three days. The citizens of Hims wanted to rob him of his valuables. Marwan first tried to argue with them and make them see reason but they did not give up their attempts to overpower him and he fought with them and made them withdraw.

From Hims Marwan went to Damascus. Its governor was his cousin Waleed bin Muawiya bin Marwan bin Hakam. He did not stay there he only induced the governor to fight against the opponents of Banu Umayyah, he went to Palestine and stayed there hoping to lead a life of silence and retirement.

In Harran Abdullah bin Ali, after pulling down the jail where Ibrahim bin Mohammad had been in captivity, moved towards Damascus. On the way his brother Abdus Samad bin Ali whom Saffah had sent to help him with a body of 8000 soldiers, arrived. Then he, after taking the oath from the people of Harran, went to Damascus via Qansareen and Balbak and laid siege to it. After a short siege he entered Damascus on Wednesday 5 Ramadan 132 A.H. by force and blood flowed in its streets.

Its governor Waleed bin Muawiya was killed in the confrontation. After the massacre and victory Abdullah bin Ali stayed there for 15 days and then went to Palestine. He had just arrived at the Palestine border when he received a letter from Abdullah bin Saffah asking him to send his brother Saleh bin Ali in pursuit of Marwan. Marwan left Palestine and went to Arish (town in the northeastern section of the Sinai Peninsula), then to the Nile River and then to Said. Saleh continued the pursuit and camped at Fustat (this was the earliest Arab settlement in Egypt south of modern Cairo) from there he sent a

division of his army in search of Marwan. By chance, Saleh's soldiers came across Marwan's cavalry.

Marwan's horsemen were already in low spirits and frustrated they did not fight and fled away and a few of them were also captured. When they were interrogated, they revealed Marwan's location, informing them that he was at Boseer. The officer of Saleh's division Abu Aun thought it best to launch a night attack on Marwan for he knew that to face him would not be easy and they attacked as planned. Surprised at the sudden attack, Marwan came out of his house. A soldier was laying in wait for him attacked him with a spear. He fell down and one of his men said, "The Amir al-Muminin is dead." Hearing it Abu Aun and his men rushed to him and cut off his head and sent it to Abul Abbas Abdullah Saffah .

This occurred on 28 Dhul Hijjah 132 A.H. corresponding to 5 August 750 AD and with it came to end the Caliphate of Banu Umayyah and began the Caliphate of Banu Abbas. Following Marwan's death his sons Abdullah and Obaidullah, fled to Ethiopia. The Africans did not grant them safe passage and they killed Obaidullah and Abdullah escaped to Palestine and began to live there in hiding. During the Caliphate of Mahdi, the governor of Palestine arrested him and sent him to the court of Mahdi and he put him into prison.

The Reign of Marwan bin Mohammad

Marwan bin Mohammad was the last caliph of Banu Umayyah. So, he is generally regarded as the man responsible for the ruin of the caliphate of Banu Umayyah. However, the real causes of its ruin were created by his predecessor's negligence long before his caliphate. The duration of Marwan's caliphate was slightly less than six years and he never had a single day of peace during the entire period.

He spent the entire reign of his caliphate on horseback. His hard work, bravery, and firmness can not be measured easily because he was given a realm that suffered from an incurable disease. Had he acceded to the throne earlier, he could have delayed the downfall of the caliphate of Banu Umayyah for some time however, in his time he failed to counteract the shortcomings of Banu Umayyah's government

and Banu Abbas's conspiracies. Marwan was not a man of a high mental caliber and wisdom to have been able to breathe new life into a government that was struggling to survive. His whole life was spent in disputes and battles. During his reign, only swords shined over the Islamic World and no one had any rest. Nor was there time to make *Jihad* against the infidels. During his reign, Muslim blood was spilled on an unprecedented scale.

Marwan was born in 70 A.H. or 72 A.H. while his father Mohammad bin Marwan was the governor of Jazirah. His mother was a slave from Kurdistan. She was owned by Ibrahim Ushtar. Mohammad bin Marwan took her in battle and it was from her that Marwan was born.

A Synopsis of Banu Umayyah's Caliphate

1- The internal feuds and secret conspiracies that started from the second half of Uthman bin Affan's ﷺ caliphate ended with Amir Mu'awiya ﷺ being recognized as the caliph and Banu Umayyah's caliphate being founded. The greatest cause for the ruin of the caliphate of Banu Umayyah and a stigma being attached to the world of Islam began at the hands of the founder of the Banu Umayyah dynasty, Amir Muawiya ﷺ making his son Yazid, the heir-apparent established hereditary succession. The epidemic of succession started in such a virulent form that the Muslims have not been able to rid themselves of it until now. The consequence of his action was that the just and beneficial social equality that was established by Islam was destroyed and it was replaced by family rule, which has always been a curse for mankind. Among the Banu Umayyah dynasty Amir Muawiya ﷺ, Abdul Malik bin Marwan and Waleed bin Abdul Malik occupy a distinctive place in respect to their conquests of territory and the quality of their statecraft. Then followed Umar bin Abul Aziz رحمه الله who was a unique caliph in the dynasty. His caliphate was based on the era of the rightly guided caliph's Abu Bakr As-Siddiq ﷺ and Umar bin Khattab ﷺ. Because he was absorbed with the religion and doing things for Allâh's sake, he did not resemble any caliph of Banu Umayyah in any way. Though his period of caliphate was very short, it uplifted the status of the caliphate and despite all kinds of objectionable and condemnable activities the caliphate of Banu

Umayyah occupies a place of pride by virtue of Omar bin Abdul Aziz رحمه الله. Hisham bin Abdul Malik was a caliph who can be put into the same category with the three other distinctive caliphs just mentioned.

Not even 10 years passed after Hisham bin Abdul Malik and the magnificent dynasty of Banu Umayyah collapsed and was leveled with its foundations destroyed. Except for the five caliphs mentioned the rest of Banu Umayyah's caliphs were debauched, cowardly, unconcerned and devoid of sense and foresight. They were not fit to be the supreme leaders of a vast empire like the caliphate of Banu Umayyah. Islam had put an end to music and drinking but the caliphs of Banu Umayyah, restored these destructive habits, which continue even to this day among the Muslims.

2- One of the crimes on the record of Banu Umayyah worth mentioning is that Islam had eliminated the discrimination of families and tribes and united them into a single brotherhood and a single tribe of believers. Banu Umayyah revived the prejudice and discrimination of the tribes and provided the impetus to bring back the fervor of nationalism of the days of ignorance. They reminded the Arabs of their forgotten habits and the Muslims began to prefer nation and tribe to Islamic brotherhood. That which they recreated brought about their ultimate destruction, by the Alawis and the Abbasids exploiting the instrument of family discrimination and it provided the method for the ruin of Banu Umayyah.

3- In order to establish and strengthen their rule and caliphate Banu Umayyah never hesitated in perpetrating atrocities on people and even utilizing murder as a political solution. The most famous and efficient Amirs, governors, agents and lieutenants of provinces and states were those who most mercilessly killed people and employed the strictest measures of discipline. They adopted a policy of oppression under compulsion in order to maintain their authority but ultimately the same policy caused their downfall because the popular sympathy and support went out of the people's hearts due to living in constant terror.

4- Banu Umayyah was undoubtedly famous and a leader tribe among the tribes of Quraish in Arabia. The tribe produced people that were more talented than their contemporaries in matters of counseling and

planning and understood the principles of the government and statecraft better than the other tribes. The tribe had acquired these traits even before the advent of Islam. However, it did not make them invulnerable to a political misfit being born into their tribe. If the custom of succession was not followed and the choice of the caliph was confined only to the tribe of Banu Umayyah, if the Muslims chose the better and the most qualified from among them, it would have been an injustice and a mistake but in that case the condition of the Caliphate of Banu Umayyah would not have worsened so much and the world of Islam would not have suffered such a great loss. If this had been their way, the caliphate of Banu Umayyah probably would have prolonged its term and the grievances the people had against them might not have developed in the destructive manner that we have recorded.

5-Banu Umayyah had superiority over other Arab tribes in respect of their ability to formulate and implement secret planning, conspiracies and deceptions, which their caliphate was based upon and temporarily strengthened by. It is the irony of fate that they were destroyed by their own methods. The Banu Hashim defeated them with their own techniques although the Banu Hashim were their disciples in these matters. This was due to the devastating intoxication with power and wealth, which completely blinded them and made them neglectful of their own security. The evil practice of succession only added to their ignorance and carelessness even more.

6- Besides the things mentioned above, Banu Umayyah had some qualities, which were rarely seen after them and their successors did not incorporate them into their form of governance. For instance, the caliphate of Banu Umayyah extended the conquests of the rightly guided Caliph's to the far corners of the world. They conquered China in the East and up to the Atlantic Ocean in the West, the entire civilized world of their time was under their control. It was during their empire that Islam reached the distant islands of the oceans, the sands of the African continent and the plains of India. Islamic rule had spread everywhere in the world having one center and one capital. After Banu Umayyah the Muslims rarely had a chance to conquer new territories virtually the conquest of new lands

ended with them. Only the government was maintained and after them even a single Islamic center was gone, separate governments were formed and established and among them, the caliphate of the Abbasids was the largest.

7- During the caliphate of Banu Umayyah, the Arabs enjoyed the pride and position of victors. The Arab morals, the Arabic language, the Arab culture and the Arab customs and fashions were dominant everywhere. However, after Banu Umayyah non-Arabs of conquered nations began to enjoy the privilege of ruling over the Arabs and refused to recognize the Arab's virtues, qualities and their greatness of conquest.

8- The Khawarij, Shia and other groups were born before the reign of Banu Umayyah, yet they faced these challenges using as the basis of their religious and legal arguments only the Quran and the Hadith. Except for the Book and the Sunnah, they never recognized anything else to be qualified for judgment. Later, many groups among the Muslims were born which diminished the importance of the Book and the Sunnah and accepted as sufficient the sayings and the personal judgment in legal matters of their saints, religious teachers, Imams and institutional scholars. That was why during the caliphate of Banu Umayyah the attention of the Muslims was always centered on the Quran and the Sunnah of the Prophet ﷺ. Then followed the indifference to and carelessness with the Qur'ân and the evil increased to such an extent that in our times today it is not regarded as essential for a religious scholar to have read and understood the Quran with meditation and contemplation.

9- During the time of the rightly guided caliphs, success and victory were measured in relation to eliminating 'Shirk' (to associate anything as a partner with Allâh) and deviation and bringing people to Tawhid (affirmation of the Oneness of Allâh) and the worship of Allâh and the religion of Islam as their way of life. Wealth and material prosperity and grandeur had no value. However, during the caliphate of Banu Umayyah, wealth and pageantry came to be regarded as a sign of success and the money of the *bait al-mal* (Islamic treasury) began to be spent on those who could prove useful and a source of strength for the caliphate and the authority of

the dynasty of Banu Umayyah. Those who were not likely to help them or those whom they did not think it necessary to keep good relations with were treated indifferently and denied their rights. This evil practice increased in the later caliphates even more and selfishness and internal rivalry and animosity continued increasing among the general Muslims in the same proportion.

10- In the beginning of Islam and during the rightly guided caliphate, the Muslims' lives were very simple and their necessities of life were very limited. During the reign of Banu Umayyah, the use of luxuries began and the martial life style that they originally prided themselves on began to disappear by degrees. Beautiful clothes, magnificent buildings and luxuries began to be used as necessities of life and in the same proportion the models of Abu Bakr ؓ and Umar bin Khattab ؓ dwindled.

The efforts of Banu Umayyah's Rivals

The consequence of the rivalry that was created between Banu Hashim and Banu Umayyah after the martyrdom of Uthman bin Affan ؓ and the apparent renunciation of the caliphate by Imam Hasan ؓ after Ali bin Abu Talib ؓ was that Banu Umayyah overpowered Banu Hashim militarily and administratively. To take over of the caliphate by Banu Umayyah after the battles of Jamal and Siffin and the confrontations with the khawarji posed such a loss to Banu Hashim that they had felt their inability to get the caliphate and were not able to use power to retake it. However, the accession of Yazid to the caliphate after Amir Muawiya ؓ and the innovation of hereditary succession was in terms of Islam an obvious major flaw that made Banu Umayyah vulnerable. Therefore, Imam Husain ؓ took the daring step of trying to retake the caliphate despite the advice of his sympathizers, which resulted in the disaster of Karbala.

Amir Muawiya's weak successor Yazid and Yazid's wicked governor Ibn Zeyad with his despicable actions were not only deterrents to Banu Hashim but they also damaged the popularity of the authority of Banu Umayyah and encouraged and emboldened the masses to express their opposition to them. That resulted in the efforts of Ibn Zubair ؓ. When the misfortune of Ibn Zubair ؓ occurred, the holder

of the power and authority of Banu Umayyah was a strong man. He not only regained the power lost to Ibn Zubair ruthlessly but also instilled terror and fear in the people even more. At this point, there was no opportunity for the Banu Hashim to use their swords to regain power. So they adopted another course of action, in the heat of their anger over the injustices vindictiveness took over their strategy. They utilized the techniques displayed by Abdullah bin Saba and his followers, which had caused them to suffer the losses of Siffin and Azrah. Among the Banu Hashim, only two families had the character of leadership, one the descendants of Ali bin Abi Talib ﷺ and the other the descendants of Abbas bin Abdul Muttalib ﷺ. Ali ﷺ was the Prophet's cousin and son-in-law and Abbas ﷺ was his uncle. These two families were considered from the Prophet's family and their greatness and leadership was universally recognized. Since Ali ﷺ had faced hardship directly at the hands of Banu Umayyah, the Alawiites were more emotional than the Abbasids. Similarly, Imam Husain's martyrdom caused even more emotional feelings among the Fatimids than in the Alawiites and so they were more intent on taking revenge. The Alawiites had two groups, one that thought that Imam Husain ﷺ deserved the caliphate and the other, which felt that Mohammad bin Al-Hanafia was the most deserving. The third group was the Abbasids. The most powerful group was the Fatimids or Husaniites because after Karbala they had more popular sympathy. Secondly, due to their being the descendants of Fatima bint Muhammad ﷺ they commanded the most respect and love.

The second group after them was of Mohammad bin Al-Hanafia followed immediately by the Abbasids later on the Fatimids were also divided into two groups, one which supported Zaid bin Ali Husain and were called Zaidiites and the other which took the oath from Ismail bin Jafar Sadiq and were known as the Ismailies. The above-mentioned groups were inimical to Banu Umayyah and friendly to those supporting the Prophet's family. You have read above about the deaths of Zaid bin Ali bin Husain and his son Yahya as well as the efforts of Mohammad bin Al-Hanafia and the actions taken by Mukhtar in Kufa. Whenever the Alawiites had an opportunity, they never missed the chance to revolt but they often met with failure. The Abbasids continued to take lessons from the Alawiites' activities and

their consequences. They continued to make efforts against Banu Umayyah with great care and foresightedness. All three groups adopted the same policy to convert the people to their own beliefs covertly and take the oath from them secretly until they were able to gain enough power to face and defeat Banu Umayyah. To see this mission fulfilled they sent their missionaries to different provinces and states, secretly preached the function of love for the Prophet's family, exposed the negative qualities in Banu Umayyah's government and told them that it was the Prophet's family alone who deserved the caliphate and the authority to govern. This propaganda work was started with great care, diligence and determination. It had started from the reign of Abdul Malik bin Marwan and all the three groups were aware of the activities of the others. Since they had a common enemy, they had no rivalry or enmity against one another. If they stumbled over a secret of the other, they tried their best not to betray or expose it. They had separate agents and deputies but they were instructed to avoid using inflammatory words in their preaching which could bring them into opposition with one of the other groups. For instance, instead of declaring the greatness and virtues of Abbas or Mohammad bin Al-Hanafia or Imam Zainul Abedeen, they used the common expression "the Prophet's family" and by so doing, they tried their utmost to prove themselves worthy of the caliphate. They never opposed one another and they even went to the extent to consider it lawful to help and sympathize with the Khwarij. In the passion of their opposition to Banu Umayyah, they considered the Khwarij, as allies when it was expedient. From the very beginning, the Khwarij called Banu Umayyah unbelievers and always tried to harm them and even though they were just as inimical to Ali ﷺ and his descendants, it served their purposes at times to ally themselves with the Khwarij. In these secret missions of propagation, the Alawiites were always too hasty and they did not do their job efficiently. Because of this, the caliphs of Banu Umayyah had constant information on the activities and intrigues of the Alawiites and they had many opportunities to take deterrent action against them. However, they remained in the dark about the conspiracies of the Abbasids and so the Banu Umayyah were able to score successes against the Alawiites but not the Abbasids.

Besides the above-mentioned plans, the Abbasids took another precaution also. They did not make a large city like Madinah, Makkah, Kufa, Basra or Damascus their headquarters. They chose as their capital and the center of all their activities a little known village, Hamimah, which was a land grant by Banu Umayyah and was located between Damascus and Madinah and despite being so near to Damascus, it was safe from the attention of the caliphs and governors of Banu Umayyah. The efforts and conspiracies of the Alawiites were always being exposed, and they continued to be killed because of them. However, Banu Abbas were safe from such harm and the development of their plans moved ahead moderately. Their progress speeded up when Mohammad bin Al-Hanafia joined Banu Abbas and formed a consolidated group. When Abu Hashim bin Mohammad declared to his followers at the time of his death that Mohammad bin Ali Abbas at-Hamimah .should be their new leader. He emphatically exhorted those who had been trying to capture the caliphate for Banu Hashim to continue their efforts under the command of Mohammad bin Ali and recognize him as the one in command. When such a formidable group of the Alawiites joined the Abbasids, the latter started making efforts with greater courage and regularity and most of the increased power was controlled by the Abbasids. Mohammad bin Ali Abbasi was the leader of that very formidable group. When he died in 124 A.H., his son Imam Ibrahim succeeded him. Imam Ibrahim based the movement on broader and more consistent principles and assigned well chosen missionary personnel for specific regions and spread, in an orderly and well organized way, the network of his movement in the Islamic provinces like Iraq, Khorasan, Persia, Syria, and the Hijaz. Fortunately, Imam Ibrahim came across a man who shouldered the entire responsibility of taking the mission to a speedy success. That man was Abu Muslim Khorasani.

Imam Ibrahim had made Abu Muslim Khorasani the leader of the missionaries of Iraq and Khorasan and ordered them to work under him and obey him. He had been in correspondence with Abu Muslim and kept him informed of all his intentions. This had the benefit that Imam Ibrahim did not have to correspond with each deputy directly. After his death his brother, Abdullah bin Saffah succeeded him who

was prudent and wise like Imam Ibrahim. When Abu Muslim's ability and power were about to produce tangible results, Abu Muslim increased his activities and took hold of power in Khorasan. Banu Umayyah came to know about Imam Ibrahim and the Abbasids movement after Abu Muslim had already imposed his control over Khorasan. That was the proper time for the emergence of the movement. The Abbasids did not suffer any losses or meet with failure because by the time they were known to Banu Umayyah they already had established themselves.

After Imam Ibrahim's death, Abu Muslim began to gain power in Khorasan and the symptoms of Banu Umayyah's downfall and ruin had begun to manifest themselves. Banu Abbas's and the Alawiites's supporters and accomplices in their stratagem gathered in a house to select their officers in Dhul Hijjah 130 A.H. on the eve of Hajj in Makkah. The problems under discussion were how to bring about Banu Umayyah's fall, the exact plan of how to take the caliphate from their possession, how to achieve final success quickly and who should be made the next caliph. The meeting was attended by Abul Abbas Abdullah Saffah's brother Abu Jafar Mansoor in addition to a few noblemen from the descendants of Ali ﷺ. The people present in the meeting supported the idea that Mohammad bin Abdullah bin Hasan bin Ali known as Nafse Zakia (literally the pure soul) should be the new caliph and he was chosen unanimously. It was a very critical occasion because the joint efforts made by the supporters of Ali ﷺ and those of Banu Abbas were responsible for weakening Banu Umayyah's Sultanate along with the occupation of Khorasan by Abu Muslim. Had the meeting created dissension between Banu Abbas and the Alawiites at the meeting a wave of discord would have traveled immediately from Makkah to the end of Khorasan and trying to correct such a situation would have caused losses and the caliphate of Banu Umayyah, which was nearly dead could have come back to life again. However, Abu Jafar Mansoor's intelligence and cleverness did not allow him to contradict the choice of the Alawiites, the result of the meeting was that Ali's ﷺ supporters became more active and their efforts proved very helpful to the Abbasids.

Abu Muslim Khorasani

Abu Muslim's name was Ibrahim bin Uthman bin Bash-Shâr. He was an Iranian by race and was said to be from the descendants of Barzechamhar. He was born in Isfahan. His parents had settled in a village adjacent to Kufa. When his father Uthman died, he was seven years old. His father left instructions in his will for his son to be brought up and tutored by Isa bin Musa Sarraj. Isa brought him to Kufa. Abu Muslim learned saddle making from Isa and lived with him in Kufa. Isa bin Musa traveled to Khorasan, Jazirah and Mousil to sell his saddles and his business always kept him on a journey and in contact with all levels of society. It was believed by the authorities that he was a deputy of Banu Hashim and the Alawiites. Other members of his family were also suspected and the governor of Kufa, Yusuf bin Omar, imprisoned Isa bin Musa and his cousin, Idris bin Ma'qal and their uncle Asim bin Yunus Ajali. Khalid Qasri the former governor has also inmate at the same prison.

Abu Muslim used to go to the jail to visit Isa bin Musa. Many of the inmates had been imprisoned for activities against Banu Umayyah and there were those who had come to hate Banu Umayyah for being imprisoned by them. Among this group were some captives who were actually thé deputies of Banu Abbas or Banu Fatuma and Abu Muslim was moved by their statements. Very soon, he won their confidence and became one of their supporters. By chance, Qahtaba bin Shabeeb who used to propagate Abbasid ideology to the inhabitants of Khorasan was leaving for Hamimah. He met those captives of Kufa and was informed that Isa's and Asim's servant Abu Muslim was a very clever and worthy fellow. He invited Abu Muslim to accompany him with the permission of Isa and they left for Hamimah together. He presented Abu Muslim to Imam Ibrahim, Ibrahim said to Abu Muslim "What is your name?" Abu Muslim said, "My name is Ibrahim bin Uthman bin Bash-Shâr." Imam Ibrahim said, "No your name is now Abdur Rahman." From that time, he came to be known as Abdur Rahman. It was Imam Ibrahim who gave him the Kunya Abu Muslim and borrowed Abu Muslim from Qahtaba bin Shabeeb. This was to establish an alias for Abu Muslim, which eventually replaced his real name.

[Editors note: In Arabic it is endearing to refer to a man by the title of "father of" followed by the name of his first son. This is also applicable to a woman and she is entitled "mother of" and the name of her first son. In Arabic, this is known as kunya and has no English equivalent.]

For a few days, Abu Muslim remained in the service of Imam Ibrahim and the Imam studied his nature and ability. Then the Imam arranged a marriage with the daughter of one of his famous deputies Abu Najm Imran bin Ismail. Abu Najm was one of those who were dedicated to bringing the Islamic caliphate to the descendants of Ali ﷺ. The intended benefit from the marriage of Abu Muslim was to solidify the connection and get the support of Ali's followers and prevent any weakness in the relation of the two groups. After making these arrangements, Imam Ibrahim sent Abu Muslim to Khorasan and informed all the missionaries and deputies that he made him the administrator of all the territories of Khorasan and that all must follow him in the work of Banu Hashim. The well-known and active deputies of Khorasan who had been working since the time of Mohammad bin Abbasi, Imam Ibrahim's father, were as follows: Sulaiman bin Katheer, Malik bin Haithan, Zeyad bin Saleh, Talha bin Zuraiq, and Omar bin Ayun. All of them belonged to the tribe of Khaza'â. Qahtaba bin Shabeeb bin Khalid bin Sâdân was related to the tribe of Tai. Abu Uyaina, Musa bin Kâb, Lahaz bin Qareet, Qasim bin Majashi, and Aslam bin Salam were from the tribe of Tamim. Abu Dawood Khalid bin Ibrahim Shibai, Abu Ali Harwi also known as Shibl bin Tahman, and Abu Najm Imran bin Ismail... When Abu Muslim arrived in Khorasan, Sulaiman bin Kaseer sent him back due to his young age. All these deputies were old, matured and experienced. They thought it inexpedient and unwise to make a man of such a young age to be their officer and superintendent of their secret activities.

When Abu Muslim reached Khorasan, Abu Dawood Khalid bin Ibrahim Shibai had gone towards Mawaraunnahr (between the Amu [Oxus] and Syr rivers in modern Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan) for some work. When he returned to Merv and read Imam Ibrahim's letter, he asked the people about Abu Muslim. His friends told him that Sulaiman bin Katheer had turned him back on account of his

young age and that he would not be able to perform the required work and that he would put them and all who were engaged in the work of propagation into trouble. Abu Dawood assembled all the deputies and said, "Allâh endowed the Prophet ﷺ with the knowledge of the highest level. His family members are the inheritors of that knowledge. His family members are the repositories of that knowledge and they are the successors of the Prophet ﷺ. Have you any doubt?" The audience said, "No." Abu Dawood said, "Why did you let doubts creep in? The Imam must have considered the situation and tested this man and then sent him to us." When they heard him, they regretted having sent Abu Muslim away. Immediately a man was sent after him and he brought Abu Muslim back. All recognized him as the custodian and superintendent of their mission and began to obey him. As Sulaiman bin Katheer had sent him back at first, Abu Muslim was a bit displeased with him. Abu Muslim spread out all the deputies in the various cities and began to strengthen their movement all over Khorasan. In 129 A.H., Imam Ibrahim wrote to him to see him on the eve of Hajj that year so that he might receive proper instructions regarding propagating their doctrine. He also asked him to bring Qahtaba bin Shabeeb and all funds and goods collected with him. It is important to note that the time of Hajj was ideally suited for such secret conspiracies. People from all over the world come for Hajj. No one has the chance to suspect others and the conspirators found it very convenient for meetings and deliberations so they never missed the Hajj. Abu Muslim along with the other deputies and Qahtaba bin Shabeeb left for Makkah to see Imam Ibrahim. When he reached Qaumas, he received a letter from the Imam asking him to return to Khorasan and if he had not left Khorasan, he should stay there and no longer conceal his propagation he should do it openly and he should collect those who had taken the oath and begin the use of power. Immediately after reading the letter, Abu Muslim returned to Merv and Qahtaba bin Shabeeb, with all money and material left to go to Imam Ibrahim. He took the road to Jurjan and on the outskirts of town, he sent for Khalid bin Barmak and Abu Aun. They came with money and provisions at once and they all proceeded to the Imam.

When Abu Muslim received the permission to make the propagation openly and use his power for territorial gains, it was during the time

of the constant battles between Kermani and Nasr bin Sayyar in Khorasan. As has been mentioned above Abu Muslim collected his men and pitched his tents between Kermani and Nasr bin Sayyar. At last Kermani was killed and his son Ali bin Kermani joined Abu Muslim. Abu Muslim expelled Nasr from Merv and occupied it. But after staying there for a few days, he left Merv for another part of Khorasan. Nasr bin Sayyar wrote a letter to Marwan bin Mohammad, the caliph in Damascus, for reinforcements. Marwan bin Mohammad was at the time at war with Dahhak bin Qais Khwarji and could not spare any troops. It was during this period, that Imam Ibrahim's letter, which he sent to Abu Muslim asking him to kill all the Arabic speaking people in Khorasan including Nasr and Kermani, was intercepted. It was presented to Marwan II. That was the first information that Banu Umayyah had about the conspiracy of the Abbasids. Marwan wrote to the governor of Balqa to go and arrest Imam Ibrahim at Hamimah. He was arrested and put in jail as has been mentioned above. When Abu Muslim started the work of calling and telling the people openly in Khorasan, the Khorasanis rushed to him in crowds.

With the beginning of 130 A.H., Abu Muslim started taking the oath from the people for following the Book of Allâh and 'Sunnah' of the Prophet ﷺ and obedience to *Ahle-Bait*. Kermani, Sheeban Khwarji and Nasr bin Sayyar were angry with him for this action. But as they were engaged in the warfare, they could not harm him. Following Kermani's death his son Ali bin Kermani, took over the leadership of his father's group while Abu Muslim also gained much power. Nasr bin Sayyar and Sheeban Khawarji were equally powerful as was stated previously. In Khorasan there were the four powers.

Abu Muslim wanted to draw Sheeban Khwarji towards himself and induced Ibn Kermani to go to him. Nasr bin Sayyar wanted to reconcile with Sheeban Khawarji so that he might be free to fight with Abu Muslim. But Abu Muslim manipulated through Ali bin Kermani in order to prevent them from reconciling with each other. When they failed in their attempt to reconcile, Abu Muslim, found the situation advantageous and sent Nasr bin Naim with a group to Herat. Nasr bin Naim reached Herat and captured it while the governor of Herat

was unprepared and expelled Isa bin Ma'qal Huraishi, Nasr bin Sayyar's governor. When Yahya ibn Naim bin Hubairah heard this news, he called on Ibn Kermani and said to him, "Compromise with Nasr. If you do so, Abu Muslim will be ready to fight with him and will spare you. And if you do not come to terms with Nasr, Abu Muslim will make peace with him and be ready to fight with you." Yahya Shebani at once wrote to Nasr, "We want to make peace with you". Nasr immediately agreed to it as it coincided with his own strategy that he had tried to implement with Ibn Kermani's father.

Abu Muslim drew the attention of Ali bin Kermani who was the partner of Sheeban Khwarji, to the previous treachery of Nasr saying, "Nasr bin Sayyar is your father's killer." The point of this was to bring ibn Kermani back to the side of Abu Muslim and avoid him making a pact with Nasr Sayyar. Ali bin Kermani parted with Sheeban Khawarji at once, and started fighting against him. Abu Muslim arrived to help Ibn Kermani. On the other side Nasr bin Sayyar was ready to fight in support of Sheeban Khwarji. It was a very strange situation all the four fighting groups followed different ideologies and doctrines but in keeping with what ever opportunity presented itself and the proper time each one of them was busy planning to annihilate the third by winning the favor of the other two. In the meantime, there were many sympathizers of Ali ﷺ in Khorasan and they all joined Abu Muslim.

Abdullah bin Muawiya bin Abdullah bin Jafar bin Abi Talib had taken the oath for the caliphate from the inhabitants in Kufa, but following Abdullah bin Omar bin Abdul Aziz's victory they left Kufa along with some of the people from Kufa and went towards Madain. Then they turned towards the mountainous territories and captured them and occupied Halwan, Qaumas, Isfahan and Rayy. They made Isfahan their stopping point. In 128 A.H., they brought Shiraz under their control. When Yazid bin Omar bin Hubairah became governor of Iraq, he sent an army to fight with Abdullah bin Muawiya. They fought near Istakar (located about 32 miles northeast of Shiraz in the region of Faras in southwestern Iran). Abdullah bin Muawiya was defeated. Many of his men were killed. Mansoor bin Jamhoor fled towards Sindh. He was chased but escaped. The men arrested from among Abdullah bin Muawiya's army included Abdullah bin Ali bin

Abdullah bin Abbas who was released by the governor of Kufa, Yazid bin Omar. Abdullah bin Muawiya ran away and went to Abu Muslim for help because he was a well-wisher of the Prophet's family. He went from Shiraz to Kerman and from there he went to Herat. At Herat Abu Muslim's governor Nasr bin Naim, arranged his lodging and then informed Abu Muslim of his arrival. Abu Muslim wrote back saying that he should kill Abdullah bin Muawiya and release his two sons. So, Nasr bin Naim acted accordingly.

With the beginning of 130 A.H., all the above-mentioned four powers started clashing with one another. At last, Ali bin Kermani and Abu Muslim defeated Nasr bin Sayyar and Sheeban Khwarji and captured Merv. Abu Muslim went to the Amir's palace and took the oath from the people there and delivered a sermon. Nasr, after losing the battle went to Nishapur via Sarkhas and Tus. Ali bin Kermani began to live with Abu Muslim and followed him blindly. Abu Muslim sent word to the defeated Sheeban Khwarji camped near Merv to take the oath at his hands. Then Sheeban Khwarji went to Sarkhas and the group of Bakr bin Wail rallied to him. When Abu Muslim heard about it, he sent a unit of his army to Sarkhas. A clash took place and Sheeban was killed. Abu Muslim then sent his deputies Musa bin Kâb and Abu Dawood Khalid bin Ibrahim to Abyuraw and Balkh respectively. Both scored victories. Abyuraw and Balkh were brought under occupation. Then he recalled Abu Dawood and made Yahya bin Naim the administrator of Balkh. Zeyad bin Abdur Rahman Qasri who was the governor of Balkh on behalf of Banu Umayyah went to Tirmiz after his defeat at the hands of Abu Dawood entered into correspondence with Yahya Ibn Naim and won him to his side. He collected Muslim bin Abdur Rahman Bahli, Isa bin Zarah Sulami, the rulers of Takharistan and Mawarannahr, the inhabitants of Balkh and Tirmiz and taking Yahya bin Naim along with his men, left to fight with Abu Muslim. All unanimously agreed and took a pledge to fight with the holders of black flags the symbol of Banu Abbas. Muqatil bin Hayyan Nabti was included in the army.

Abu Muslim grasped the situation and sent Abu Dawood to Balkh again. The two sides clashed along side of the river at a little distance from Balkh. Muqatil bin Hayyan Nabti was accompanied by Abu Sayeed Qurashi. The rear guard of the army was kept fully armed so

that the enemy would not attack them from behind. When the battle was in the full swing, Abu Sayeed Qurashi whose army was the rear guard and whose flag was also black by coincidence wanted to engage the enemy and decided to advance. When he moved up with his army, those on the front line forgot that a flag of theirs was also black and as soon as they saw Abu Sayeed's flag, they thought that Banu Abbas had defeated the rear guard and their army was moving ahead victoriously. This caused a panic and the front line troops ran off the battlefield. Many of them were drowned in the river and died. This freak occurrence resulted in a victory for Banu Abbas and Zeyad and Yahya took Tirmiz and Abu Dawood occupied Balkh.

After the victory Abu Muslim recalled Abu Dawood from Balkh and deputed Nasr bin Sabih Muzani as its ruler. As recorded above, Ali bin Kermani lived with Abu Muslim. His brother Uthman bin Kermani was also with him. Abu Dawood counseled Abu Muslim that it was essential to separate the two brothers from each other. Abu Muslim liked the idea and so he sent Uthman bin Kermani as the ruler of Balkh and when he reached Balkh, he made Farafza bin Zahir his deputy. Uthman bin Kermani along with Nasr bin Muzani, went to Marwarood. This news prompted Muslim bin Abdur Rahman Bahli to take the Egyptians with him and attack Balkh, which he captured it by force.

When Uthman and Nasr Muzani received this information, they left Marwarood and returned to Balkh. Their arrival instilled fear in Abdur Rahman's men and they evacuated Balkh at night. Nasr Muzani from one side and Uthman from the other side invaded Balkh. Nasr's soldiers did not interfere with the evacuating army but Uthman bin Kermani started to fight them as they fled after being defeated. Many were killed and Balkh escaped being lost to the Abbasids by a very thin margin. When they heard this news Abu Muslim and Abu Dawood counseled with each other and Abu Muslim went to Nishapur and Abu Dawood came back to Balkh. Abu Muslim was accompanied by Ali bin Kermani. He murdered Ali bin Kermani on the way to Nishapur. Abu Dawood in keeping with the counsel he had made with Abu Muslim captured Balkh, forced Abdur Rahman to flight and murdered Uthman bin Kermani. In this way, they settled the issue of the two brothers. You have read above that

Imam Ibrahim had first sent for Abu Muslim and then stopped him and asked him to make his propagation openly. Abu Muslim had sent Qahtaba bin Shabeeb with money and goods. Qahtaba met Imam Ibrahim and presented the money and goods. Imam Ibrahim sent a flag through him and asked him to go from Makkah to Khorasan. He himself returned to Hammiah. He was arrested soon after his arrival there. Qahtaba went to Abu Muslim with the flag and Abu Muslim put it with the vanguard and made Qahtaba its leader. Before the end of 130 A.H., he occupied the greater part of Khorasan and removed all his enemies. After killing Ali bin Kermani, Abu Muslim returned to Merv and sent Qahtaba towards Tus along with the military leaders like Abu Aun Abdul Malik bin Yazid, Khalid bin Barmak, Uthman bin Naheek and Khazim bin Khuzaima. The inhabitants of Tus fought back but suffered defeat. Qahtaba massacred them mercilessly. Then he made preparations for leading an attack on Tamim bin Nasr who was at Suzqan. Tamim bin Nasr was killed along with his 3,000 men. Qahtaba entered the city and ordered a general massacre and deputed Khalid bin Barmark to collect the booty. Then he intended to go to Nishapur where Nasr bin Sayyar was staying. Nasr fled from there to Qaumas. Qahtaba captured Nishapur in the beginning of Ramadan 130 A.H. and stayed there up to the end of Shawwal. From Kufa Yazid bin Omar bin Hubairah sent reinforcements to Nasr bin Sayyar under the command of the governor of Kufa, Nabata bin Hanzala. Nasr bin Sayyar did not stay long at Qaumas. He left for Jurjan. Nabata bin Hanzala along with his army reached Nasr bin Sayyar. Qahtaba left Nishapur and marched towards Jurjan in the beginning of Dhul Qadah.

When Qahtaba's men heard of the arrival of Nabata bin Hanzala along with a huge Syrian army at Jurjan, they were terrified. Qahtaba made an emotional speech to them, saying, 'Imam Ibrahim has predicted that you will face a huge army and be victorious over it." It encouraged the soldiers. At last, there was a battle. Nabata bin Hanzala was killed along with his 10,000 men. Qahtaba achieved a grand victory. He cut off Nabata bin Hanzala's head and sent it to Abu Muslim. This battle was fought in the month of Dhul Hijjah 130 A.H. Qahtaba occupied Jurjan and killed 30,000 of its citizens. After defeat in Jurjan, Nasr bin Sayyar went towards Khawarurrai. The governor there was Abu Bakr Aqili. When Yazid bin Hubairah was

briefed on the situation, he sent a huge army under the command of Ibn Ghaleef to reinforce Nasr bin Sayyar. Qahtaba sent his son, Hasan bin Qahtaba from Jurjan to Khawarurrai. He sent another army from the rear under the command of Abu Kamil and Abul Qasim Sahrz bin Ibrahim and Abul Abbas Marwzi to help Hasan. When they reached the vicinity of Hasan's army, Abul Kamil parted with his men and joined Nasr and informed him of the activities of Hasan's army. At last, they fought and Hasan bin Qahtaba suffered a crushing defeat. Nasr sent the booty and the good tidings of victory to Yazid bin Omar bin Hubairah. This occurred in Muharram 131 A.H. While Nasr's messengers were leaving with the spoils of war and the news of victory Ibn Ghaleef, Nasr's ally was approaching with his army. They met outside of Rayy and Ibn Ghaleef took the valuables and the letter and camped there.

Nasr did not approve of Ibn Ghaleef taking the valuables and the letter that was supposed to go to their superior Yazid bin Omar. Nasr decided to go to Rayy, Ibn Ghaleef along with his army marched towards Hamadan but latter on he turned to Isfahan. Nasr on the night of 10 Muharram in 132 A.H. entered the Governor's headquarters at Rayy and captured it. Abu Muslim's arrival in Nishapur caused Nasr bin Sayyar's departure, he went to Rayy and stayed there for two days and on the third day, he became sick. As soon as he felt sick, he left Rayy and went to Sada immediately after his arrival he died, it was the 12th of Rabia Awwal 131 A.H. After his death, his men went to Hamadan, in west-central Iran. The ruler of Rayy was Habib bin Yazid Nahshali. When Qahtaba bin Shabeeb left Jurjan he took his army to Rayy, after Nasr's death, Habib bin Yazid and the Syrians who were with him left Rayy without fighting. Qahtaba, who was fighting on behalf of the Abbasids, occupied Rayy and confiscated the wealth and belongings of its citizens. Most of those who escaped Rayy went to Hamadan where Nasr Sayyar's men had gone. Qahtaba sent his son Hasan to Hamadan but they avoided Hamadan and went to Nahawand. Hasan reached Nahawand and laid siege to it. In 129 A.H., Yazid bin Omar bin Hubairah, who was fighting on behalf of the Umayyahs, sent his son Dawood bin Yazid along with Amir bin Sabarah to battle against Abdullah bin Muawiya and they went up to Kerman fighting. They were encamped at

Kerman with a large army. When Yazid bin Omar bin Hubairah was informed of Nabata bin Hanzla's death, he wrote to Dawood and Ibn Sabarah and asked them to go ahead and fight against Qahtaba. Both left from Kerman having increased their already large army and arrived at Isfahan. Qahtaba deputed Muqatil bin Hakeem to face them. He was camped at Qum. Having heard that Hasan bin Qahtaba had besieged Nahawand, south of Hamadan, Ibn Sabarah made up his mind to save it. He decided to take on Muqatil and moved forward to fight against him. When the two armies clashed, Qahtaba's soldiers fought so bravely that Ibn Sabarah's soldiers were defeated and Ibn Sabarah himself was killed.

This occurred in the month of Rajab 131 A.H. Qahtaba sent the news of the victory to his son Hasan. He stayed at Isfahan for twenty more days and then went to Hasan and joined the siege. For three months, the citizens of Nahawand remained besieged. At last, it was captured and many of the inhabitants were put to death. Then Qahtaba sent Hasan to Halwan, which was easily captured. He then sent Abu Aun Abdul Malik bin Yazid Khorasani to invade the city of Zor. The administrator of the city was Uthman bin Sufyan. Abdullah bin Marwan bin Mohammad controlled the vanguard. Abu Aun and Uthman continued to fight until the end of Dhul Hijja finally Uthman was killed and his army lost the battle. Abu Aun Abdul Malik occupied the city of Mousil.

When Amir bin Sabarah was killed. Dawood bin Yazid fled to his father. When Dawood bin Yazid told his father, Yazid bin Omar bin Hubairah, the details of the defeat he gathered a large army and Caliph Marwan bin Mohammad also sent Hausrah bin Sohail Bahli to help him. Yazid bin Omar bin Hubairah along with Hausrah bin Sohail reached Halwan. Meanwhile, Qahtaba also moved towards Halwan and crossed the river Tigris near Anbâr, (an ancient Mesopotamian town located on the left bank of the Euphrates River in central Iraq.) Yazid bin Omar turned towards Kufa and sent Hausrah with 15,000 soldiers to move to Kufa also. Qahtaba crossed the river Euphrates from the Anbâr side on 8 Muharram 132 A.H. At the time, Yazid bin Omar bin Hubariah was camped at a distance of 23 miles from the mouth of the Euphrates. His men advised him to go to

Khorasan instead of Kufa and Qahtaba would of necessity give up his intention of going to Kufa and follow them. Yazid bin Omar did not agree to the opinion and crossed the Tigris near Madain and both the armies began to move along either side of the Euphrates. Qahtaba crossed it at a place where the water was not deep. A fierce battle was fought. Yazid bin Omar bin Hubiarah's army suffered a defeat but Qahtaba was killed. When he was wounded, he ordered that the caliphate of Ali's supporters must be established in Kufa with Abu Salma as its 'Amir'. Hausrah, Yazid and Nabata fled to Wasit. Qahtabah's army chose Hasan bin Qahtaba as its leader. When the news reached Kufa, Mohammad bin Khalid Qasri collected all the supporters of Ali and revolted.

After receiving this news, Hausrah returned from Wasit to Kufa and besieged Mohammad bin Khalid in the Governor's headquarters of Kufa. At this point Hausrah's men accepted the invitation of the Abbasids and began to abandon him. Being compelled by these events, he went back to Wasit. Mohammad bin Khalid informed Qahtaba of the incident and of his occupation of the Governor's headquarters. Hasan bin Qahtaba entered Kufa, took Mohammad bin Khalid with him, visited Abu Salma and they selected Abu Salma as the Amir of Ali's supporters and took the oath with him. Abu Salma sent Hasan bin Qahtaba towards Wasit to fight with Ibn Hubairah and made Mohammad bin Khalid the governor of Kufa. Then Abu Salma sent Humaid bin Qahtaba towards Madain. Ahwaz in southwestern Iran was ruled over by Abdur Rahman bin Omar bin Hubairah. He fought with Bassam. Abdur Rahman lost and fled to Basra where Muslim bin Qutaiba Bahli was the ruler. After defeating Abdur Rahman, Bassam sent Sufyan bin Muawiya bin Yazid bin Muhallab to take over Basra. Muslim came out victorious. He kept Basra under his occupation until he received the news of Yazid bin Omar's death, upon hearing this news he evacuated Basra. Mohammad bin Jafar found the way clear and captured it. After a few days Abu Malik Abdullah bin Osaid Khazai reached Basra on behalf of Abu Muslim. Abul Abbas Saffah publicly took the oath for his caliphate from the people and deputed Sufyan bin Muawiya as the governor of Basra.

At the time of Imam Ibrahim's death, the following members of his

family were present at Hamimah: Abul Abbas Abdullah Saffah , Abu Jafar Mansoor and Abdul Wahab. These three were Imam Ibrahim's brothers. Then there were Mohammad bin Ibrahim, Isa bin Musa, Dawood, Isa, Saleh, Ismail, Abdullah and Abdus Samad. The last being Imam Ibrahim's uncle.

Before his arrest, Imam Ibrahim had made his brother Abul Abbas Abdullah Saffah his successor and at the time of his death, he ordered him to go to Kufa and live there. In accordance to the will of Imam Ibrahim, Abul Abbas Abdullah Saffah left Hamimah along with the above-mentioned members of his family and went to Kufa. When he reached Kufa, Abu Salma had already established his rule firmly in Kufa. Abu Salma was Imam Ibrahim's deputy and superintendent of the movement there. However, since then all his attempts were directed towards making Ali's descendents the caliph. Qahtaba bin Shabeeb also was in favor of the same. Since Abu Hashim bin Mohammad (the leader of the descendants of Ali ؓ) had left a will that Mohammad bin Ali Abbasi (the leader of Banu Abbas at the time of Abu Hashim) should be recognized as the leader of his group, he could not decide what to do.

When he received the news that Abul Abbas was approaching with the supporters of Ali ؓ he came up to Hamam Ayun to receive him and lodged him at Waleed bin Sad's house and kept it as a guarded secret from all of the supporters of Ali ؓ and the commanders of the army for forty days. Abu Salma wanted somebody from among the descendants of Abi Talib to be made caliph and the oath be taken for him. But Abu Jaham who was from among the supporters of Ali ؓ disagreed with him. He felt that by declaring their caliphate by the descendants of Ali bin Abi Talib ؓ they could be deprived of the caliphate and the people might recognize Abul Abbas as the caliph. Had Abul Abbas not come to Kufa in accordance to Imam Ibrahim's will, Abu Salma might have possibly succeeded in making the descendants of Abu Talib the caliph. Abu Salma did not want the people to know about the arrival of Abul Abbas and become attracted towards him. So meanwhile Abu Salama wrote a letter to Imam Jafar Sadiq bin Imam Baqar bin Imam Zainul Abedeen bin Husain bin Ali requesting him to come to Kufa and be the caliph. He replied in the negative.

By chance, the people came to know about Abul Abbas Saffah's arrival in Kufa. Now there were two kinds of people in Kufa. One group who wanted the caliphate for the descendants of Abbas ؓ and the other who wanted it for the descendants of Ali bin Abi Talib ؓ. The Abbasids began to throng about Abul Abbas Saffah. The supporters of Ali ؓ also began to visit him. When the people were informed that Abu Salma, the governor of Kufa, known as the minister for the Prophet's family had not fulfilled the conditions of playing host to Abul Abbas Abdullah Saffah, many of Ali's supporters became supporters of Abdullah Saffah. His presence in Kufa won popular attention and sympathy to himself. Ultimately on 12 Rabia Awwal Friday 132 A.H. corresponding with 30 October 749 AD, the people assembled, took Abul Abbas Abdullah Saffah from his residence and brought him to the Governor's headquarters. Abdullah Saffah then came to grand mosque, made a sermon, led the Friday congregational prayers and ascended the pulpit and made another sermon and took the oath from the people. His sermon was very eloquent and instructive. He proved himself worthy of the caliphate and promised to increase their stipends and then praised the Kufans. After this sermon Abdullah Saffah's uncle Dawood climbed up to the pulpit and delivered a lecture and praised the caliphate of Banu Abbas in well-expressed words, condemned Banu Umayyah and said to the people, "As Amir al-Muminin Abdullah Saffah suffers from fever and pain in the limbs today, he could not speak much. Pray for him." Then Abdullah Saffah went to the Governor's headquarters and his brother Abu Jafar Mansoor continued to take the oath from the people on his behalf in the mosque until late at night. Abdullah Saffah then visited Abu Salama's tent. Abu Salma took the oath no doubt but he was not happy that the oath and the caliphate went to the Abbasids in his heart. Abdullah Saffah handed over deputyship of the adjoining areas of Kufa to his uncle Dawood and sent his other uncle Abdullah bin Ali to help Abu Aun and his nephew Isa bin Musa to help Qahtaba who lay besieging Ibn Hubairah in Wasit and Tamimi bin Jafar bin Tamim bin Abbas to help Hama'd bin Qahtaba in Madain. In this way, he dispatched and deputed his leaders everywhere. Abu Muslim was present in Khorasan and was purging it of all the enemies of the Abbasids. When Abul Abbas became caliph and came to Kufa,

he consulted Abu Muslim on all important issues and acted as he advised.

This was a very critical and dangerous time in the Islamic world. Wars and feuds had broken out in every province and state. It was very difficult to subdue Yazid bin Omar bin Hubairah in Wasit. On the other side Marwan bin Mohammad, the Umayyah caliph, was in power in Syria. There was chaos in the Hijaz. The condition of Egypt was also bad. The movement of the Abbasids had no influence in Spain. Umayyah leaders were in power in Jazirah and Armenia and were ready to rise up against the Abbasids and Khorasan was not fully under control. The Abbasids could not establish their government in Basra either. Hadramaut, Yamamah and Yemen were also no better. As soon as Abdullah Saffah took over as caliph, there appeared dissension among the descendants of Ali bin Abi Talib ﷺ also known as the Alawis, who were partners until then. They were surprised and aggrieved at the ascension of the Abbasids because they expected their own caliphate to be established. The responsibility and credit of this great success by the Abbasids rested on the last will and testament of Mohammad bin Hanafia's son Abu Hisham Abdullah, which he bequeathed at the time of his death in favor of Mohammad bin Ali bin Abdullah bin Abbas. This final testament led the Kisanya sect of the supporters of Ali ﷺ to form a belief that Mohammad bin Hanafia was the Imam after Ali bin Abi Talib ﷺ. Then followed his son Abu Hisham Abdullah, then Mohammad bin Ali Abbasi, his son Imam Ibrahim and finally Abdullah Saffah , the present Imam. Thus, a large section of the supporters of Ali parted with the other Aliwiites and joined the Abbasids, and the Alawiites or the Fatimids did not have a chance to stand in opposition to the Abbasids and they suffered distress an anxiety over their predicament.

When Marwan bin Mohammad the last caliph of Banu Umayyad, was killed, Habib bin Murrah, the governor of Balqa came out holding a white flag. Aqil of Qansareen also rose up though he had already taken the oath for Abdullah bin Ali Abbasi. The citizens of Hims also joined him. Then the governor of Armenia Ishaq bin Muslim Aqili, also stood in revolt against the Abbasids. To put down all the rebellions Abdullah Saffah sent his leaders and relatives and they

succeeded by degrees. However, Yazid bin Omar bin Hubariah was still in occupation of Wasit and no leader was able to defeat him. Compelled by this situation, Abu Jafar Mansoor and Abdullah Saffah made peace with him and as part of the terms he was ready to take the oath. However, Abu Muslim from Khorasan wrote to Abdullah Saffah saying, "Yazid bin Omar's existence will remain a danger you should kill him." So, Mansoor Abbasi killed him by treachery and eliminated the danger.

Now Abu Salama alone survived in Kufa and apparently, there was no excuse for murdering him because the Abbasids in the beginning did not want to oppose the supporters of Ali رضي الله عنه openly. Abu Salama's detailed record was sent to Abu Muslim in order to get his opinion. He replied back that he should be put to death at once. Reading this Abdullah Saffah at the instance of his uncle, Dawood, wrote to Abu Muslim. "If we kill him, we run the risk of open opposition and rebellion from Abu Salama's supporters and the supporters of Ali رضي الله عنه. Please send some one from there to kill Abu Salama." Abu Muslim deputed Murad bin Anas to kill Abu Salama. Murad came to Kufa and one day while Abu Salma was going somewhere, he struck him with his sword so powerfully that he immediately fell dead and Murad escaped. It was rumored that some Khwarij killed Abu Salama. After the murder, Abu Muslim similarly had Sulaiman bin Katheer killed. He is the same Sulaiman bin Katheer who had rejected Abu Muslim when he first arrived in Khorasan as Imam Ibrahim's chief deputy. In short, Abu Muslim had everybody who opposed him murdered.

Massacre of Banu Umayyad by Abbasids

The nation or dynasty that claims the Islamic Caliphate as their hereditary right is suffering from a gross misunderstanding and does an injustice to themselves and the Muslims in general. If Banu Umayyah wanted to retain the Islamic rule in their own community or family, they were unjustified. If Banu Abbas or Banu Hashim took it as a matter of their right, they were also wrong and unjust. But as people in the world think unjustifiably so, they take for granted the continuation of the right of succession in government and its authority too. So, if a man snatches by force his right from a usurper, he often

takes resort to murder and violence. However, the way such murders and violence were justified by Banu Abbas in respect to Banu Umayyah, is unprecedented. Yes, if semi-historical stories are to be relied upon by going beyond the historical age, Bukht Nassar had murdered Bani Israel (children of Israel i.e., Jews) mercilessly and audaciously and wanted to end their existence on the surface of the globe. But we see that Bani Israel still survives in the world today. More than this, the Aryans in India perpetrated all kinds of atrocities on the non-Aryans but the forests of the Himalayas and the Vindhya chal range in northern India, and the sands of Rajasthan in northwestern India kept them covered and the Shudra community of the Hindus form a remarkable part of the Indian population even today (Shudras were non-Aryan cultivators, who came under the domination of the Aryans and in many cases were enslaved). The Aryans of India were the Iranians and Khorasanis. The Khorasani commanders of the Abbasids persuaded the Abbasids to use such violence and cruelty in killing Banu Umayyah that all other stories of atrocities pale in comparison. From the study of conspiratorial activity all over the world, it emerges that for those who want to make their conspiracy a success it is necessary to commit limitless killing, bloodshed, oppression and cruelty to instill terror in the population to eliminate opposition. In this history of Islam, we also have constantly found proof of this fact. Taking the Islamic caliphate from the family of Banu Umayyah was not a crime but to give it to another family in similar fashion was certainly not a matter of credit. Islam and the world of Islam could not have benefited from it. Therefore, Banu Abbas committed shameful deeds, bloodshed and slaughter to accomplish such a task.

A short account of the massacre resorted by Abu Muslim, Qahtaba bin Shabeeb and other deputies in the name of the Prophet's family, in the cities of Khorasan has been given in the above pages. Imam Ibrahim had written to Abu Muslim in his last letter emphatically not to spare even a single Arabic speaker in Khorasan. He meant by that the Arab tribes in Khorasan which supported Banu Umayyah and lived there as royalty. The inhabitants of the city who were non-Muslims and could have been converted to support the Umayyahs were killed by Abu Muslim. Consequently those Arab tribes which reached Khorasan in

large numbers and were succeeding in turning the country's language and society into Arabic were all put to death and the Arabic factor which was influencing the whole country suddenly lost its power and died. That was how the Iranian language, culture, society and morality which were dying, got a new lease of life and Iran and Khorasan which could have been Arab countries like Egypt turned into Persian countries again. Abu Muslim himself was a Khorasani and Iranian by race and for him there was no job more interesting and enjoyable than killing the Arabs. National prejudice which Islam had uprooted completely emerged during the reign of Banu Umayyah again and it was through the use of this national bigotry and discrimination between tribes that Banu Umayyah had rendered all Arab tribes specifically Banu Hashim helpless. When the others knew that a certain person belonged to Banu Umayyah, they looked at him with fear. As soon as they got better of Banu Umayyah, they spent all their energy in securing themselves from this danger and fear. They made up their mind to exterminate them from the face of the earth. When Abdullah Saffah's uncle Abdullah bin Ali entered Damascus on 5 Ramadan 132 A.H., he ordered a general massacre. When the last Umayyah caliph Marwan bin Mohammad was killed in Egypt, the most important duty the Abbasids had, was the extermination of Banu Umayyah. Some Umayyads also joined Banu Abbas in pulling down the high palace of the caliphate of Banu Umayyah and lived with the victorious Abbasids with honor. So, the destruction of the seed of Banu Umayyah completely was not possible. However, Abu Muslim was prepared to undertake this task nonetheless. He wrote to Abdullah Saffah and the leaders of the Abbasids repeatedly to kill any individual of Banu Umayyah no matter how sympathetic or how much of a supporter he might be. The orders were carried out no doubt however there were some persons who in large numbers had joined the Abbasids against the Umayyah caliph and helped them in critical situations. Human propriety and nobility prevented them from killing these helpers. Abu Muslim sent bribes and instructions to the poets and courtiers who frequented the courts of the Abbasi caliphs and commanders to recite poems, and talk to incite the Abbasids against Banu Umayyah so that they would continue to hunger for revenge and murder. That resulted in driving the Abbasids to capture

and kill all the Banu Umayyah. Saffah had Sulaiman bin Hisham bin Abdul Malik killed in the open court at once after being incited by the recitation of such a poem though Sulaiman was a friend and supporter of Saffah. During the days when Abdullah bin Ali was in Palestine, he was taking a meal beside the river of Abi Fatras 80 or 90 persons of Banu Umayyah were dining with him. Meanwhile Shibl bin Abdullah arrived and he started reading poems containing the condemnation of Banu Umayyah, details of the murder of Imam Ibrahim and finally instigation to kill Banu Umayyah. Abdullah bin Ali, Abdullah Saffah's uncle at once ordered their execution. His servants began to kill them. Some of them were killed instantly while others were severely injured but still alive. Abdullah bin Ali had all the dead and wounded placed side by side and had his servants make their bodies into the dining surface for the food. Then the meal was served on top of them and he along with all his friends sat and ate. They were eating while under the food those who had not yet died were moaning, they continued eating until the injured died from their wounds. The list of the murdered included Mohammad bin Abdul Malik, Mu'izz bin Yazid, Abdul Wahid bin Sulaiman, Sayeed bin Abdul Malik, Abu Obaidah bin Waleed bin Abdul Malik. Some say that the deposed caliph Ibrahim was also among them. In Damascus, the same Abdullah bin Ali bin Abbas had the graves of the caliphs of Banu Umayyah dug up. A skull was taken out of Abdul Malik's grave. Nothing came out of Amir Muawiya's grave. Some graves produced limbs and the rest had turned into dust. When Hisham bin Abdul Malik's grave was dug up, the tip of his nose was gone otherwise his entire body was intact. Abdullah bin Ali had his dead body lashed, hung and then had it burned having the ashes blown away by the wind. Abdullah Ali's brother Sulaiman bin Ali bin Abdullah bin Abbas killed a group of Banu Umayyah in Basra and had their dead bodies thrown on the road and forbade their burial. Dogs continued to eat them for a long time. Abdullah bin Ali's other brother, Saffah 's uncle Dawood bin Ali, captured and killed every Umayyah in Makkah, Madinah and the entire Hijaz until nothing remained of Banu Umayyah. In short, all over the territory it was proclaimed that wherever a member of Banu Umayyah was found, he should be put to death at once. Just as people leave their houses to

hunt wild animals, similarly they used to go out of their houses to kill the members of Banu Umayyah until they could not find refuge in any house, village or city. The Abbasids went on searching for them and killing them for years. Abu Muslim had the job in Khorasan done more effectively and audaciously. He killed not only Banu Umayyah but also those who had ever supported Banu Umayyah or did them any service. Those who managed to escape from the general massacre went to other places, disguised themselves, changed their names and places of origin and went pass the Islamic borders.

The provinces and states of Khorasan witnessed the general massacre in its most horrible form, all the Banu Umayyah and all the tribes sympathetic to them, escaped to Sindh, Mount Sulaiman and Kashmir and took refuge there. Those who had changed the names of their tribes also crossed the Islamic borders, because they could not find peace within the jurisdiction of the Abbasids authority.

It is said that the descendants of these runaway Arab tribes who came to Sindh, Kashmir, and the Punjab are still to be found in India unaware of their Arab blood because their ancestors had changed their names and professions.

One person from among the Banu Umayyah, Abdur Rahman bin Muawiya bin Hisham, escaped from becoming the prey of the Abbasids. He arrived in Spain via Egypt and Qairwan. As Spain was comparatively free from the influence of the Abbasids and the supporters of Banu Umayyah were found in large numbers there, he occupied it immediately after his arrival and founded a separate rule and caliphate, which the Abbasid caliphs always viewed with envy yet were unable to harm it.

Chapter 3

The Caliphate of the Abbasids

(First Phase)

Abul Abbas saffah

Abul Abbas Abdullah Saffah bin Mohammad bin Ali bin Abdullah bin Abbas bin Abdul Muttalib bin Hashim was born and raised at Hamimah in Balqa area in 104 A.H. He succeeded his brother. He was younger than his brother Mansoor. Ibn Jareer says one day the Prophet ﷺ said to his uncle Abbas ؓ, "The Caliphate will come to your descendants", the descendents of Abbas were looking forward to it ever since that time.

Abdullah Saffah enjoyed distinction in his ability to cause bloodshed, competitive generosity and intelligence. His Governors and Officials were also experts at spilling blood. Saffah first deputed his uncle Dawood as Governor of Kufa and then made him the Amir of the Hijaz, Yemen and Yamama and appointed his nephew Isa bin Musa bin Mohammad as Governor of Kufa.

When Abu Dawood died in 133 A.H., Saffah made his maternal uncle Yazid bin Obaidullah bin Abdul Madan Harthi and his cousin Mohammad bin Yazid bin Obaidullah bin Abdul Madan the Governors

of Hijaz plus Yamama and Yemen respectively. In 132 A.H., Sufyan bin Uyaina Halbi was made the administrator of Basra and then in 133 A.H., he was deposed and this office was given to Saffah's uncle Sulaiman bin Ali and the Sultanate of Bahrain and Oman were also annexed to his territory. In 132 A.H. Saffah's uncle Ismail bin Ali, another uncle Abdullah bin Ali, Abu Aun Abdul Malik bin Yazid and Abu Muslim Khorasani were Governors of Ahwaz, Syria, Egypt and Khorasan with Jabal respectively. Khalid bin Barmak was the Revenue Officer in Khorasan. In 133 A.H., Abu Muslim appointed Mohammad bin Ash'ath the Governor of Persia on his own. At the same time, Saffah sent his uncle Isa bin Ali with the certificate of Governorship for Persia. Muhammad bin Ash'ath had already been installed there. When Isa bin Ali reached there, Muhammad bin Ash'ath refused to hand over the government of Persia to him and then took a promise from him that he would not deliver the Friday sermon from the pulpit and not to take up sword except to declare *Jihad*, then he handed over the authority of Persia to him but in fact, he himself remained the ruler. When Mohammad Ash'ath died, Saffah sent his uncle Ismail bin Ali as the Governor of Persia. Then he sent Mohammad bin Sool as the Governor of Mousil. The citizens of Mousil expelled Mohammad bin Sool.

They were against Banu Abbas. Getting angry Saffah sent his brother Yahya bin Mohammad bin Ali with 12,000 warriors. Yahya reached Mousil and stayed at the Governor's headquarters and sent for the leaders of Mousil and had them all killed through treachery. The inhabitants of Mousil were highly agitated because of this. They prepared themselves to fight. Yahya made a proclamation, saying. "Whosoever enters the Central Mosque will be granted pardon. Hearing it, they rushed towards the Central Mosque.

Yahya had his men standing guard at the doors of the Central Mosque. Who ever entered it was killed. In this way, 11,000 people were killed. Then a general massacre was ordered in the city. When it was night, Yahya heard the lamentations of the women whose husbands, fathers, brothers and sons were unjustly killed. In the morning, he ordered even the women and children to be put to death. For three days in succession, the killing of the citizens was declared to be legal. With this declaration, the massacre in the city was

enjoined with greater ferocity.

There were 4000 black soldiers in Yahya's army. During the slaughter, they turned to raping the women. Thousands of women were kidnapped. On the fourth day, Yahya came into the city on horse back for inspection. A woman gathered her courage and caught hold of the reins of his horse and said, "Are you not of Banu Hashim? Are you not the son of the Prophet's ﷺ uncle? Don't you know that the black soldiers have married the Muslim women by force?" Yahya did not answer and went away. The next day, he sent for all the black soldiers to disburse their salaries and when all of them had assembled, he ordered them to be killed.

When Saffah was informed of this, he sent Ismail bin Ali to Mousil and transferred Yahya to Persia. In 133 A.H., the Roman Emperor took Maltiya and Qaliqala from the Muslims by force. The same year Yazid bin Obaidullah bin Abdul Madan gave an army to Ibrahim bin Hibban Sulami and sent him from Madinah to Yamama where Muthanna bin Yazid bin Omer bin Hubairah had been in power since his father's time. He fought Ibrahim and was killed. The same year Shareek bin Shaikh Mehri in Bukhara revolted and gathered 30,000 men. Abu Muslim sent Zeyad bin Saleh Khazai against Shareek who fought and was killed. Abu Muslim sent Abu Dawood Khalid bin Ibrahim to invade the city of Khatal in 133 A.H. Habsh bin Shibl, the king of Khatal, suffered defeat and escaped to China via Farghana in eastern Uzbekistan. The same year saw the war between the kings of Akhsheed, Farghana and Shash. The Chinese king intervened and sent one hundred thousand man army against them. Abu Muslim sent Zeyad bin Saleh to meet it. The clash with the Chinese army took place along the river of Taraz 50,000 Chinese were killed and 20,000 were captured by the Muslims.

In 134 A.H. Bassam bin Ibrahim Bassam, a Khorasani Commander of repute, occupied Madain. Saffah sent Khazim bin Khizaima to confront Bassam who lost and escaped. Then Saffah sent Khazim to Oman to face the Khwarij. He defeated them and killed their chief. The same year Abu Dawood Khalid bin Ibrahim invaded Kush, killed its king who was a Dhimmi (Protected non-Muslim subject, this indicates the treachery of Abu Muslim) and sent his head to Abu

Muslim in Samarkand. He enthroned the king's brother Tazan and returned to Balkh. At the same time he massacred the civilians of Bukhara and after making Zeyad bin Saleh the ruler of Bukhara and Samarkand and ordering the construction of fortifications for Samarkand, he came back to Merv. After these happenings, Saffah got the news that Mansoor bin Jamhoor had committed a breach of trust and revolted. Mansoor bin Jamhoor had been the Governor of Iraq and Khorasan for two months during the reign of Yazid the Reducer. He was one of the companions of Abdullah bin Muawiya bin Abdullah bin Jafar. When Abdullah bin Muawiya was defeated by Dawood bin Yazid bin Umar bin Hubairah and Ma'an bin Zaidah near Astakhar, Mansoor bin Jamhoor had fled to Sindh. Abdullah bin Muawiya reached Herat where he was killed by its Governor Malik bin Haithan Khazi by order of Abu Muslim as related previously. Saffah sent his commander of the police Musa bin Kab to Sindh and deputed Musayab bin Zuhair in his place. Musa and Mansoor clashed along the Indian border. Mansoor had 12,000 fighters but was defeated. He escaped to the desert and died of thirst there. Mansoor's Governor who was in Sindh marched towards the city of Khizr along with the members of his family and belongings. That same year in Dhul Hijja 134 A.H., Saffah visited Ambar and made it his capital.

In 135 A.H. Zeyad bin Saleh, Abu Muslim's Governor of Samarkand and Bukhara, rebelled against him. Abu Muslim left Merv. Abu Dawood Khalid bin Ibrahim, upon receiving this news, sent Nasr bin Rashid to Tirmiz (city in southern Uzbekistan) to protect it from Zeyad. As soon as he reached there, some persons came from Talqan (Iran bordering the Caspian Sea in the north) and killed him. Abu Dawood then sent Isa bin Mahan to pursue Nasr's killers. Isa punished Nasr's murderers. Meanwhile Abu Muslim arrived at Amad. He was accompanied by Saba bin Noman Azdi. The caliph Saffah entrusted the task of murdering Abu Muslim to Zeyad bin Saleh and Saba bin Noman.

After his arrival at Amad, Abu Muslim somehow came to know about the plot. He at once arrested Saba and giving orders to the Governor to kill him, left for Bukhara. On the way, he came across some of Zeyad bin Saleh's commanders who rebelled against him and were

coming to join Abu Muslim. When Abu Muslim reached Bukhara, Zeyad hid himself in a local man's house. The local man killed him and presented his head to Abu Muslim. Abu Muslim informed Abu Dawood of Zeyad's death. Abu Dawood was engaged at the time on the expedition at Talqan. After becoming free from this expedition, he returned to Kush and Isa bin Mahan went to Bassam but without much success. That same year Isa bin Mahan had sent a few letters to Abu Muslims' companions criticizing Abu Dawood. Abu Muslim sent those letters to Abu Dawood. Abu Dawood had Isa beaten up and thrown into captivity. When he was released after a few days, the soldiers mobbed and killed him. Relieved of this situation, Abu Muslim returned to Merv.

In 136 A.H., Abdullah bin Ali called on Saffah. He sent him, along with the troops of Syria and Iraq, to fight the Romans. Saffah's brother Abu Jafar Mansoor was the administrator of Jazirah. He made up his mind to perform Hajj at Saffah's instance submitted a petition of request asking his permission. Saffah wrote to him, "Come to me and I shall send you as Amir al-Hajj (leader of the pilgrimage). So, Mansoor came to Ambâr and Muqatil bin Hakeem was assigned to Harran. The fact was that Abu Muslim had also sought Saffah's permission to do Hajj. So, he secretly informed his own brother Mansoor to get ready for Hajj and send a petition stating his request to come to Hajj, as all governors were required to do. It is essential to clarify here that Abu Muslim Khorasani contributed the most to making the propagation of the Abbasids a success as the previous events have shown. Now following Saffah's accession to the caliphate and the strengthening of the authority of the Abbasids, he was made the governor of Khorasan and Saffah had sent him the certificate of governorship in his name. However, Abu Muslim never came to the court in person to take the oath. When, on behalf of Imam Ibrahim, he was first sent to Khorasan, he had been living there ever since. He himself conquered Khorasan, established his government there and dominated over its rule. When all the enemies were removed, Abdullah bin Saffah thought that it was best not to transfer Abu Muslim to any other government of the province nor could he reduce his power.

Abu Muslim considered himself to be the founder of the caliphate of the

Abbasids and the patron of caliph Saffah. Caliph Saffah consulted him and often acted accordingly but regarding Khorasan, he did not think it necessary to consult Saffah. Sulaiman bin Katheer was one of the most famous and oldest of the deputies of the Abbasids. Abu Muslim killed him on personal grounds and Saffah could not ask him to explain. Saffah, his uncle and his brother kept overlooking these excesses but found it difficult to tolerate Abu Muslim's autocratic method of ruling. When Saffah sent his brother Abu Jafar Mansoor to Khorasan to take the oath on his behalf and with the certificate of Abu Muslim's governorship, Abu Muslim's attitude to Abu Jafar was not courteous and Abu Jafar felt that all his activities reflected self-conceit and autocracy. That led to an estrangement between the two and when Abu Jafar briefed Saffah with all that transpired, Caliph Saffah was all the more concerned and began to think of ways to reduce Abu Muslim's authority and influence. He finally decided to do away with him. That was the reasoning behind why he assigned that job to Zeyad bin Saleh and Saba bin Noman Azdi as mentioned earlier. In short, they harbored ill feelings and suspicion in their hearts against each other.*

As Abu Muslim was highly courageous and a man who loved power when he suspected Saffah, he not only thought it necessary to keep his hold and authority in Khorasan but he also tried to establish his influence in Hijaz and Iraq in order to crush the Abbasids, if necessary. It was not surprising that he was preparing to enhance his popularity in Hijaz, Iraq and all over the Islamic world covertly. He had contributed most to make the propagation of the Abbasids a success but he forgot the fact that his adversary was the family, which could produce persons like Mohammad bin Ali and Ibrahim bin Mohammad, the founders of the Abbasid movement and they had the ability to ruin the caliphate of Banu Umayyah. Though Abu Muslim contributed to it most, he was after all taught and trained by the Abbasids. He sought permission from Caliph Saffah to perform the Hajj, Saffah permitted him and instructed him that he should not take more than 500 people with him. Abu Muslim wrote back, "There are people who are against me. My life would be in danger if I travel with such a small number." Saffah wrote, "1000 then should be sufficient for you. Travelling with a large number of people is inconvenient because managing supplies in Makkah might

prove to be difficult." Abu Muslim left Merv with 8,000 men and when he approached the border of Khorasan, he left 7,000 men there and moved towards the capital Ambar with 1000 men. Saffah sent well known and respected commanders to receive him. Saffah honored him royally when he visited the court and said to him. "If my brother Abu Jafar Mansoor had not intended to perform Hajj, I would have made you the leader of the pilgrimage, Amir al-Hajj. Thus, his wish to be the Amir al-Hajj and increase his popularity was thwarted. Abu Jafar Mansoor and Abu Muslim both left Ambar for Hajj together. Abu Muslim had left Khorasan with a big treasure and he did not like Mansoor's company because he could not do things, which he wanted to do freely. Nevertheless, he had wells dug to supply water at every stage of the journey. He started the work of building inns and making more amenities available to the travelers. He distributed clothes, set up welfare houses, gave away many awards and showed his generosity with gifts, which endeared him to the masses. In Makkah, he performed the same acts of generosity on a larger scale where people from all over the world could witness his kindness. Before Abu Jafar decided to leave Makkah at the end of the Hajj, Abu Muslim had left already. Abu Muslim had hardly journeyed two stages when he came across the messenger from the capital Ambâr who carried the news of Saffah's death and Abu Jafar Mansoor's succession to the caliphate. The messenger was on way to Abu Jafar Mansoor. Abu Muslim kept the messenger with him for two days and then let him go to Mansoor. Abu Jafar Mansoor was unhappy at Abu Muslim's departure before the proper time. Now he was even more unhappy at the news including the messengers delay, Abu Muslim did not congratulate him on his becoming the caliph nor did he remain encamped to take the oath and continue the journey together although he was expected to so. When Abu Jafar received the news, he left Makkah but Abu Muslim kept moving on until he reached Ambâr and after him Mansoor entered the capital.

Abul Abbas Abdullah Saffah lived as caliph for four years and eight months and died on 13 Dhul Hijjah 136 A.H. His uncle Isa led the funeral service and he was buried at Ambâr. Before dying, he had written a testament that Abu Jafar Mansoor and after him, Isa bin Mūsa would be caliph. He rolled it in a cloth and put the seal of the

Prophet's family on it and gave it to Isa. Since Mansoor was absent, Isa bin Musa took the oath from the people as his deputy and sent the messenger to Makkah to inform Abu Jafar Mansoor.

Abdullah Saffah made use of money to establish and strengthen his caliphate in the same way in which the founder of the caliphate of Banu Umayyah Amir Muawiya ؓ had done. Amir Muawiya ؓ had stopped public opposition and support of his opponents the Alawiites with generosity and succeeded in winning their favor. Similarly, the Alawiites were claimants for the caliphate against the founder of the Abbasids, Saffah. They ruined Banu Umayyah in collision with the Abbasids and once again were disappointed when the caliphate went to Banu Abbas. Abdullah Saffah also gave large sums to the Alawiites as Amir Muawiya ؓ had done. When Saffah was made caliph, Abdullah bin Hasan Muthanna bin Hasan bin Ali and other Alawiites came to Kufa and accused them of usurping the caliphate to which they were entitled. This is the same Abdullah bin Hasan Muthanna whose son Mohammad was chosen caliph by the Abbasids and the Alawiites at the meeting in the month of Dhul Hijjah in 131 A.H. All the people present at that meeting including Abu Jafar Mansoor had taken the oath for him. Saffah presented one million dirhams to Abdullah bin Hasan Muthanna though the amount was not available with him at the time. He had borrowed it from Ibn Muqrin. In the same way, he gave money to each Alawiite and let them go on their way. Abdullah bin Hasan Muthanna had hardly left Saffah when a messenger arrived with the news of Marwan bin Mohammad's death with a large amount of precious jewels and ornaments as spoils of war. Saffah immediately ordered the messenger to take all the jewels and ornaments and sell them. A trader purchased them from him for 80,000 dinars. If Abdullah bin Saffah had neglected payment to the Alawiites they would have surely stood up against him and most of the influential deputies might have joined them making the saving of their caliphate extremely difficult for the Abbasids. Saffah's greatest achievement lies in the fact that he silenced all the Alawiites with his money and did not let them stand against him. Immediately after Saffah's death, the Alawiites prepared to revolt but by then the caliphate of the Abbasids had become very powerful.

Abu Jafar Mansoor

Abu Jafar Mansoor Abdullah bin Mohammad bin Ali bin Abdullah bin Abbas bin Abdul Muttalib's mother Salameh was a Berber slave girl. He was born in 95 A.H. while his grandfather was still alive. According to another narrative, he was born in 101 A.H. He was known for his bravery, pride, ability to instill awe, intelligence and particular point of view. He abhorred sports and fun. He was a great scholar of literature and the science of applying Islamic law. He imprisoned Imam Abu Hanifa where he died for his refusal to accept the post of chief justice. Some say that Abu Hanifa delivered an authorized legal opinion for bearing arms against Mansoor and Mansoor had him poisoned to death. Mansoor was a very eloquent orator. He is accused of greed and miserliness. Abdur Rahman bin Muawiya bin Hisham bin Abdul Malik Umayyah had become the ruler of Spain in 138 A.H., during the reign of Mansoor's caliphate. Since Mansoor was born of a Berber woman, it was said that the Islamic rule had become part Berber. Ibn Asakir writes that when Mansoor was wandering through out the Islamic territories in pursuit of knowledge, he arrived at a place where the guards demanded two dirhams as tax from him and said, "Unless you pay the tax, you will not be allowed to stay here." Mansoor said, "I belong to Banu Hashim. Excuse me. I am one of the sons of the Prophet's ﷺ uncle." Even then, they did not allow him. Mansoor said, "I know the Qur'ân. Excuse me." Again, they did not budge. Mansoor said, "I am a scholar of Islamic law and the religious obligations." Again, the guard looked adamant. At last, Mansoor had to part with two dirhams and on that day, he made up his mind to accumulate wealth. Once he instructed his son Mahdi saying, "A king cannot live without the obedience of the subjects and the subjects cannot obey without justice. The best man is he who despite being powerful forgives and the greatest fool is he who does injustice and oppression. Orders must not be passed without deliberation for deliberation is a mirror in which a man observes his own beauty and ugliness. Always be thankful for Allah's gifts and blessings, forgive as much as possible, expect obedience through encouragement and be humble and kind in victory.

The Revolt of Abdullah bin Ali

Abdullah Saffah had sent Mansoor's uncle Abdullah bin Ali to Saifah with the Khorasani and Syrian armies before his death. In Muharram 137 A.H., Mansoor reached Ambâr and became caliph. Isa bin Musa had informed Abdullah bin Ali about Saffah's death and had written that Saffah had left a will making Mansoor caliph after him. Abdullah bin Ali assembled the people and said to them, "When Saffah wanted to send the army on the Harran expedition, none dared to accept it. Then he said that whoever went there, would be caliph after him. Therefore, I went on that expedition and it was I who defeated Marwan bin Mohammad and the other Umayyah leaders." All confirmed his statement and took the oath at his hands. Then Abdullah bin Ali returned from Dalook, and besieged Muqatil bin Hakeem at Harran. He continued with the siege for forty days. During the siege, he became suspicious of the Khorasani men and killed several of them. He deputed Humaid bin Qahtaba as the governor of Halab and gave him a letter in the name of Zafar bin Asim, the governor of Halab and then left. The letter said that as soon as Humaid arrived he should be put to death. Humaid opened and read it on the way and turned to Iraq instead of Halab. When Mansoor arrived in Ambâr, Abu Muslim had already arrived there. Abu Muslim took the oath at Mansoor's hands and Mansoor treated him with great respect and praise. Meanwhile the news came that Abdullah bin Ali had rebelled. Mansoor said to Abu Muslim. "I apprehend great danger from Abdullah bin Ali." Abu Muslim loved such adventures. He got ready at once in order to oblige Mansoor. He was deputed to fight against Abdullah bin Ali. Ibn Qahtaba, who coming to Iraq was displeased with Abdullah bin Ali, joined Abu Muslim. Abdullah bin Ali gave a pardon to Muqatil bin Hakeem and he surrendered Harran to Abdullah bin Ali. He sent Muqatil to Uthman bin Abdul Aala, the governor of Rakka, with a letter. Uthman killed him as soon as he reached him and arrested both his sons. After seeing, Abu Muslim had off, Mansoor sent for Mohammad bin Sul from Azerbaijan and dispatched him to deceive Abdullah bin Ali with a fabricated story. Mohammad bin Sul called on Abdullah bin Ali and said to him, "I have heard Saffah say that after his death his successor

would be his uncle Abdullah." Abdullah bin Ali said, "You are a liar and I understand your fraud." Saying this he chopped off his head. Then he left Harran and stayed at Nasiban where he dug trenches and made fortifications. Before sending Abu Muslim, Mansoor had already written to Hasan bin Qahtaba, the governor of Armenia, to come and join Abu Muslim and he joined him at Mousil. When Abu Muslim and his army arrived at Nasiban, he camped in the direction of Syria and made it known that he had nothing to do with Abdullah bin Ali and that he had been made the governor of Syria and was on his way there. Abdullah bin Ali's men who were Syrians were nervous when they heard this. They said to Abdullah bin Ali, "Our families will come under the wheel of his tyranny. We better stop him from going to Syria." Abdullah bin Ali tried his utmost to argue with them that Abu Muslim had come to fight with them and that he would not go to Syria but no one believed him. At last, he left the camp and was on the way to Syria when Abu Muslim at once shifted to Abdullah bin Ali's camp which was more strategically located and Abdullah bin Ali had to camp where Abu Muslim had been camped. Thus, Abu Muslim secured a more strategic position. Then both the armies clashed, which continued for several months. Finally, on Wednesday 7 Jumad-al-Thani 137 A.H. Abdullah bin Ali was defeated and Abu Muslim was victorious, he immediately sent the news to Mansoor. Abdullah bin Ali fled and took refuge with his brother Sulaiman bin Ali in Basra and remained there in hiding.

Death of Abu Muslim

When Mansoor heard that Abdullah bin Ali was defeated and Abu Muslim looted his camp and took a large amount of spoils of war, he sent his servant Abu Khaseeb to record the valuables. Abu Muslim was annoyed that Mansoor did not rely upon him and sent his own men for the purpose of accounting. When Mansoor was informed of Abu Muslim's displeasure, he felt concerned that he might go to Khorasan. So, he wrote a certificate of governorship of Syria and Egypt in Abu Muslim's name and sent it to him. Abu Muslim was aggrieved from this even more and he thought that he was being separated from Khorasan in order to make him helpless and powerless. So, he left Jazirah and went to Khorasan. When he found

out about Abu Muslim's movement, Mansoor left Ambâr and went to Madain and sent for him. Abu Muslim refused to come to him, saying, "I shall obey you from a distance. I have subdued all your enemies. Now that all your dangers are over you do not need me. If you leave me alone, I shall keep obeying you and shall remain committed to my oath. But if you pursue me, I shall announce the cancellation of the oath and oppose you." After going through the letter Mansoor wrote to Abu Muslim very softly and affectionately, "I have no doubts about your loyalty and obedience. You are very efficient and worthy of reward. The devil has poured poison of suspicion into your heart. Purge yourself of all these suspicions and temptations and come over to me." Mansoor dispatched the letter through his liberated slave Abu Humaid and instructed him to induce and entreat him to visit Mansoor and threaten him with Mansoor's anger in case of refusal. When the letter reached him, he consulted Malik bin Haitham. He said, "Don't go to Mansoor. He will kill you." But Mansoor had already persuaded Abu Dawood Khalid bin Ibrahim in exchange for the governorship of Khorasan to convince Abu Muslim to come to him at any cost. Due to Abu Dawood's advice Abu Muslim prepared himself to go to Mansoor. Despite this he took precautions by first sending his minister Abu Ishaq Khalid bin Uthman to Mansoor to get more acquainted with the conditions and situation there. Abu Muslim had a deep trust in Abu Ishaq. When he reached the caliph's court, all the leaders of Banu Hashim and noblemen of the court came to receive him. Mansoor treated him with great respect and love and won his heart with his soft speech, then he said to him, "Prevent Abu Muslim from going to Khorasan and convince him to come to me. In exchange I shall give you the governorship of Khorasan." Abu Ishaq yielded. He came to Abu Muslim and persuaded him to visit Mansoor. So, he left his army under the command of Malik bin Haitham at Halwan and with 3,000 men moved to Madain. When he reached Madain, a man visited him at Mansoor's instance and said to him, "Please recommend me to Mansoor and ask him to give me the governorship of Kaskar (in the Northwest Frontier Province of present day Pakistan). Also, Mansoor is very displeased with his minister Abu Ayyub. Please say a few words in his favor." Abu Muslim was pleased to oblige him and all doubts about danger that he harbored in

his heart vanished. He entered the court with honor and went back to his resting place with equal honor. When he visited the court the next day, Mansoor had already hidden Uthman bin Naheek, Shabeeb bin Rawah, Harb bin Qais and others, behind a veil and instructed them that when he clapped, they should come out and kill him. Abu Muslim came to the court and Caliph Mansoor in the course of conversation inquired of him about the two swords he had taken from Abdullah bin Ali. Abu Muslim had one of those two swords at his side. He at once handed it over to Mansoor. He kept looking at it for a while and then he put it under his thigh and began to complain to Abu Muslim about his actions then he mentioned the death of Sulaiman bin Katheer and said to him, "Why did you kill him though he has been loyal to me since before you had joined this work." First Abu Muslim offered excuses in a humble and flattering manner but when he found that Mansoor's rage was rising moment by moment and that he was no longer secure he courageously answered, "Do what you may. I fear none except Allâh." Mansoor abused Abu Muslim and clapped his hands. On hearing the clapping Uthman bin Naheek and the others came out and killed him.

This occurred in 25 SHibban 137 A.H. After Abu Muslim's death, the minister went out and sent back Abu Muslim's men saying, "Your Amir will remain with the Amir al-Muminin at present. You may go back." Then Isa bin Musa came to the caliph's court and inquired about Abu Muslim. When he understood he was dead, he exclaimed إنا لله و انا إليه راجعون. This touched Mansoor and he said, "No one was a greater enemy to you than Abu Muslim." Then Mansoor sent for Jafar bin Hanzla and consulted him about killing Abu Muslim. Jafar advised him to kill him and Mansoor said, "May Allâh give you a good reward!" and then pointed to the dead body of Abu Muslim. As soon as he saw it he said, "Amir al-Muminin you are caliph with effect from today." Mansoor simply smiled and kept quite.

Abu Nasr Malik bin Haitham to whom Abu Muslim had handed over his wealth, left Halwan and was on his way to Khorasan planning on going to Hamadan. Then he came back to Mansoor. Mansoor reprimanded him, saying, "You advised Abu Muslim not to come to me." He said, "As long as I was with him, I gave advice. Now that I

have come to you, I shall keep trying to do good for you." Mansoor sent him as the ruler of Mousil.

The Revolt of Sinbâd

After becoming free from the matter of Abu Muslim, Mansoor obviously could relax to some degree but even after that, he had to face many difficulties. Among Abu Muslim's men there was a Zoroastrian named Firoz who was popularly known as Sinbâd. He had converted Islam and joined Abu Muslim's army. Following Abu Muslim's murder, he rose up and demanded compensation for his murder. The inhabitants of mountain area supported him. He conquered Nishapur and Rayy and took possession of all the money and provisions that Abu Muslim had left there. He looted the people's wealth and goods and made them slaves. Then he turned apostate and announced that he was going to pull down the Ka'bah. For the new Iranian Muslims this much instigation was sufficient and those who knew nothing about Islam saw one of their countrymen revolt against the Islamic authority and they joined him. When Mansoor was informed of this new evil, he sent Jamhoor bin Murar Ajli to punish Sinbad. They clashed at a place between Hamadan and Rayy. Jamhoor defeated Sinbad and about 7,000 of Sinbad's men lost their lives. Sinbad fled and took refuge in Tabristan. A servant of the governor of Tabristan killed him. Mansoor wrote to the governor of Tabristan to send Sinbad's wealth and goods but he refused. Mansoor then sent an army to discipline him. He fled from Tabristan and went to Dailam. When Jamhoor had defeated Sinbad, he captured most of his goods and all his treasure and Abu Muslim's treasure also came under his possession. He did not send it to Mansoor. He went to Rayy, entered the fort and announced his cancellation of his oath to Mansoor and rebelled against him. Mansoor sent Mohammad bin Ash'th to fight against him. Jamhoor left Rayy and went to Isfahan. Jamhoor conquered Isfahan and Mohammad bin Ash'th occupied Rayy. Then Mohammad invaded Isfahan. Jamhoor fought but lost after a pitched battle and fled to Azerbaijan. A friend of Jamhoor's killed him and sent his head to Mansoor. This happened in 138 A.H.

In 139 A.H., Mansoor deposed his uncle Sulaiman from the

governorship of Basra and recalled him. He wrote to him to bring Abdullah bin Ali (who after losing to Abu Muslim, had gone to his brother Sulaiman in Basra) with him by giving him a pardon. When he brought Abdullah bin Ali to court, Mansoor imprisoned him and later on killed him.

The sect of Râvindiyeh

Ravandiyeh is considered as one of the sects of the Shiites. It was in fact a sect consisting of the ignorant people of Iran and Khorasan, which lived in Ravaind. It originated from recruits of Abu Muslim's army. The sect, which he had made, had nothing to do with religion and they were always guided by political considerations. The Ravaindiyeh believed in transmigration and embodiment. They believed that Mansoor was the embodiment of Allâh. So they took him to be Allâh and to obtain a sight of him amounted to worship. It was their belief that Adam's soul entered Uthman bin Naheek's body and the angel Gabriel's soul entered Haitham bin Muawiya's body. They visited the capital and made public their faith and deeds. Mansoor caught 200 of them besides those, there were 500 or 600 more. They reacted to the arrest of their co-religionists, stormed the jail and freed their brethren. Then they besieged Mansoor's palace. It is really surprising that they considered Mansoor to be their god and yet they were ready to fight with him. It is worth recording here that among Yazid bin Hubairah's friends Ma'an bin Zaidah was still alive. And when Ibn Hubariah fought with the Abbasids, Ma'an bin Zaidah was among his leaders. Ma'an bin Zaidah went into hiding in the capital of Hashimites after Ibn Hubairah's defeat, Mansoor had been searching for him and wanted to have him arrested and killed. When the Ravandiyehs surrounded Mansoor's palace, Mansoor came out on foot. He started attacking and removing them although he had only a small number of men with him. In the capital there was no army or other power to match the rioters' strength. It was a very critical moment for Mansoor. He was on the point of losing the capital, the caliphate and his life and opening the way for occupation by the Ravandiyahs. Ma'an bin Zaidah, taking advantage of the situation, came to his defense unhesitatingly and fell upon the rioters. Meanwhile others also rallied around Mansoor but it was Ma'an bin

Zaidah's attacks that proved most effective. Mansoor watched with his own eyes the heroic deeds of the stranger. At last, Ma'an bin Zaidah himself began to command the men that ultimately led to the defeat of the rioters. Other civilians also rose in support of Mansoor and did away with all the rioters. After the battle, Mansoor made inquires about the stranger who had done the most to stamp out the evil disorder. He was informed that it was none other than Ma'an bin Zaidah. He granted him pardon excused his past crimes and promoted him to a higher rank.

Abu Dawood Khalid bin Ibrahim Dhahli was the administrator of Balkh and the new governor of Khorasan. In 140 A.H. a rebellion broke out in his army and the soldiers surrounded his house. He climbed on the roof to have a look at the rebels. He slipped, fell and died the same day. After that his commander Hosam put down the rebellion, took over the reign of Khorasan and informed Mansoor who sent Abdul Jabbar bin Abdur Rahman as the governor of Khorasan.

Abdul Jabbar's Revolt and Death

Immediately after taking over the reign of Khorasan, Abdul Jabbar began to depose, humiliate and kill Abu Dawood's administrators. He created a commotion in the country by slaying his leaders on the slightest suspicions. Mansoor found out that Abdul Jabbar was killing the supporters of the Abbasids but he was hesitant how to make Abdul Jabbar leave Khorasan for he feared he might revolt against him. At last, Mansoor wrote to him, "Send the majority of the army for jihad against the Romans." The purpose was quite obvious. When a greater portion of the army was separated from Khorasan, it would be quite easy to depose and replace him with another man. Abdul Jabbar wrote back in reply, "The Turks have begun to attack. If you shift the army to any other place than Khorasan, I am afraid, Khorasan will go out of our hands." At the receipt of the reply Mansoor wrote to him, "I love Khorasan most. It is very essential to protect it. If the Turks have started invading, I will send a huge army for its defense. Don't worry about it." Seeing the letter, Abdul Jabbar immediately sent the reply, "The revenue of Khorasan can not stand such a major expense. Please don't send any large army." This reply convinced Mansoor that Abdul

Jabbar was bent upon revolt. So immediately he sent a large army under the command of his son Mahdi. Mahdi arrived at Rayy and asked Khazim bin Khuzaima to go ahead and fight with Abdul Jabbar. There was a fierce battle resulting in Abdul Jabbar's defeat and flight. Mahshar bin Muzahim captured and presented him to Khazim bin Khuzaima who, in turn, made him put on a woolen gown and sit on a camel with his face towards its tail and after making a public display of him, sent him and all his men to Mansoor. Mansoor jailed them and in 142 A.H. ordered Abdul Jabbar's hands and feet to be cut off. After defeating Abdul Jabbar, Mahdi took over the reign of Khorasan and continued in the capacity of its governor until 149 A.H.

Uyainah bin Musa bin Kâb

Musa bin Kâb was the administrator of Sindh and after him his son Uyaimah succeeded him as the governor of Sindh. He revolted against Mansoor. When Mansoor found out, he left the capital and went to Basra, and from there he gave the certificate of the governorship of Sindh and India to Omar bin Hafs bin Abi Safwah Atki and appointed him for the expedition against Uyaimah. Omar bin Hafs arrived in Sindh and declared war against Uyaimah and ultimately captured Sindh in 142 A.H. In the meantime, the administrator of Tabristan also rebelled. Khazim bin Khuzaima and Ruh bin Hâtim were sent there. They conquered it and its administrator, a new Iranian Muslim, committed suicide.

The arrest and captivity of the Alawiites

It has already been mentioned that during the end of the caliphate of Banu Umayyah an assembly was held in Makkah which discussed the nomination and election of the new caliph. Mansoor who was also present there voted for Mohammad bin Abdullah bin Hasan Muthanna bin Hasan bin Ali. All were unanimous on this point and took the oath at Mohammad bin Abdullah's hands. Mansoor also took the oath for him. Saffah kept the Alawiites quiet during his reign by giving them gifts and cash and thus preventing them from revolting. When Mansoor took over as caliph, he did not let the generosity of Saffah's times continue and constantly thought of Mohammad bin

Abdullah. Mohammad bin Abdullah's father Abdullah bin Hasan has also found mention above. He visited Saffah who gave him a large sum of money and sent him away. When Mansoor became caliph, Abdullah bin Hasan hid his sons Mohammad and Ibrahim so that Mansoor would not kill them. Mohammad bin Abdullah who Mansoor took the oath for was also known as Mohammad Mahdi. He will be referred to in the following as Mohammad Mahdi. When Mansoor went on Hajj in 136 A.H. and heard the news of Saffah's death, he first made queries about Mohammad Mahdi. He was not present there at the time. The people were suspicious of him and so he and his brother Ibrahim went into hiding. After becoming caliph, Mansoor always was trying to find out where he was. He made so many inquiries about him that everybody knew that he wanted Mohammad Mahdi badly. When Abdullah bin Hasan Muthanna was pressurized to make his sons appear, he consulted Mansoor's uncle Sulaiman bin Ali. Sulaiman said that if Mansoor had been accustomed to granting forgiveness, he would have forgiven his uncle and he would not have let atrocities be perpetrated upon him. Hearing this Abdullah bin Hasan became all the more careful in keeping his sons in hiding. At last, Mansoor spread his spies throughout the Hijaz and had fake letters sent to Abdullah bin Hasan in order to find out Mohammad Mahdi's whereabouts. Mohammad Mahdi and his brother Ibrahim continued to remain in hiding in the Hijaz. Mansoor went for Hajj but was actually looking for them. Both brothers left the Hijaz and went to Basra and stayed with Banu Rahib and Banu Murrah. When Mansoor found out about that, he went to Basra immediately. However, they had left Basra before he arrived there. From Basra, they went to Aden and Mansoor left for the capital. When the two brothers could not find peace even in Aden, they went to Sindh. After living for a short time in Sindh, they went to Kufa and started hiding again. Afterwards, they went to Madinah. Mansoor again went to Hajj in 140 A.H. The two brothers also visited Makkah for Hajj. Ibrahim wanted to kill Mansoor but his brother Mohammad Mahdi forbade him to do so. This time Mansoor failed to find them again. He called their father to him and forced him to bring them into his presence. When he expressed his ignorance of where they were, Mansoor wanted to imprison him but on the guarantee of the

administrator of Madinah, Zeyad, he was let off. Because Zeyad made the guarantee for him, Mansoor came to harbor ill feelings against him also. After coming to the capital he appointed Mohammad bin Khalid bin Abdullah Qasri as the administrator of Madinah and brought Zeyad and his friends back to the capital and arrested them and put them into prison. After taking over as the administrator of Madinah, Mohammad bin Khalid tried his best to find Mohammad Mahdi and spent all the money of the treasury on it. Mansoor deposed Mohammad bin Khalid for his extravagance and failure and replaced him with Rabah bin Uthman bin Hayyan Muzani. Rabah reached Madinah and harassed Abdullah bin Hasan and created a great commotion there and arrested and imprisoned the following Alawiites.

1. Abdullah bin Hasan Muthanna bin Ali (Mohammad Mahdi's father)
2. Ibrahim bin Hasan Muthanna bin Hasan bin Ali (Mohammad Mahdi's uncle)
3. Jafar bin Hasan Muthanna bin Hasan bin Ali (Mohammad Mahdi's uncle)
4. Sulaiman bin Dawood bin Hasan Muthanna bin Hasan bin Ali (Mohammad Mahdi's cousin)
5. Abdullah bin Dawood bin Hasan Muthanna bin Hasan bin Ali (Mohammad Mahdi's cousin)
6. Mohammad bin Ibrahim bin Hasan bin Hasan bin Ali (Mohammad Mahdi's cousin)
7. Ismail bin Ibrahim bin Hasan bin Ali (Mohammad Mahdi's cousin)
8. Ishaq bin Ibrahim bin Hasan bin Hasan bin Ali (Mohammad Mahdi's cousin)
9. Abbas bin Hasan bin Hasan bin Hasan bin Ali (Mohammad Mahdi's cousin)
10. Musa bin Abdullah bin Hasan bin Hasan bin Ali (Mohammad Mahdi's brother)

11. Ali bin Hasan bin Hasan bin Ali ؓ (Mohammad Mahdi's uncle)

When Mansoor was informed of their arrest, he wrote back that along with them Mohammad bin Abdullah bin Amr bin Uthman bin Affan should also be arrested because Abdullah bin Hasan bin Hasan bin Ali's mother was also from the same line of Fatima bint Husain's children. Rabah complied with this order and imprisoned Muhammad bin Abdullah bin Amr. It was during this period that the Egyptian governor arrested Ali bin Mohammad bin Abdullah bin Hasan bin Hasan bin Ali ؓ (Mohammad Mahdi's son) and sent him to Mansoor. Mansoor put him in prison. His father had sent him to Egypt for propagation and informing the people about their ideals and beliefs.

Building of Baghdad and Compilation of Knowledge

Saffah had made Ambâr his capital and after a short time he had his palace and buildings for his government officials constructed adjacent to Ambâr. This was a new colony and it was named Hashmia. Mansoor was at Hashmia when the commotion in Khorasan was going on. In 140 A.H., he wanted to build a separate capital and the foundation of the city of Baghdad was laid. The construction work continued for nine or ten years and was completed in 149 A.H. From that time on Baghdad was the capital of the Abbasids. During the same period, the scholars began the work of foundation and compilation of religious knowledge. Ibn Jareeh in Makkah, Malik (رحمہ اللہ) in Madina, Ibn Abi Aruba (رحمہ اللہ) and Hammad bin Sulamih in Basra, Mamar (رحمہ اللہ) in Yemen, and Sufyan Thauri (رحمہ اللہ) in Kufa began the work of compiling the Hadith (the traditions of the Prophet). Ibn Ishaq (رحمہ اللہ) and Abu Hanifa (رحمہ اللہ) wrote books on the military expeditions of the Prophet and Islamic law respectively. Prior to that, the traditions and the expeditions of the Prophet were based on verbal narration. This chain of writing and compilation went on developing and the courts of Baghdad and Cordova, Spain patronized the authors to the maximum. It was the most suitable time for writing the books of Hadith and having the enormous amount of material carried by memory written on paper.

The killing of the Sâdât

The elders whom Rabah had arrested and imprisoned remained incarcerated in Madinah until the end of 144 A.H. Mansoor was constantly in search of Mohammad Mahdi and his brother Ibrahim. During this period, the brothers remained in hiding among the tribes of the Hijaz and in unknown places. They kept changing their hiding places. All of the descendants of Hasan bin Ali were either imprisoned or in hiding. In Dhul Hijja 144 A.H. Mansoor went to Hajj and sent Mohammad bin Imran bin Ibrahim bin Talha and Malik bin Anas to the descendants of Hasan who were in prison with a message asking them to hand over Mohammad and Ibrahim to Mansoor. Their father Abdullah bin Hasan Muthanna bin Hasan pleaded ignorance about them and sought his permission to appear before the caliph. Mansoor said, "As long as Abdullah bin Hasan does not bring his sons into my presence, I will not see him." When Mansoor was coming to Iraq on his return journey from Hajj, he ordered Rabah to send the captives to him in Iraq. Rabah took all the captives yoked, handcuffed and chained and then put them on camels without saddles and sent them off to Iraq under escort. Mohammad and Ibrahim, disguised as Bedouins, met their father on the way and sought his permission to rebel. But Abdullah bin Hasan exhorted and instructed them to be patient and not to be hasty. When those captives were ushered into Mansoor's presence, he called Mohammad bin Abdullah bin Amr bin Uthman to come before him, he abused him and gave him 150 lashes. Mansoor was hostile to him because the Syrians were his supporters and he commanded great respect there.

When the prisoners were shifted to Iraq, Mohammad Mahdi sent his brother Ibrahim to Iraq and Khorasan to propagate to the people there and to instigate them to oppose the Abbasids. Mansoor was sure of Mahdi's presence in the Hijaz. One of the strategies he adopted to deceive and trace him was that he used to have letters written constantly and sent them to those inhabitants of different cities who he supposed were Mahdi's supporters and might know his whereabouts. Those letters contained tributes to Mahdi and criticism of Mansoor and his shortcoming and inducements to rebellion. By these actions,

he thought that one of his spies might get access to Mohammad Mahdi and arrest him. He did not succeed in his aim and Mohammad Mahdi continued to get information about the letters from his friends. He could not accurately gage the strength of his supporters and followers and he overestimated his following. His brother Ibrahim traveled through Basra, Kerman, Isfahan, Khorasan, Mousil and Syria, and enlisted missionaries and sympathizers. He came to the capital, ate with Mansoor and the latter failed to recognize him. The next time Mansoor came to inspect the construction of Baghdad, Mohammad Mahdi was present there among Mansoor's men. His spies informed him that Ibrahim was present there but he could not find and arrest him.

In the same way, despite his best efforts to locate him in Hijaz, Rabah failed to catch him. At last, Abu Aun, the Administrator of Khorasan sent a letter to Mansoor in 145 A.H. that secret conspiracies were on the increase there and all the Khorasanis were awaiting a revolt by Mohammad Mahdi. As soon as he read it, he sent for Mohammad bin Abdullah bin Amr bin Uthman from the jail, handed him over to the executioner and had his head chopped off and sent it to Khorasan. Along with it, he sent a few persons who swore as witnesses that the head belonged to Mohammad bin Abdullah and his grand mother was Fatima bint Mohammad ﷺ. In this way the Khorasanis were fraudulently led to believe that Mohammad Mahdi was put to death and that it was his head. Then he enclosed Mohammad bin Ibrahim Mahdi's cousin, alive in a pillar of the construction. Then Abdullah bin Hasan bin Hasan bin Ali, Mahdi's father, and Ali bin Hasan bin Hasan bin Ali, Mahdi's uncle, were killed. Then Ibrahim bin Hasan bin Hasan bin Ali, Mahdi's uncle, and Abbas bin Hasan bin Hasan bin Ali, Mahdi's cousin, were tortured to death. Mansoor's stone-heartedness is very shocking. Banu Umayyah were opponents and enemies of the Alawiites and the Abbasids were extremely intimate and allies with the Alawiites. Banu Umayyah did not bear any close relation with the Alawiites. But they had very close relations with the Abbasids. The Alawiites vehemently opposed Banu Umayyah and frequently used arrows and swords against them but they did not fight with the Banu Abbas. Taking all these things into consideration and reflecting on the fact that Banu Umayyah never arrested and killed any Alawiite on mere suspicion and the only Alawiites that

were slain by them were those who fought against them on the battlefield we can consider being an enemy of the Umayyahs was safer than being an ally of the Abbasids. Mansoor killed many innocent descendants of Hasan ﷺ mercilessly. Yazid bin Muawiya's killing of Husain ﷺ pales into insignificance if we look at the murders of the *Sâdât* (members of the Prophet's family) in respect to the number of crimes committed. Perhaps this is only an indication of the blind lust man has for this world, which can make an intelligent man act like a murderer, to achieve what he wants.

The Revolt of Mohammad Mahdi *Nafse Zakiah (the pure soul)*

When Mansoor had Abdullah bin Hasan and other descendants of Hasan ﷺ killed, Mohammad Mahdi, after hearing of it, did not think it honorable to wait any longer. He was confident that the masses would support him and cancel their oaths to Mansoor. He consulted his friends in Madinah concerning the revolt. On the day of the revolt by chance, the administrator of Madinah, Rabah had been informed by his spies that Mohammad Mahdi was going to revolt on that day. He sent for Jafar bin Mohammad bin Husain and Husain bin Ali bin Husain and a few of the Quraish and said to them, "If Mohammad Mahdi rebels, I shall kill you." As the talk was going on, they heard the call of Allahu Akbar (God is the Greatest) and they immediately knew that Mohammad Mahdi had revolted. In the beginning, he had only 150 supporters. He first went to the jail and freed Mohammad bin Khalid bin Abdullah Qasri and his nephew Nazir bin Yazid bin Khalid and the others were was locked up with them. Then he went to the Governor's headquarter and arrested Rabah and his brother Abbas and Ibn Muslim bin Oqba. Then he came to the mosque and delivered a sermon in which he highlighted Mansoor's bad habits and his criminal activities and promised to do justice with the people and asked for their co-operation.

After that he deputed Uthman bin Mohammad bin Khalid bin Zuhair to the post of chief justice, Abdul Aziz bin Muttalib bin Abdullah Makhzumi to the arsenal, Uthman bin Obaidullah bin Abdullah bin Omar bin Khattab to the post of chief of police. He then sent a

representative with a message to Mohammad bin Abdul Aziz asking him why he sat inside the house hidden. Mohammad bin Abdul Aziz promised to extend co-operation to him. Ismail bin Abdullah bin Jafar did not take the oath for Mohammad Mahdi. A few others also evaded the oath. Mansoor received the news nine days after the rebellion of Mohammad Mahdi and the imprisonment of Rabah. He was extremely worried and he rushed to Kufa and sent a letter as a promise of amnesty in the name of Mohammad Mahdi. He wrote as follows:

﴿بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَانِ الرَّحِيمِ﴾

﴿إِنَّمَا جَزَاءُ الَّذِينَ يُحَارِبُونَ اللَّهَ وَرَسُولَهُ وَيَسْعَوْنَ فِي الْأَرْضِ فَسَادًا أَنْ يُقَتَّلُوا أَوْ يُصَلَّبُوا
أَوْ تُقَطَّعَ أَيْدِيهِمْ وَأَرْجُلُهُمْ مِنْ خِلَافٍ أَوْ يُنْفَوْا مِنَ الْأَرْضِ ذَٰلِكَ لَهُمْ خِزْيٌ فِي الدُّنْيَا
وَلَهُمْ فِي الْآخِرَةِ عَذَابٌ عَظِيمٌ O إِلَّا الَّذِينَ تَابُوا مِنْ قَبْلِ أَنْ تَقْدِرُوا عَلَيْهِمْ فَاعْلَمُوا أَنَّ
اللَّهَ غَفُورٌ رَحِيمٌ﴾

In the Name of Allâh, The Most gracious, The Most Merciful.

The recompense of those who wage war against Allâh and His Messenger and do mischief in the land is only that they shall be killed or crucified or their hands and their feet be cut off from opposite sides, or be exiled from the land. That is their disgrace in this world, and a great torment is theirs in the Hereafter.

Except for those who (having fled away and then) came back (as Muslims) with repentance before they fall into your power; in that case, know that Allâh is Oft-Forgiving, Most Merciful. (Q. 5:33-34)

In between, you and me stand Allâh and His Prophet's contract and obligation. I give you safety and pardon for yourself, your family and your followers in respect of life, money and goods. Furthermore, whatever blood you have shed or people's money you have usurped, you are forgiven. I grant you 100,000 dirhams additional. Besides these things, all your wants will be met and your wishes fulfilled. You will be allowed to live in the city you like. Those of your followers who are once granted safety and pardon will never be charged or

punished. If you want to be satisfied on these points, you may send your agent to me and have a contract written by me and be confident in all respects."

When the letter was received by Mohammad Mahdi, he wrote in reply:

﴿طسم ○ تِلْكَ آيَاتُ الْكِتَابِ الْمُبِينِ ○ نَتْلُو عَلَيْكَ مِنْ نَبَإِ مُوسَى وَفِرْعَوْنَ بِالْحَقِّ لِقَوْمٍ
يُؤْمِنُونَ ○ إِنَّ فِرْعَوْنَ عَلَا فِي الْأَرْضِ وَجَعَلَ أَهْلَهَا شِيَعًا يَسْتَضْعِفُ طَائِفَةً مِنْهُمْ يُذَبِّحُ
أَبْنَاءَهُمْ وَيَسْتَحْيِي نِسَاءَهُمْ إِنَّهُ كَانَ مِنَ الْمُفْسِدِينَ ○ وَنُرِيدُ أَنْ نَمُنَّ عَلَى الَّذِينَ
اسْتُضْعِفُوا فِي الْأَرْضِ وَنَجْعَلَهُمْ أَئِمَّةً وَنَجْعَلَهُمُ الْوَارِثِينَ ○ وَنُمَكِّنَ لَهُمْ فِي الْأَرْضِ
وَنُرِيَ فِرْعَوْنَ وَهَامَانَ وَجُنُودَهُمَا مِنْهُمْ مَا كَانُوا يَحْذَرُونَ﴾

These are the Verses of the manifest Book (that makes clear truth from falsehood, good from evil).

We recite to you some of the news of Mûsâ (Moses) and Fir'aun (Pharaoh) in truth, for a people who believe (in this Qur'ân, and in the Oneness of Allâh).

Verily, Fir'aun (Pharaoh) exalted himself in the land and made its people sects, weakening (oppressing) a group (i.e. Children of Israel) among them: killing their sons, and letting their females live. Verily, he was of the *Mufsidûn* (i.e. those who commit great sins and crimes, oppressors, tyrants).

And We wished to do a favor to those who were weak (and oppressed) in the land, and to make them rulers and to make them the inheritors,

And to establish them in the land, and We let Fir'aun (Pharaoh) and Hâmân and their hosts receive from them that which they feared. (28:1-6)

We grant you the same sort of 'aman', (safety) which you have offered to me. The fact is that the government is our privilege and your claim to it is due to us and you went out as one of our groups to secure the government and met with success. Our father Ali bin Abi Talib ﷺ was the Imam and heir. How did you become heir to his authority in the

presence of his descendants? You also know that we, the noble and of pure blood, never ran after the government. We are not the sons of those accused and turned out. None among Banu Hashim is equal to us in relation, priority and greatness. We are from the descendants of Fatima bint Amr in the age of Ignorance. In Islam we descend from Fatima bint Mohammad ﷺ. Allâh has made us higher and better than you. Among the Prophets our father, Mohammad ﷺ is the greatest of all and among the predecessors, there is Ali bin Abi Talib ؓ who was the first to embrace Islam. Among the impeccable wives, Khadija was the first to perform her *Salât* (prayer). Among the girls is Fatima, the Prophet's daughter, who is superior to all the women of the world. Among the children are Hasan ؓ and Husain ؓ who are the leaders of those who will go to Paradise. Hashim bears dual relation with Ali bin Abi Talib ؓ and Hasan bin Ali bin Abi Talib ؓ is similarly doubly connected with Abdul Muttalib. I am a superior Banu Hashim in terms of purity of blood. My father is well known among Banu Hashim. I have no mixed blood of non-Arabs nor do I have the mark of a slave-girl. I make Allâh stand witness between you and me and say that if you obey me I grant you safety and pardon for your life and property and forgive you of all your misdeeds and crimes you have committed. But I will not be responsible for a specific judgment set out by Allâh or any Muslim's right or contract because in this respect, as you know, I am quite helpless. Undoubtedly, I deserve the caliphate more them you and I am a better keeper of promises. You granted safety and pardon and your word to some persons before me. So, what type of safety and pardon do you grant me, the safety and pardon granted to Ibn Hubairah, or to your uncle Abdullah bin Ali or to Abu Muslim?

Upon receiving the letter, Mansoor twisted with anger and discomfort. He then wrote the following letter and dispatched it to Mohammad Mahdi:

I read your letter. Your pride is based on the proximity of women, which can deceive only the ignorant people of the market. Allâh has not created women equivalent to uncles, fathers and guardians. He has made the uncle the deputy of the father and given priority to the nearest mother in His Book. Had he respected the relation of women, Amina [the Prophet's ﷺ mother] would have been the leader of the

people of Paradise. Allâh made those greater in rank whom He liked. As for your mention of Fatima Umm Abi Talib, it can be said that Allâh did not let any of her sons or daughters embrace Islam. Had He chosen from among the men on the basis of relation, He would have chosen Abdullah bin Abdul Muttalib and he was no doubt better in all respects. But Allâh chose for the sake of His religion whom He liked. He says:

﴿إِنَّكَ لَا تَهْدِي مَنْ أَحْبَبْتَ وَلَٰكِنَّ اللَّهَ يَهْدِي مَن يَشَاءُ وَهُوَ أَعْلَمُ بِالْمُهْتَدِينَ﴾

> Verily, you (O Muhammad ﷺ) guide not whom you like, but Allâh guides whom He wills. And He knows best those who are the guided. (Q.28:56)

When Allâh sent the Prophet ﷺ, his four uncles were living. He revealed the verse.

﴿وَأَنذِرْ عَشِيرَتَكَ الْأَقْرَبِينَ﴾

> And warn your tribe (O Muhammad ﷺ) of near kindred. (Q.26:214).

So, he made them fear Allâh's punishment and invited them to the true religion. Two of the four accepted the true religion and my father was one of them. The other two refused to accept the true religion and one of them was your father (Abu Talib). So, Allâh severed their chain of authority and the Prophet ﷺ did not allow any relation and inheritance between the two parties of believers and non-believers. You have written about Hasan ؓ that he bears a double relation with Abdul Muttalib and then that you have the same double relation with the Prophet ﷺ. My reply is this that the Prophet ﷺ is *Khairul Awwaleen-wal-Akhreen* the best of the first and the last. He had paternal relations with Banu Hashim and Abdul Muttalib. You think that you are the best among the Banu Hashim and your parents enjoyed a better reputation and you have no mixture of non-Arab blood nor a trace of a slave-girl in your line. I see that you have made yourself as a matter of pride better than the entire tribe of Banu Hashim. Think a little. How can we not disapprove of your words? How will you answer Allâh tomorrow? You have crossed the limits and declared yourself better than those who are far superior to you in person and traits, that

is, Ibrahim the Prophet ﷺ. No one from amongst the descendants of your father is better and none of them became great except the sons of slave-girls. After the Prophet's ﷺ death none among you was born better and greater than Ali bin Husain (Imam Zainul Abdeen) and he is superior to the slave-girl's sons and they were undoubtedly better than your grandfather Hasan bin Hasan. After him no one among you was born like Mohammad bin Ali. His grandmother was a slave-girl and she is better than your father. His son Jafar is better than you and his grandmother was a slave-girl. Your statement that you are the sons of the Prophet ﷺ is wrong. Allâh says in his Book,

﴿مَا كَانَ مُحَمَّدٌ أَبَا أَحَدٍ مِنْ رِجَالِكُمْ﴾

> Muhammad (ﷺ) is not the father of any of your men, but he is the Messenger of Allâh and the last (end) of the Prophets. And Allâh is Ever All-Aware of everything. (Q. 33:40)

Yes, you are the son of the Prophet's daughter and undoubtedly this relation is close but it is not entitled to inheritance nor can it be a heir to authority nor is leadership legally theirs. So how can you be an heir by virtue of this relationship? Your father wanted it most. He made Fatima رضی اللہ عنہا come out in the light of day, concealing her illness and buried her at night but the people did not recognize anyone but the *sheikhain* (two sheiks, Abu Bakr ؓ and Umar ؓ.)

[Editor's Note: He is insinuating unjustly that Ali ؓ brought his wife out to be seen by people because it would influence them to choose him as the Caliph because of his close connection to the Prophet ﷺ through his daughter and he buried her secretly so that the loss of this connection would not be established in the peoples mind. He goes on to insinuate that in spite of these efforts the people chose Abu Bakr and Umar over him.]

All the Muslims are unanimous on the point that the maternal grandfather, maternal uncle and mother's sister cannot be heirs. Next, you are proud of Ali's conversion to Islam before others. The answer to that is that the Prophet ﷺ at the time of his death, ordered somebody else to lead the *Salât* (prayer) and afterwards the people continued to make others the leader and Caliph one after the other

and did not pick or choose him although he was also one of the six persons from among those who the Caliph was chosen. The people took him to be a misfit for this job and spared him and did not consider him to be entitled to it. Abdur Rahman preferred Uthman ✽ to him and he is an accused in the matter. (Editor: Insinuating unjustly that he was involved in the murder of Uthman ✽.) Talha ✽ and Zuhair ✽ fought him and Sa'd ✽ refused to take oath for him. Afterwards he took the oath for Muawiya's ✽. Then your father again wished to be caliph and fought. His friends parted with him. His supporters became suspicious as to his right to be ruler and judge and then they unanimously fixed two persons to decide the matter. Both of those chosen agreed on his dismissal (Editor: He is selectively applying the facts, please refer back to the Vol. I concerning Amr bin Aas and Musa Ashari's judgment concerning Muawiya ✽ and Ali ✽). Then Hasan ✽ became caliph and he sold out the caliphate to Muawiya ✽ for clothes and money and presented his supporters to Muawiya ✽ and entrusted the leadership to the incapable (Editor: He means your family sold the caliphate to Banu Umayyah). So, even if you were entitled to it, you have already sold it and received its price. Then your uncle Husain ✽ rebelled against Ibn Marjanah (Ibn Zeyad). The people joined Ibn Zeyad against your uncle to such an extent that they killed your uncle, cut off his head and presented it to Ibn Zeyad. Then you rebelled against Banu Umayyah. They put you to death, hung one of you on the branches of a date palm, burnt him in the fire, in that way they killed Yahya bin Zaid in Khorasan. Your men were killed and your children and women were imprisoned and made to sit on camels without veils, sent them to Syria like slave girls on sale until we stood up in revolt and we demanded compensation for your blood. Then we took revenge for the killings and we made you the masters of their lands and property. We venerated your elders. Do you want to declare us guilty on this account? Perhaps you have been deceived because they used to mention your father having a priority over Hamza ✽, Abbas ✽ and Jafar ✽. The fact is that whatever you have thought is not the reality. They all left the world in the highest state of cleanliness and everyone recognized their virtue and greatness without dispute. However, your father was involved in internal

fighting and killing. Banu Umayyah used to curse him as the unbelievers are cursed in the obligatory prayers. So, we quarreled with them, we narrated the virtues of those who were cursed, we adopted strict measures against Banu Umayyah and punished them. Our greatness during the days of ignorance was by virtue of our supplying water to the pilgrims, and this privilege was available to Abbas ؓ only. Your father quarreled with us over it. Umar bin Al-Khattab ؓ gave his judgement in our favor. So, we have been the owner of this honor both during the days of ignorance and the time of Islam. During the famine in Madinah Umar bin Al-Khattab ؓ prayed to Allâh for rain by means of our father and he sent down rain. Though your father was alive, he did not ask for rain through him. Do you know that when the Prophet ﷺ breathed his last, none except Abbas ؓ from among Banu Abdul Muttalib was left? Therefore, the legacy was transferred to the paternal uncle. Then several persons from Banu Hashim wanted to be caliph but none except the descendants of Abbas ؓ were successful. The authority of cup bearing already belonged to him, the Prophet's legacy from Abdul Muttalib and the caliphate came to his descendants. In short no distinction between this world and hereafter between the days of ignorance and Islam remained which Abbas ؓ was not the inheritor of. When Islam spread, Abbas ؓ had stood surety for Abu Talib and his descendants and cared for them during the famine. Had Abbas ؓ not been spared in the expedition of Badr, Abu Talib and Aqeel would have starved to death and would have continued to lick the utensils of Utbah and Shaibah, but Abbas ؓ kept providing them with food. He saved your honor, protected you from slavery and continued to supply food and clothing. Then in the battle of Badr, he had released Aqeel by paying the ransom. So, why do you brag before us? We cared for your family during unbelief, paid your ransom, saved the honor of your elders, became the heirs to the last Prophet ﷺ, took revenge for yoû and achieved what you failed to achieve. Peace be upon you.

It is understood that in the matter of racial pride Mohammad Mahdi undoubtedly started the rivalry and what Mansoor wrote, he wrote replying to this rivalry. However, Mansoor went beyond the limit in his reply. Mohammad Mahdi wrote nothing negative about Abbas ؓ.

But Mansoor unnecessarily used impertinent words about Ali bin Abi Talib. He has also slandered Ali when he said that the latter took out Fatima Zahra during the day time for the sake of increasing his chances of getting the caliphate. He also was very rude regarding the Hasan. The fact is that Hasan bin Ali did not sell out the caliphate rather he unified and reconciled the two warring factions of the Muslims and thereby he fulfilled the Prophet's prophecy. Abbas helped Abu Talib without doubt and brought up Aqeel and kept him with him. But to speak of it satirically and ironically does not befit a person of noble bearing. Actually to mention such favors is considered to be a sign of meanness and by mentioning such things, he has displayed his lowness.

After making the administrative arrangements for Madinah, Mohammad Mahdi sent Mohammad bin Hasan bin Muawiya bin Abdullah bin Jafar to Makkah, Qasim bin Ishaq to Yemen and Musa bin Abdullah to Syria as Amirs. So Mohammad bin Hasan and Qasim bin Ishaq left Madinah together. The Abbasid administrator of Makkah fought and lost and Mohammad bin Hasan occupied it.

After dispatching the above mentioned letter, Mansoor sent Isa bin Musa to fight with Mohammad Mahdi. Isa was accompanied by Mohammad bin Saffah, Katheer bin Haseen Abdi and Humaid bin Qahtaba and at the time of departure Isa bin Musa and other commanders were instructed that if they got the better of Mohammad Mahdi, they should not kill him but give him pardon and safety. If he went into hiding then the civilians of Madinah who know him should be arrested and those from among the descendants of Abi Talib who visited them should have their names record and the commanders should send them to him and those who refused to call on them, the commanders should confiscate their money and property. When Isa bin Musa reached Feed, he sent for a few people from Madinah by letter. Abdullah bin Mohammad bin Omar bin Ali bin Abi Talib, his brother Omar bin Mohammad bin Ali bin Abi Talib, Abu Aqeel Mohammad bin Abdullah bin Aqeel came out of Madinah and went to Isa. When Mohammad Mahdi was informed of his arrival, he consulted with his men on whether they should fight outside of Madinah or defend by remaining inside. When the counselors

disagreed, following the Prophet ﷺ, he ordered the same trench to be dug, which the Prophet ﷺ had originally used. Meanwhile Isa bin Musa camped at Awad. Mohammad Mahdi forbade the people of Madinah to fight outside the city and so no one was allowed to go out. When Isa approached near to Madinah, he allowed the people to go out of the city. It was a mistake that he cancelled his first order. The people of Madinah in large numbers along with their families went to the mountains for safety because of this, only a very small number remained with Mohammad Mahdi in Madinah to fight Isa. It was at that time that he realized his blunder and he sent his men to bring them back but they could not. Isa left Awad and camped at a distance of four miles from Madinah. He deployed a part of the army on the road to Makkah so that Mohammad Mahdi would not be able to escape and go to Makkah. Then he sent word to him, "Caliph Mansoor grants you pardon and safety, invites you towards judgment by the Book and Sunnah and threatens you with the consequences of rebellion."

Mohammad Mahdi sent back the reply that he was a man who never turned his back for fear of being killed. On 12 Ramadan 145 A.H., Isa bin Musa went ahead and camped at Jurf. On 14 Ramadan 145 A.H. he stood at a high place and spoke loudly, "O the people of Madinah! I grant you safety provided you don't intervene between Mohammad Mahdi and me and stay neutral."

The Madinah people heard and began to abuse him and Isa went back. The next day he went to the same place again with the intention of fighting and spread out his commanders around Madinah. Mohammad Mahdi also came out to face him. His flag was held by Uthman bin Mohammad bin Khalid bin Zubair and his saying was *Ahad, Ahad* (One, One). Abu Ghulmash was the first to come out from his side to challenge the enemies. Several renowned commanders from Isa's side came onto the field to answer his challenge but they all lost their lives. Then the battle began with both sides exhibiting real bravery. The commanders of both sides displayed wonderful swordsmanship and breached the opposing lines. Then at Isa's instance Humaid bin Qahtaba moved towards the nearest wall of the trench with his troops. Mohammad Mahdi's men tried to prevent them by shooting arrows at them but Humaid continued his forward

march firmly and leveled it to the ground, crossed the trench and began hand to hand combat with Mohammad Mahdi's soldiers. This gave Isa the chance to fill up the moat at several places to make a way across it. The cavalry crossed the moat and pounced upon Mohammad Mahdi's army and a fierce battle ensued. Mohammad Mahdi's army was small and the invaders out-numbered them several times over and they were more fully armed. The battle continued from morning to the time of the mid-afternoon prayer. Mohammad Mahdi granted open permission to his men to save themselves if they liked. His followers requested him repeatedly to save himself and to go to Basra or Makkah and after collecting men and weapons anew to face his opponents again. But he gave the same reply to all, saying, "If you want to save yourselves, you are at liberty to go anywhere you like but I cannot flee because of fear of the enemy." Finally, only 300 men were left with him and at that time one of his men, Isa bin Khudair burnt the register containing the names of those who took the oath with him. Then he went to the jail and killed Rabah bin Uthman and his brother. Mohammad bin Qasri shut the door of his room and survived. After doing this, he came back to Mohammad Mahdi and began to fight again. His cavalry cut off the legs of their horses, broke into pieces their sheaths, took the pledge of death and attacked the enemies. The attack was so fierce and horrible that Isa's army suffered a defeat and retreated and fled. A few of Isa's men climbed around a hill and went down its other side into Madinah, took a black covering of an Abbasid woman and waved it over the minaret of the mosque like a flag. Mohammad Mahdi's men were out of their wits when they saw it. They thought that Isa's men had taken possession of Madinah and they moved backward. Isa's fleeing soldiers took advantage of the opportunity they rallied and attacked again. One of the groups entered the city from Banu Ghaffar's side and began to fight with Mohammad Mahdi. The situation was contrary to what he expected. Mohammad Mahdi did not expect that Banu Ghaffar would allow a way for the enemy to enter. Resolving himself to this he moved forward and called out to Humaid bin Qahtaba to single combat but Humaid did not dare to come out to face him. Mohammad Mahdi's men again launched the attack on the enemies. Isa bin Khudair was fighting very valiantly. Isa bin Musa went forward and called him

loudly, "I grant you safety and pardon. Give up fighting." But Isa bin Khudair did not care about this and continued until he fell down exhausted and mortally wounded. Mohammad Mahdi began to fight over his dead body. Isa bin Musa's soldiers attacked him from all sides and he retaliated and pushed them back. He displayed such matchless valor and his martial art was so superior, that none from among Isa bin Musa's soldiers dared to fight with him. At last, some one speared him from behind. As he bent down a little under its impact, Humaid bin Qahtaba rushed forward and pierced his chest with his javelin. When two javelins passed through his chest from the front and the back, he fell dead. Humaid bin Qahtaba quickly got down from his horse and severed his head and brought it to Isa bin Musa. Immediately after the death of this valiant warrior, Madinah fell to Isa bin Musa. He sent his head and the letter of victory to Mansoor by the hands of Mohammad bin Abilkarâm bin Abdullah bin Ali bin Abdullah bin Jafar and Qasim bin Hasan bin Zaid bin Hasan bin Ali bin Abi Talib. This disaster occurred on Monday 15 Ramadan 145 A.H. between the afternoon prayer and the sunset prayer. Isa bin Musa hanged Mohammad Mahdi's dead body on a cross between Madinah and Thaniyatul wada'. His sister Zainab took permission and buried his dead body in Baqi. In this battle Mohammad Mahdi's brother Musa bin Abdullah Hamza bin Abdullah bin Mohammad bin Ali bin Husain, Ali bin Zaid bin Ali bin Husain bin Ali, Zaid bin Hasan bin Zaid bin Hasan fought on Mohammad Mahdi's side. It is surprising that the fathers of Ali and Zaid were Mansoor's supporters. Similarly, there were other Hashmite and Alawiite fathers and sons who were pitted against one another. Perhaps they were horrified at the sight of Banu Abbas's killings and annihilation as was Ali bin Husain (Zainul Abedeen) who was so shocked and terrified having been witness to the scene at Karbala that he never did anything against Banu Umayyah and always supported them. In the same way, the influential among the Alawiites considered opposition of Banu Abbas to be the cause of destruction. Mohammad Mahdi suffered defeat simply because his own relatives did not support him and that their lack of support alienated others. So when he took the oath from the people of Madinah and announced his caliphate after imprisoning Rabah bin Uthman, he sent for Ismail bin Abdullah bin Jafar, an old

man, to take the oath. He wrote back, "Nephew, you will be killed. How can I take the oath for you?" Hearing his reply some people who had taken the oath retracted it. Hamadah bint Muawiya came to Ismail bin Abdullah and said to him, "Your statement has alienated many people from Mohammad Mahdi but my brothers are still with him. I am afraid they may also be killed with him." In brief, alienation of his relatives and members of his family kept him from growing powerful otherwise, the caliphate might have possibly come to the descendants of Hasan ﷺ. If he had escaped and stayed clear of Madinah or had not revolted so soon and had waited for his brother to follow suit and both of them had revolted together, success would have been sure. Mansoor and the Abbasids were lucky that the Abbasid army had to fight Mohammad and Ibrahim one after another while their strength remained undivided.

The Rebellion of Ibrahim bin Abdullah

When Mansoor had come on a visit to inspect the building of Baghdad, Ibrahim bin Abdullah, Mohammad Mahdi's brother, was with him in disguise. He escaped to Kufa and Mansoor sent out spies to hunt him down. When he thought that Ibrahim was in Basra, he sent a spy to every house there, though Ibrahim was with Sufyan bin Hibban Qammi at his house in Kufa. It was a well-known fact that Sufyan was a close friend of Ibrahim. Sufyan was horrified to see how tight the surveillance was. He mapped out a plan to allow Ibrahim to leave safely. He went to Mansoor and said to him, "Give me in writing a permit for free passage for me and my slaves and a small body of soldiers so that I may arrest Ibrahim wherever we find him." Mansoor did accordingly. Sufyan returned home he had Ibrahim put on his slave's clothes, took him with them and left Kufa with his small force. He came to Basra, deployed the soldiers to search each house. When the soldiers had left, he sent him to Ahwaz and he himself went into hiding. Sufyan bin Muawiya was the Amir of Basra at that time. When he found out, he collected the deployed soldiers and started searching for Ibrahim bin Abdullah and Sufyan bin Hibban but without success. Mohammad bin Haseen was the Amir of Ahwaz. When Ibrahim reached Ahwaz, he stayed with Hasan bin Habeeb. His spies informed the Amir of Ahwaz that Ibrahim was in Ahwaz. He began searching

for him. Ibrahim remained hidden in Habeeb's house for a long time and continued to let people participate in the propagation for his cause. In 145 A.H. Yahya bin Zeyad bin Hibban Nabti called Ibrahim to Basra and enthusiastically began to invite the people to take the oath for Mohammad Mahdi. A large group of learned and influential people took the oath. 4000 people were enrolled in the Basra Register as having taken the oath. During this period, Mohammad Mahdi revolted in Madinah and wrote to Ibrahim to revolt in Basra. Mansoor had sent a few commanders to Basra as a precautionary measure so that they might help the Administrator of Basra, Sufyan bin Muawiya, if there was any sign of mutiny. If Ibrahim had risen in revolt then as Muhammad Mahdi had requested, Mansoor would have been quite helpless and both the brothers would have gathered strength. However, at that time, Ibrahim was sick in Basra and so he temporarily delayed his revolt. When Mansoor sent the army to fight with Mohammad Mahdi, Ibrahim rebelled in Basra on 1 Ramadan 145 A.H. Jafar and Muhammad, the sons of Sulaiman bin Ali, Mansoor's cousins had been lying in wait along with 600 men outside of Basra by the orders of Mansoor. As soon as the brothers heard the news of Ibrahim's rebellion, they attacked and only 50 men were sent out to face those 600 men yet they defeated them and forced them to flee. Ibrahim captured all of Basra and took the oath from the people in general and proclaimed a general amnesty and pardon. He then withdrew two hundred thousand dirhams from the treasury and distributed it at the rate of 50 dirhams to each of his men. Then he sent Mughira to Ahwaz along with 100 soldiers. The administrator of Ahwaz, Mohammad bin Haseen, came out with 4000 soldiers to fight the small force but they defeated the 4000 soldiers and Mughira captured Ahwaz. Ibrahim sent Amr bin Shaddad to Persia where the Governor Ismail bin Ali bin Abdullah bin Abbas bin Abdul Muttalib and his brother Abdus Samad clashed with him but they suffer a defeat and Amr bin Shaddad occupied Persia. Similarly, Haroon bin Shams Ajli was ordered to march towards Wasit and he defeated Mansoor's Governor Haroon bin Humaid Ayadi and captured Wasit. In short, the day Mohammad Mahdi and Isa bin Musa clashed with each other leading to Muhammad Mahdi's martyrdom, Basra, Persia Wasit and a big part of Iraq had gone out of Mansoor's control. Syria

was soon to go out of his hands and the Kufans had also been waiting and watching. Mansoor's government stood no chance of survival. Ibrahim revolted in Basra on 1 Ramadan and continued the series of victories until the end of the month. Immediately after the end of Ramadan Ibrahim received the news of Mohammad Mahdi's death. He offered the prayer for the *Eid* at the end of Ramadan and in the sermon announced the news. When the news was heard by those who were engaged in fighting with Mansoor's administrator, their spirits were dampened. It encouraged Mansoor's commanders and administrators. When the people of Basra received the news, they recognized Ibrahim as their caliph in place of Mohammad Mahdi and were ready to show their readiness more than they did before. There were many Kufans among Ibrahim's men in Basra. The people from Basra wanted Basra to be the capital and command center for deploying troops in the surrounding areas. But the Kufans disagreed with them and suggested that Ibrahim should take his army towards Kufa where the inhabitants were waiting for him. Ibrahim agreed with them and made up his mind to go to Kufa after making his son his deputy there. When the news reached Mansoor, he was very disturbed. Immediately he sent a messenger to Isa bin Musa asking him to come at once to him at Kufa. He wrote to Mahdi in Khorasan and asked him to invade Persia immediately. So all the administrators who were safe from danger were called. He asked those who were near to Mansoor's commanders not to lose heart. Troops from all sides began to pour in fast until a one hundred thousand man army collected in Kufa. When he had received the news of Ibrahim's attack, Mansoor did not change his clothes for 50 days. He often kept sitting on his prayer mat. Ibrahim bin Abdullah with a one hundred thousand man army camped at a distance of 30 or 40 miles from Kufa, and Isa bin Musa arrived in Kufa with his own army. Mansoor sent Isa bin Musa to confront Ibrahim and deployed Humaid bin Qahtaba at the vanguard. Ibrahim was advised to dig a moat around the military camp but his men said that they were not the attacked but the attackers so no moat was needed. His men advised Ibrahim to send soldiers to fight in divisions so that in case of the defeat of one division of the army another fresh division might be sent in as reinforcements. However, Ibrahim disapproved of the suggestion and

ordered the soldiers to stand and fight by arraying themselves according to the traditional way. Humaid bin Qahtaba fled after being defeated. Isa tried to stop him by rebuking him but he did not stop. Isa then threw himself into the battle. However, most of his men could not stand the pressure and started fleeing. Isa still stood firm on the battlefield but when there was no doubt of his immanent defeat, Jafar and Muhammad, Sulaiman bin Ali's sons, arrived behind Ibrahim with their army. Ibrahim's soldiers grew nervous at the fresh invasion and diverted their attention towards them. Isa regrouped his men and attacked and the runaway soldiers rallied. Humaid bin Qahtaba also regrouped and attacked with his men. Ibrahim's army was between the invading armies, which cut the battlefield in size and his soldiers were not able to fight wholeheartedly. At last, they became disarrayed and began to flee. Finally, only 400 men were left with him. They were surrounded by Isa, Humaid, Mohammad and Jafar. An arrow pierced Ibrahim's neck, which proved fatal. His men dismounted him from their horses, made a circle around him and continued defending and fighting. Qahtaba ordered his cavalry to launch an attack with all their power. He defeated Ibrahim's men, cut off his head and presented it to Isa who sent it to Mansoor. This took place on 25 Dhul Qada 145 A.H. With this victory, he was able to arrest Hasan bin Ibrahim bin Abdullah in Basra and imprison him. He imprisoned Yaqub bin Dawood also.

Miscellaneous Events

After getting free from the killing of Mohammad Mahdi and his brother, Mansoor assigned the governorship of Basra to Salim bin Qutaiba Bahli and that of Mousil to his own son Jafar. He sent Harith bin Abdullah as Commander of the armed forces with him.

Imam Malik رحمه الله, who had induced people to take the oath for Mohammad Mahdi, was lashed. Imam Abu Hanifa رحمه الله, who gave a *fatwah* (religious judgment) in favor of Ibrahim bin Abdullah was arrested and brought before Mansoor who imprisoned him in Baghdad where construction work on the city was still in progress. It is said that Mansoor wanted to appoint him to the post of chief justice. When he refused, he was assigned to count and keep the records of

the bricks used in the construction. In that state of captivity he died in 150 A.H. Besides these famous scholars other scholars like Ibn Ajlan, Abdul Humaid bin Jafar and others who gave religious judgments to take the oath for Mohammad Mahdi and his brother Ibrahim were persecuted like wise.

In 146 A.H., the Turks in Khazar revolted and marched from Babul Abwab to Armenia killing and slaughtering Muslims. That same year the Muslims launched a naval attack on Cyprus. When the Khwarij rebelled in Sistan, Mansoor transferred Ma'an bin Zaidah from the governorship of Yemen to Sistan where he ended the disorder and fighting. He remained there until 151 A.H. until he was eventually murdered treacherously by the Khwarij.

Abdullah Ushtar Ibn Mohammad Mahdi

When Mohammad Mahdi revolted, the governor of Sindh was Mansoor's man Omar bin Hafs bin Uthman bin Qabisah bin Abi Sufrah. After the revolt, Mohammad Mahdi had sent his son Abdullah alias Ushtar to his uncle Ibrahim in Basra. From there Ushtar at the instance of his uncle, took a swift-paced she-camel and set out for Sindh because sympathy and possible reinforcements were expected from the governor. Abdullah Ushtar reached Sindh, invited Omar bin Hafs to their cause and he accepted, recognized Mohammad Mahdi's caliphate, defaced the symbols of the Abbasids and incorporated Mohammad Mahdi's name into the Friday sermon. During the same period, news of Mohammad Mahdi's death reached the governor. He informed Abdullah Ushtar of the incident and offered his condolences. Ushtar said, "Now my life is in danger. Where should I go and what should I do?" There were many kings in Sindh who had converted to Islam during Omar bin Abdul Aziz's regime and who ruled according to his directives in their jurisdictions. They recognized the reigning caliphs but followed all the supporters of Islam and stuck to the rights of their rule. Omar bin Hafs told Ushtar to go to a certain state of a Sindhi King. He loves the Prophet ﷺ and is known for the fulfillment of his commitments. He will surely treat you kindly, affectionately and respectfully. Abdullah Ushtar expressed his willingness. Omar received a written pledge from that king for Ushtar

through correspondence and sent Ushtar to him. The Sindhi king married his daughter to him. He lived there until 151 A.H. and during that period about 400 Arabs drawn from the adjoining areas collected at Ushtar's place. By chance, Mansoor came to know that Abdullah Ushtar was living with the King of Sindh and a small group of Arabs were with him. Mansoor recalled Omar bin Hafs from the governorship of Sindh and sent him to Egypt in the same capacity. He dispatched Hisham bin 'Amr Taghlibi to Sindh as governor. At the time of departure, he ordered him to arrest Ushtar at any cost. If the Sindhi King refused to hand him over, he should attack him. Hisham bin Amr tried his best to recover Abdullah Ushtar but the Sindhi King would not give him up. At last, they prepared to fight. The part of the country where Ushtar was staying was attacked by Safih, Hisham bin 'Amr's brother. One day it so happened that Ushtar in the company of 10 horsemen went along the Sindh River for sightseeing. Suddenly they came across Safih's army. Safih tried to arrest him. Ushtar and his men fought. At last, Ushtar and his men were killed. Hisham bin 'Amr informed Mansoor of the incident. He wrote back to him that the country of that king must be destroyed. So a chain of battles began. Hisham eventually captured his whole country. Ushtar's wife along with her son were caught and sent to Mansoor. He sent them to Madinah to be under the guardianship of the deceased's family.

Mahdi bin Mansoor's Succession

At the time of his death, Abdullah Saffah had made Mansoor his heir-apparent to be followed by Isa bin Musa after him. Now according to the will Isa bin Musa was to be the caliph after Mansoor. However, when Mansoor was relieved from the dangers of Mohammad Mahdi and Ibrahim and no longer needed Isa bin Musa's help, he wished to make his own son Mahdi his successor. First, he mentioned it to Isa but Isa refused to accept it. Mansoor then manipulated to allow Khalid bin Barmak and some other non-Arab chiefs participate in the consultations and support his stand and then he deposed Isa bin Musa from the governorship of Kufa, in which capacity he had been serving since Saffah's time and sent Mohammad bin Sulaiman as governor in his place. The dismissal from the governorship led to the liquidation of his power and he realized his mistake of disagreeing with Mansoor.

In short, by rendering Isa powerless Mansoor, by virtue of his cunningness, deceit, allurement and hypocrisy took from the people the oath for the succession of Mahdi. He tried to console Isa bin Musa too by making him the successor after Mahdi. Khalid bin Barmak gave publicity to the statement that Isa abdicated in his presence and so the Amir Al-Muminin made his son his successor. For this act, Mansoor had spent money lavishly and pleased the people by giving away gifts and rewards to them on the occasion. Isa bin Musa had contributed most to strengthening and saving Mansoor's government. It was Isa who defeated and killed Mohammad Mahdi and Ibrahim and relieved him of a great danger. In exchange for these services he rendered he was rewarded with dismissal from the succession and Mahdi bin Mansoor superseded him. After the deposition from the governorship of Kufa, he went to Rahba in Kufa, settled down there and began to pass a quiet life.

Slowly and gradually all the obstacles in Mansoor's way were cleared except Spain, his government was firmly established in all the Islamic countries by 148 A.H. In 149 A.H., the construction of Baghdad was also completed. Because of the above situations and incidents, the Muslims did not have time to declare Jihad on the Romans. In 149 A.H., Abbas bin Mohammad, Hasan bin Qahtaba and Mohammad bin Ash'ath invaded the Romans and scored many victories against them.

Ustad Sees's revolt

In 150 A.H. Ustad Sees claimed to be a prophet in Khorasan. Thousands of people accepted his prophethood at once. The inhabitants of Herat, Badghais, and Sistan assembled under his flag and the greater part of Khorasan fell to him. Mansoor was extremely concerned and pensive on hearing this. The ruler of Mardrood named Jasm, observed the situation and attacked him with all his might. Jasm was defeated and killed. Then Khazim bin Khuzaima used strategy and surrounded Ustad Sees's army and attacked him on two flanks. 70,000 men of Ustad Sees were killed. He was besieged along with 14,000 remaining men in a mountain. After a prolonged siege, he surrendered along with his men to Khuzaima and Mansoor was informed of Ustad Sees's capture.

The Building of Rosafah

When Ustad Sees revolted, Khorasan was governed by Mahdi. He lived at Merv. Khazim bin Khuzaima also lodged with him and attacked at the instance of Mansoor. Becoming free from this trouble, Mahdi went to Mansoor. At that time, the dominating elements of power were the Arab tribes and they alone were responsible for all the territorial victories. The non-Arabs and Khorasanis did not claim to be equal to the Arabs in military expertise. The Arab tribes were always feared because if they united in opposition, they could topple the government at any time. Imam Ibrahim was the first to realize this fact and adopted the policy of strengthening the non-Arabs and utilizing them to his advantage. His successors also followed suit. Following this strategy, Abdullah Saffah had Abu Sulamih killed, and appointed Khalid bin Barmak as his minister, who was originally a Zoroastrian from Nawbahar, a new Muslim and a military chief of Abu Muslim. After a short time, he was made the governor of a state. Abu Ayyub replaced him and Mansoor made him the minister again. The Zoroastrians were assigned as military chiefs and governors of various states and their power continued to rise but the military element of the Arabs was still dominant. This policy reminds us of the Indian King Akbar and his dual policy, which he had adopted to safeguard himself against the powerful and influential Pathans, in India. He thought it essential to breathe a new life into the dead Hindu community and make them powerful in order to avert and lessen the danger from the Pathans so much so that he made Man Singh the commander-in-chief of India and continued his efforts to weaken the Pathans everywhere. The Abbasids also reduced the Arab power and replaced them by the fire-worshippers and the Iranians so that no Alawiite would dare to rise in revolt with the support of the Arab tribes. On the occasion of Mahdi's return from Khorasan and appearance before Mansoor, the Arab soldiers, in order to receive compensation, behaved in such a way that exhibited their independence of mind and strong will. They were not in the habit of showing respect to their king or caliph unnecessarily like the fireworshipping Zoroastrians. This kept the Abbasids in perpetual fear. Perhaps it was this independence of mind that never deterred

them from joining every new movement and every new claimant to the caliphate. Qasam bin Abbas bin Obaidullah bin Abbas, after watching and studying the condition of the army, cleverly created a rivalry and animosity between two Arab tribes, Rabia and Mudar. Then he advised Mansoor, saying, "As there is enmity between the tribes of Mudar and Rabia, it is reasonable that you divide the army into two parts. Keep the Mudar tribe under Mahdi because the Khorasanis are their supporters and keep the Rabia tribe under you because all the Yemenis are their sympathizers. With two army headquarters set up on different sides they will be kept afraid of each other, ruling out any possibility of mutiny."

Mansoor liked the idea and for the living quarters of his son Mahdi he ordered Rosafah to be constructed to the north of Baghdad in 151 A.H. and to set up a separate cantonment for his forces there. That same year 153 A.H. Mohammad Ash'ath died on his return journey from the Roman territories.

In 153 A.H., Mansoor made a proclamation to the effect that all his subjects should put on high caps that were made of bamboo and leaves. These caps were generally used by Africans. In 154 A.H. Zafar bin Asim invaded Rome. In 155 A.H. the Roman emperor, becoming exhausted from repeated invasions by the Muslims, requested for reconciliation and agreed to pay the *Jizyah*.

The Death of Mansoor

In 158 A.H., Mansoor wrote to the administrator of Makkah to arrest Sufyan Thouri and Abbad bin Katheer and send them to him. The people apprehended that he might murder them. The season of Hajj was approaching and Mansoor had made up his mind to go to Hajj. This caused concern among the Makkans even more. Only Allâh knew how many people would be arrested and killed. But the Makkan's prayer was granted and Mansoor died before reaching Makkah. The details of the incident are as follows. In the month of Dhul Qada 158 A.H., Mansoor left for Baghdad with the intention of Hajj. At the time of departure he made his son Mahdi his deputy there and made the following will:

"Protect the box containing my dairies and look for solutions to your problems therein. Safeguard the city of Baghdad and don't change or shift the capital. I have accumulated treasure that will suffice to pay the salaries of the soldiers and meet other administrative expenditures even if no tax is collected for 10 years. Deal with your relatives kindly, honor them and appoint them to high posts. I exhort you to treat the Khorasanis well for they are your helpers and your right hand and have sacrificed their lives and material for establishing the government and rule of your family. I think you will not be able to forget their love. Excuse their mistakes and please them with gifts and rewards for their remarkable achievements. Beware! Don't seek help from anybody belonging to Banu Sulaim. Don't allow your women to poke their noses into your affairs. Protect the community of the Prophet ﷺ. Don't shed unnecessary and unlawful blood. Abide by the limits prescribed by Allâh. Attack the atheists and stamp out alterations in the religion or any schism. Do justice and don't be immoderate. Leave the spoils for the soldiers for I have left you a huge treasure. Protect your borders and see that the roads are safe and peaceful. Take care of the peoples' property. Don't part with the group. Always be ready with cavalry and foot soldiers in as large numbers as possible. Don't postpone your work for the morrow. Be firm in times of adversity and misfortune. Don't be lazy. Make it easy for the people to visit your court. Beware of the doorkeepers and see that they are not strict with the people."

Mansoor left Baghdad and arrived in Kufa. He entered in the state of *Ihram* (the rituals) for Hajj and Umrah and sent ahead the sacrificial animals. He had hardly traveled two or three stages from Kufa when he was taken ill. During that illness, he kept his liberated slave Rabi, who was his doorkeeper and officer of his bodyguards, in attendance. He died on 6 Dhul Hijjah 158 A.H. at Batan, a place three miles from Makkah. No one except his chief attendants and Rabi were present at the time of his death. They concealed the news of his death that day. The next day Isa bin Ali, Isa bin Musa bin Mohammad, Abbas bin Mohammad bin Sulaiman, Ibrahim bin Yahya, Qasim bin Mansoor, Hasan bin Zaid Alawi, Musa bin Mahdi bin Mansoor, and Ali bin Isa

bin Mâhân who accompanied him on the journey, were called to appear in the court. Rabi announced the news of the caliph's death. He then read out a paper written by Mansoor, which said:

> In the name of Allâh, the Most Beneficent and Merciful. From Abdullah Mansoor to those who remain of Banu Hashim, Khorasanis and the general Muslims. I am writing this will during my lifetime, the last day of this world and the first day of my hereafter. I offer you the greeting of peace and Pray Allâh not to put you into any mischief nor to divide you into sects nor give you a chance to taste civil war. You have admitted to obey my son Mahdi, abide by it and refrain from breach of trust and betrayal.

Having read the paper Rabi beckoned Musa bin Mahdi bin Mansoor to take the oath on behalf of his father Mahdi as his deputy. He first caught hold of Hasan bin Zaid's hands and asked him to get up and take the oath. Hasan complied, and the others followed suit one after another. Isa bin Musa refused. Ali bin Isa bin Mâhân said, "If you refuse to take the oath, I shall chop off your head." Thus forced Isa bin Musa also took the oath then the chiefs of the army and the general public followed. Then Abbas bin Mohammad and Mohammad bin Sulaiman visited Makkah and standing near to the Ka'bah, they took the oaths of the people for Mahdi. Then Isa bin Musa led the funeral prayer. He was buried in the 'Mu'alla' graveyard in between Hajoon and Maimoon well. Then Rabi sent the news of Mansoor's death, his ring and the Prophet's ﷺ coverlet and staff to Mahdi. The news reached Mahdi in Baghdad on 15 Dhul Hijjah 158 A.H. The inhabitants of the city came to Mahdi and took the oath.

Mansoor was Caliph for 22 years less one week. He left seven sons and one daughter. The names of his sons were: Mohammad Mahdi, Jafar Akbar, Jafar Asghar, Sulaiman, Isa, Yaqub, and Salim. The name of his daughter was Aliyah who was married to Ishaq bin Sulaiman bin Ali.

Somebody asked Caliph Mansoor, "Have you any wish that has remained unfulfilled?" He said, "Only one wish is left to be fulfilled. And that is: I am sitting on a platform and the seekers of the *Ahâdith* are sitting around me." The next day when the ministers came to him

with papers, registers of litigation and writing utensils, the man who had put the question to Mansoor was also present at the time. He said, "Lo! Your wish has also been fulfilled." Mansoor said, "These are not the people I wish for those, that I long for have torn clothes, bare feet and long hair and they narrate *Ahâdith*."

When Mansoor persuaded Imam Malik to compile the Muwatta, he said to him, "O Abu Abdullah! You know that none except you and I are left in Islam who know the *Shariah* best. I am engaged in the wrangling of the caliphate and its authority. You are free. Write a book for the benefit of the people. Don't fill the book with the justifications of Ibn Abbas and the violence and prudence of Ibn Omar and set an example of composition and compilation for the people." Imam Malik says, "By Allâh! Mansoor did not say these things but taught me how to write."

Abdus Samad Mohammad said to Mansoor, "You have girded your loins to punish people so much that none has the inkling that you know how to forgive." He replied, "The blood of the descendants of Marwan has not dried up and the swords of the descendants of Abi Talib are still bare. This is the time when their hearts are not overawed by the caliphs and this awe cannot be established unless they forget the meaning of forgiveness and always expect to be punished." Zeyad bin Abdullah Harithi wrote to Mansoor to increase his salary and property rights a little. He used all his art of eloquence in its presentation. Mansoor replied, "When prosperity and eloquence come to a man, they make him self-conceited. I apprehend this danger in you. It is better if you give up eloquence." The African, Abdur Rahman bin Zeyad had been Mansoor's friend since his student days. Once during his caliphate he paid a visit to him. Mansoor said to him, "How do you find my caliphate compared to that of Banu Umayyah?" Abdur Rahman bin Zeyad said, "The atrocities that are perpetrated in your regime, were non-existent in that of Banu Umayyah." Mansoor said, "What should I do? I don't find helpers." Abdur Rahman said, "Omar bin Abdul Aziz رحمه الله, said, "If the king is pious, he will get pious people. If he is wicked, the wicked will come to him." Once Mansoor was fed up with some houseflies. He sent for Muqatil bin Sulaiman and said, "Why has Allâh created these flies?" Muqatil said, "To humiliate the oppressors through them."

During Mansoor's regime translations of Suryani and Non-Arabic books began to be made into Arabic. Geometry and 'Kalilah Dimnah' were translated during his times. He made the palmists and astronomers live near him. It was during his caliphate that the Abbasids and Alawiites fought otherwise prior to it they were united.

In respect of his nature and habits and his deeds and remarkable achievements Mansoor Abbasi resembled Abdul Malik Umayyah. Abdul Malik was the second caliph of the Marwan dynasty and Mansoor was also the second caliph of the Abbasid dynasty. Abdul Malik saved the Umayyah caliphate from ruin. Similarly, Mansoor saved the Abbasid caliphate from Mohammad Mahdi and his brother Ibrahim. Abdul Malik was an *Alim* (scholar), a *Faqih* (an expert on Islamic law) and a *Mohaddith* (he related the traditions of the Prophet ﷺ). Similarly Mansoor was an *Alim* and *Faqih*, Abdul Malik was accused of being extremely economical and a miser. Mansoor was also notorious for these same two characteristics. Both of them ruled for almost the same duration. The only difference between them was the fact that while Mansoor killed people even after granting them *aman* (peace and safety), Abdul Malik remained spotless on this point.

Mahdi bin Mansoor

Mohammad Al-Mahdi bin Mansoor's familiar name (*kunya*) was Abu Abdullah. He was born in Edaj in 126 A.H. His mother's name was Umm Musa Arwa bint Mansoor Himyari. Mahdi was very generous, widely admired, true in faith, popular and a handsome man. His father put him under the charge and tutelage of a number of scholars. When Mahdi was 15 years old, Mansoor sent him to put down the mutiny caused by Abdul Jabbar bin Abdur-Rahman. In 141 A.H., he was sent to Khorasan. When he returned from there in 144 A.H., Mansoor had him married to his niece, Saffah's daughter. He made him the heir-apparent in 144 A.H. and sent him to Rayy as the administrator of the Southern and Western parts of Khorasan. He appointed him Amir al-Hajj (leader of the pilgrimage) in 153 A.H. and following his father's death in 158 A.H., he ascended the throne of the caliphate in Baghdad. When the people took *bay'at* (pledge or oath of allegiance) with him in Baghdad, he climbed up the pulpit (the

pulpit in mosques is generally raised so the whole congregation can see the Imam) and delivered the following sermon:

> "The man whom you call Amir al-Muminin (Leader of the true believers) is nothing but a slave. When somebody calls him, he responds and complies. It is Allâh Who is the Protector of the Amir al-Muminin. It is from Allâh only that I seek help in order to run the work of the caliphate. Just as you express your sense of obedience with your tongue, co-operate with me with your soul also so that you might become the beneficiaries of welfare in this world and in the world hereafter. Don't oppose those who propagate justice. I shall remove obstructions from your way and dedicate my whole life serving you and punishing those among you who are criminals and wrongdoers."

The first thing that Mahdi did after taking over as caliph was to release all the captives in Mansoor's jail. Only those who were rebels, usurpers and murderers were not freed. Among the captives set free was Yaqub bin Dawood. Those who were not released included Hasan bin Ibrahim bin Abdullah bin Hasan bin Hasan. As mentioned earlier, both Hasan and Yaqub were arrested in Basra together following Ibrahim's death and imprisoned. Yaqub's father Dawood was from among the liberated slaves of Banu Sulaim. He was Nasr bin Sayyar's head-clerk in Khorasan. Dawood had two sons, Yaqub and Ali. Both were scholars and extremely clever and wise. When Banu Abbas came into power, Banu Sulaim was subjected to humiliation. Yaqub and Ali who were from Banu Sulaim were neglected though they merited serious attention by virtue of their qualifications. When Mohammad Mahdi and Ibrahim began to invite the people to support them against Banu Abbas, Yaqub joined them and invited people to support Mohammad Mahdi and Ibrahim, until he was imprisoned along with Hasan bin Ibrahim. After his release from the jail, Yaqub was found out that Hasan bin Ibrahim was trying to escape from jail. He informed caliph Mahdi. Mahdi transferred Hasan to another jail but he escaped anyway. Mahdi called Yaqub to him and consulted with him about Hasan. Yaqub said, "If you grant safety and pardon to him, I can present him before you." Mahdi granted it and Yaqub brought Hasan before him. He had the assurance from Mahdi that

Hasan would be able to visit the caliph in court and out of court. The occasion arose and Mahdi made Hasan his friend and gave him 100,000 dirhams. After a few days, Mahdi deposed Abu Abdullah, his minister since the time he was declared heir-apparent, and replaced him with Yaqub. Mahdi displayed a sense of justice and recognition of merit by honoring Yaqub and Hasan and established their love for him in their hearts even though they were his former enemies. The greatest danger to the caliphate of the Abbasids was from the members of Mohammad Mahdi and Ibrahim's group who had joined hands with Yahya bin Zaid and they all were intent on bringing about the fall of Banu Abbas. By making Yaqub his minister, Mahdi avoided all of these dangers, for Yaqub had links with both of these groups. He appointed them to high posts in the government and thus kept them from opposing the caliphate and dampened their enthusiasm for opposition.

The Rise of Hakeem Muqanna

In 159 A.H., the first year of Mahdi's caliphate an inhabitant of Merv named Hakeem Muqanna made a mask of gold and put it on his face. He claimed that he was Allâh. He believed that Allâh created Adam and entered his body, then entered Noah's body, then entered Abu Muslim's body and Hashim's body. He believed in transmigration and said, "Allâh's soul is within me, He has entered my body." His belief was the same as held by the people of Ravind who had created perversions in the religion at Hashmiyah in the time of Mansoor. They were all members of Abu Muslim's group and were the aberrations of his strange and deviant form of propagation. Whoever Abu Muslim met, he presented his peculiar form of propagation to him adapting it to the demands of the situation and the person concerned. Abu Muslim's ultimate motives were political and not religious and he bent everything to suit those ends, even Allah's religion. All these deviated sects were the consequences of using the Prophet's family for political ends in different forms. Hakeem Muqanna also believed that Yahya bin Zaid (who was from the Prophet's family) was not killed but went into hiding and was expected to reappear to take revenge and exterminate his enemies. Many Khorasanis became his followers and began to make prostration to him (in Islam the act of prostration is due only to Allah and not to any creation). He stayed in the fort of

Basâm and Sanjar (in modern day Uzbekistan). The people of Bukhara, Safhad and Turkistan supported him and started slaughtering the Muslims. The administrators of those regions like Abu An Noman, Junaid and Laith bin Nasr bin Sayyar fought against them. Laith's brother Mohammad bin Nasr and nephew Hasan bin Tamim were killed in the fight. When Mahdi came to know of it, he sent Jibrail bin Yahya to help them. He deputed Jibrail's brother Yazid to punish the insurgents of Bukhara and Safhad. First Bukhara and Safhad were invaded. After 4 months of fighting the forts of Bukhara were captured by the Muslims. 700 rebels were killed and the rest fled to Muqanna. After a short time, Mahdi dispatched Abu Aun to attack Muqanna but those commanders could not defeat Muqanna. Then Mu'âz bin Muslim was sent to defeat him. The officer of Mu'âz bin Muslim's vanguard was Sayeed Huraithi. Then Oqba bin Muslim was also ordered to join him. These commanders led a very bitter attack on Muqanna and put him to flight and encircled him in the fort of Basâm. During the fight, there appeared some differences between Mu'âz and Sayeed. Sayeed wrote to Mahdi and secured his permission to do away with Muqanna all alone. Muqanna was besieged along with 20,000 of his men. The besieged asked Sayeed Huraithi for a guarantee of safety. Sayeed granted it and they came out of the fort leaving only 2,000 men with Muqanna. When Muqanna was certain of his failure, he made a fire and pushed all the members of his family into it and then he himself jumped into it and died. The Muslims entered the fort, took Muqanna's dead body out of the fire, cut off his head and sent it to Mahdi.

Change, Deposition and Appointment of Administrators

In 155 A.H. Mahdi deposed his uncle Ismail from the government of Kufa and appointed Ishaq bin Sabah Kindi Ash-athi. He removed Sayeed, Da'laj and Obaidullah bin Hasan from the government and leadership of Basra and appointed Abdul Malik bin Dhubyan Numairi. Similarly the same year he deposed Qasam bin Abbas from the government of Yamama and appointed Fadal bin Saleh, deposed Matar (Mansoor's liberated slave) from the government of Egypt and appointed Abu Hamza Mohammad bin Sulaiman, removed Abdus

Samad bin Ali from the government of Madinah and appointed Mohammad bin Abdullah Kasiri. Soon after Mohammad bin Abdullah was also removed and replaced by Zafar bin Asim Hilali. The same year Mahdi sent Mabad bin Khalil as the governor of Sindh. When Humaid bin Qahtaba who was the governor of Qahistan died the same year, that is 159 A.H. its government was handed over to Abu Aun Abdul Malik bin Yazid. At the end of the same year Sayeed bin Khalil died and the government of Sindh was taken over by Ruh bin Hâtim.

In 160 A.H., Abu Aun Abdul Malik was deposed as a punishment. His place was taken by Mu'âz bin Muslim. Sistan was assigned to Hamza bin Yahya and Samarkand to Jibrail bin Yahya. During his regime, Jibrail built the fort and erected fencing in Khorasan. The same year Sindh was taken over by Bustam bin Amr. In 161 A.H., Mahdi gave the governorship of Sindh to Nasr bin Mohammad bin Ash-ath. The same year Abdus Samad bin Ali was sent to Jazirah. Isa bin Luqman to Egypt and Bustam bin Amr to Azerbaijan after being deposed from the governorship of Sindh. The same year he appointed Yahya bin Khalid Barmk as the tutor of his son, Haroon and he sent Sulaiman bin Raja to Egypt as governor in place of Mohammad bin Sulaiman.

The expedition of Bârbad

It was during the regime of caliph Mahdi that a naval expedition was sent to India. Abdul Malik bin Shahab Masmai with an army boarded the ships in the Persian Gulf and moved along the Indian coast. They landed in Bârbad and waged a battle and many Bârbad men were killed. Only 20 Muslims lost their lives but an epidemic broke out among the Muslim soldiers leading to the death of 1000 of them. They then turned their boats towards Persia. They met with a violent storm near the Persian coast that shattered several boats and many soldiers were downed.

Hadi bin Mahdi as Crown Prince

As has previously been mentioned, Isa bin Musa lived at Rahbah adjacent to Kufa, visited Kufa to perform his Friday and Eid prayers and spent all his time at his village quietly and without involving

himself with the affairs of others. It has also been recorded that Abdullah Saffah had made Isa heir apparent after Mansoor and Mansoor made his son Mahdi supersede Isa. Isa bin Musa was the rightful heir apparent after Mahdi but in the first year of his caliphate Mahdi's advisers and supporters advised him to nominate his son Hadi as his heir-apparent in place of Musa. Mahdi requested Isa to visit Baghdad but Isa refused. Mahdi issued standing orders to the governor of Kufa to harass him but as Isa had already been leading a secluded life, the governor did not get an opportunity to carry out his orders. Then Mahdi wrote a strict letter to Isa but he did not reply. Then Mahdi sent his uncle Abbas to him to bring him into his presence. Even then, Isa refused. At last, Mahdi deputed two commanders to go and bring him. Compelled in this way, Isa came to Baghdad and lodged with Mohammad bin Sulaiman. He visited Mahdi's court from time to time but he went there silently, kept silent while there and returned silently from there. At last, they started torturing him and Mohammad bin Sulaiman himself wanted to compel him to abdicate. Isa made excuses about the pledge, which he had taken at the time of succession. Mahdi called the legal scholars. They gave a religious verdict that Isa might retire from the succession after paying compensation for breaking his oath. Mahdi gave him 10,000 dirhams and estates at Zâb and Kaskar in lieu thereof. Isa retired from the succession on 26 Muharram 160 A.H. and took the oath for Hadi as the heir apparent. The next day Mahdi held an open court, took the oath from the officials of the government, went to the Central Mosque and delivered a sermon informing the people of Isa's abdication and Hadi's succession. Isa admitted his retirement from the succession and the people took oath for Hadi as the heir apparent.

Mahdi's Hajj

In Dhul Qada 160 A.H., Mahdi made preparations for Hajj and left his son Hadi as his deputy in Baghdad. He had Hadi's maternal uncle Yazid bin Mansoor live with Hadi and arranged for his second son, Haroon and a few relatives, to live in Hadi's company. He himself left for Makkah along with his minister Yaqub bin Dawood. After arriving in Makkah, he had all the old covers of the Ka'bah removed and covered it with a new and expensive cover (Arabic: Kiswah). He

distributed clothes to 150,000 paupers and extended the Prophet's Mosque. On his return journey, he brought 500 families from the Ansârs to Iraq with him, settled them there, gave them estates, fixed salaries for them and deployed them as his bodyguards. He had rest houses constructed along the roads to Makkah. Every house was fitted with a cistern and a well. He entrusted the supervision of all this work to Yaqteen bin Musa. He issued orders for the extension of the Basra mosque and reconstruction of its pulpit.

Skirmishes in Undulus (Spain)

The governor of North Africa representing Mahdi was Abdur Rahman bin Habib Fahri. He took a group of Berbers, landed at Murcia, on the southeastern portion of the Spanish Mediterranean coast. Abdul Rahman Fahri invited the governor of the province, Sulaiman bin Yaqtan, to follow the Abbasid caliphate, he did not reply to the letter of invitation. Abdur Rahman Fahri attacked Sulaiman's territory but was defeated and pushed back. In the meantime, Amir Abdur Rahman the Umayyah ruler of Spain arrived with an army. First, he burned Abdur Rahman Fahri's boats on the coast so he could not get away. Then he turned his army to face him. Abdur Rahman Fahri became nervous and climbed up Mount Valencia. Amir Abdur Rahman announced that whosoever brought Abdur Rahman Fahri's head to him he would be given 1000 dinars. The news reached the ears of one of Abdur Rahman Fahri's Berbers. He cut off his head in a state of greed, took it to Amir Abdur Rahman and received the reward. Amir Abdur Rahman was agitated at the invasion of the Abbasids. He decided to retaliate by invading the Syrian coast and punish the Abbasid caliph for his intrusion into Spain. But during that same time Hasan bin Yahya bin Sayeed bin Sâd bin Uthman Ansari revolted in Spain and as a result Amir Abdur Rahman had to turn his attention to him and postpone his plan to attack Syria. The dynasty of Banu Umayyah ruled in Spain from the time of Caliph Mansoor Abbasi and it was the second headquarters of the Islamic authority. The period of Abbasids has been begun in our narrative and we will finish recording the details of the rulers of the Abbasid Caliphate as they continued to rule over the entire Islamic world except for Spain.

The political conditions of Spain will be narrated separately from its beginning in a following section.

The Roman Expedition and Haroon's attack

In 163 A.H., Mahdi collected soldiers from Khorasan and other provinces and left Baghdad with the intention of declaring Jihad against the Romans on 1 Rajab 163 A.H. On the previous day Mahdi's uncle Isa bin Ali died. He left Hadi in Baghdad as his deputy and took Haroon with him. He passed through Mousil and Jazirah, deposed and imprisoned the governor of the province Abdus Samad bin Ali. He then made his son Haroon the ruler of Azerbaijan, Armenia and all the western territories and gave the authority of Jazirah to Abdullah bin Saleh. The cause that led to the invasion of the Romans was that in 162 A.H. the Romans made incursions into Islamic territory and destroyed some Muslim cities. Caliph Mahdi himself launched the attack. During the journey when he came in front of Maslama bin Abdul Malik's fort, Mahdi's uncle Abbas bin Ali said to Mahdi, "Once when your grandfather Mohammad bin Ali passed this way, Maslama had invited him to a feast and presented 1000 dinars to him." When Mahdi heard this, he sent for Maslama's sons, slaves and all his relatives and gave them 20,000 dinars and fixed salaries for them. He reached Halab and stopped there and sent Haroon along with the military commanders ahead. Haroon was accompanied by Isa bin Musa, Abdul Malik bin Saleh, Hasan bin Qahtaba, Rabi bin Yunus and Yahya bin Khalid Barmuk. Haroon was entrusted with the command and also the supply and provision of foodstuffs. He moved forward and laid a siege to the Roman forts and conquered several of them in succession. In the mean time, Mahdi searched for and killed apostates who left Islam and invented various heresies to promote their political power in the vicinity of Halab. Haroon returned victorious. Mahdi went to Jerusalem on pilgrimage with Haroon. They perform their Salat in the Aqsa Mosque and returned to Baghdad. When Mahdi had made Haroon the governor of Azerbaijan and Armenia, he had handed over the portfolios of finance and foreign affairs to Hasan bin Thabit and Yahya bin Khalid Barmuk respectively.

Haroon's Second Invasion Against the Romans

In 164 A.H., Abdul Kabeer bin Abdur Rahman led an attack on the Romans, religious leaders like Michael and Tara Armani faced him with a 90,000 men and Abdul Kabeer returned back without combat. This incident ended the terror, which the Muslim's invasion on the Romans had created in 163 A.H. When Mahdi heard the news, he imprisoned Abdul Kabeer, and in 165 A.H., he sent his son Haroon to invade the Romans and asked his chief of security and confidant Rabi to accompany him. Haroon attacked the Romans with a 100,000 man army and continued defeating the Romans and destroying their cities until he reached Constantinople. At that time, Constantinople was ruled over by Ghustah, the widow of Emperor Elevik who ruled on behalf of her underage son. The Romans agreed to a compromise and paid 70,000 dinars annually as Jizyah for three years and it was agreed that the Muslims would be allowed to transact business in the markets of Constantinople. Prior to that reconciliation, the Muslims had killed 56,000 Romans and captured 600. That year Mahdi made Haroon the administrator in charge of all the Western territories.

In 166 A.H., Caliph Mahdi made his son Haroon heir apparent after Hadi and took the oath from the people for Haroon's succession and gave him the title *Rasheed*, the guide. The same year he inaugurated postal services using mules and camels to receive information and communicate instructions to those territories. The same year he appointed Abu Yusuf the chief justice of Basra.

In 167 A.H. Isa bin Musa died in Kufa. The same year saw the rise of apostates who left Islam and invented various heresies to promote their political power in various places. First Mahdi silenced them by arguments and then prepared to kill them. Wherever he heard they existed, he hastened to do away with them. In between Yamamah and Bahrain, they grew in power. They became atheists, gave up prayer, cared little for what was lawful or unlawful in religion, committed looting and murder and to accomplish this blocked the roads. Caliph Mahdi had them massacred openly when they engaged in these criminal acts. He pursued them and exterminated them totally. Among his achievements, the extermination of this type of criminals

was very remarkable. The same year he extended the area around the holy Ka'bah by purchasing the adjoining buildings.

Hadi's Invasion of Jurjân

In 167 A.H., news came that Tabristanis rose in mutiny. The caliph dispatched his son Hadi to punish him. The flag of his army was held by Mohammad bin Jameel. Hadi established peace in Tabristan and Jurjân and punished the insurgents.

In 168 A.H., the Romans committed a breach of the agreement they had with the Muslims four months before the time of its expiry. Hearing this news the ruler of Jazirah and Qansareen, Ali bin Sulaiman, sent Yazid bin Badr bin Batâl with a large army to Constantinople. He returned with a large quantity of spoils of war.

Mahdi's Death

Experience let Mahdi understand that his second son Haroon was more capable and efficient in political affairs than Hadi. In 168 A.H., he made up his mind to supersede Hadi in the matter of succession and put Haroon in his place by deposing Hadi and to take the people's oath for Haroon. At that time, Hadi was in Jurjân. Mahdi sent a messenger to bring him to Baghdad. Hadi was rude and impertinent to the messenger, beat him up and turned him out of his court and did not start to prepare to leave Jurjân for Baghdad to comply with his father's orders. Hearing of this Mahdi left for Jurjân but as soon as he reached Basbazân, he breathed his last on 22 Muharram 169 A.H. corresponding to August 785 AD. Haroon Rasheed accompanied his father on the journey and led the funeral prayer and sent news of their father's death to his brother at Jurjân. Hadi took the oath from the soldiers for his own caliphate and a circular regarding Mahdi's death and Hadi's accession to the caliphate was sent to all the administrators. Twenty days later, he left Jurjân and arrived in Baghdad and took his seat on the throne of the caliphate he invested Rabi, the chief of security, with the robe of minister. Rabi died a few days later.

Caliph Mahdi was very noble hearted, pious, generous, even

tempered, brave and gentle among the Abbasid caliphs. During his father's caliphate, he had seen with his own eyes the bloodshed of the Aliwiites, which he did not consider as good for the government. By his good behavior and works of public welfare, he wanted to endear himself to the masses and thereby strengthen his authority. He regarded fear, oppression, violence and fury as quite unnecessary. So, he began to sit in the company of his courtiers and companions without any inhibition. During Mansoor's regime, the courtiers and companions used to sit behind a curtain and the caliph heard their voices and they heard his. They were not visible to others. During his regime, Caliph Mahdi did not pass the death sentence against any Hashmiite. He used to imprison those from Banu Hashim who deserved capital punishment. He was a formidable enemy of the apostates and never spared one from death yet Yaqub bin Fadl, a Hashimite turned apostate who confessed himself to be so was only imprisoned by him and Mahdi said to his heir apparent Hadi, "When you take over as caliph, you may kill him. I am committed to my oath and so I cannot kill him." As soon as Hadi became caliph, he killed him. Mahdi cared very much for the traditions and deeds of the Prophet ﷺ. He had all the special constructions in the mosques designed for the caliphs demolished as they were against the Prophet's way. Wherever there were pulpits higher than that of the Prophet's it was brought down. He devoted most of his time in prayer. He was very tolerant and eloquent.

Everybody could enter his court freely. In administrative affairs, he was extremely active and clever. He used to visit his slaves and servants when they were sick. Sometimes people filed cases against him and in response to the judge's order he had to appear before the judge as a defendant and implemented the judgment passed against himself. A scholar of repute, Shareek, visited him. Mahdi said to him, "You have to accept either of the three things. Accept the post of judge or teach my sons or take your meal with me." Qadi Shareek thought over it a little and then said, "Eating with you is much easier." So a cloth was spread and a variety of dishes were served. When the eating was over, the royal cook said, "Now you are trapped." and it happened accordingly. After listening to the caliph, he not only accepted the post of the judge but also trained his sons. Whenever

Mahdi visited Basra, he led the prayer at the Central Mosque. One day the people stood up for prayer. Then an Arab beduine came late and he missed the congregational prayer. He said to Mahdi, "I wanted to perform my prayer behind you but it was not possible." Mahdi ordered that they should wait for that beduine at the time of every prayer. So, at Asr time Mahdi stood up under the arch and did not allow the prayer to be started until the beduine turned up. The people were astonished at this courtesy. Mahdi was the first caliph to have recited the following verse in his sermon:

﴿إِنَّ اللَّهَ وَمَلَائِكَتَهُ يُصَلُّونَ عَلَى النَّبِيِّ يَاأَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا صَلُّوا عَلَيْهِ وَسَلِّمُوا تَسْلِيمًا﴾

> Allâh sends His *Salât* (Graces, Honors, Blessings, Mercy) on the Prophet and also His angels. O you who believe! Send your *Salât* on (ask Allâh to bless) him, and greet him with the Islamic way of greeting. (Q.33:56)

After him, the scholars and preachers of sermons subsequently declared it as integral part of the sermon.

Hadi bin Mahdi

Hadi bin Mahdi bin Mansoor's mother was Khaizrân. He was born in Rayy in 147 A.H. Khaizran was a Barber salve girl owned by Mahdi. After Hadi and Haroon were born of her, he freed her and married her in 159 A.H. When Caliph Hadi ascended to the caliphate he punished the apostates in deference to his father's will and did not hesitate in eliminating them. At the time of Caliph Hadi's ascension, the following were the administrators of the provinces and states:

In Madinah: Omar bin Abdul Aziz bin Obaidullah bin Abdullah bin Omar bin Khattab.

In Yemen: Ibrahim bin Muslim bin Qutaiba.

In Makkah and Taif: Abdullah bin Qatham.

In Yamamah and Bahrain: Sowaid Qaid Khorasani.

In Oman: Hasan bin Sulaim Hawari.

In Kufa: Musa bin Isa.

In Basra: Ibn Sulaiman.

In Jurjân: Caliph Hadi's liberated slave Hajjaj.

In Qomas: Zeyad bin Hasân.

In Tabristan: Saleh bin Sheikh bin Omairah Asadi.

In Mousil: Hashim bin Sayeed bin Khalid.

Hadi had deposed Hashim for his rude behavior and deputed Abdul Malik bin Saleh bin Ali Hashmi in Mousil.

The Revolt of Husain bin Ali

Husain bin Ali bin Hasan Muthallath bin Hasan Muthanna bin Ali bin Abi Talib and Hasan bin Mohammad bin Abdullah bin Hasan, his uncle Yahya bin Abdullah bin Hasan and other descendants of Abu Talib had joined hands in revolting against the Abbasid government and it was agreed that the season of Hajj in 159 A.H. was the most suitable time for the revolt. But before the Hajj season came there was a quarrel between them and the governor of Madinah Omar bin Abdul Aziz bin Obaidullah. They rebelled, encircled the governor's house and began to take the oath at Hasan bin Ali bin Hasan Muthallath's hands and the people of Madinah joined it. In the meanwhile, Khalid Yazidi arrived with 200 men. On the other side Omar bin Abdul Aziz also came out of the siege and taking a group with him came to the mosque where the oath for Hasan bin Ali's was going on. Those who were inside the mosque fought. In this fight, Khalid Yazidi and Idris were killed at the hands of Abdullah bin Hasan's sons. With his death, all were defeated and Husain bin Ali's group broke open the door of the treasury and looted the government funds. The next day the supporters of Banu Abbas rallied and fought again. The fighting continued in Madinah for several days. At last, Husain bin Ali expelled all his opponents and took full control of Madinah. He stayed in Madinah for 21 days and then left for Makkah. After arriving in Makkah, he made a proclamation that those slaves who came to him, would be freed. This induced a group of slaves to rally round him. That same year Sulaiman bin Mansoor bin Sulaiman bin Ali, Abbas bin Mohammad bin Ali, Musa and Ismail (Isa bin Musa's sons) all belonging to the Abbasid dynasty had come for Hajj. After their departure, Hadi came to know about Husain bin Ali's

revolt. Hadi immediately wrote to Mohammad bin Sulaiman to fight Husain bin Ali with his men. Mohammad bin Sulaiman had brought a small army with him. He marshaled the troops in battle array at Towa and reached Makkah and performed Umrah, (the small pilgrimage). All the Abbasid chiefs who came from different provinces and territories joined Mohammad Sulaiman, they arrayed and fought at Fakh on 8th Dhul Hijja. Many men were killed. At last, Husain bin Ali suffered defeat and his men fled. After some time a man brought Husain bin Ali's head. About 100 heads of his men were collected that included Sulaiman's (Mohammad Mahdi's brother). The defeated took to flight and joined the pilgrims. Mohammad bin Sulaiman proclaimed pardon and safety for all. Hasan bin Mohammad bin Abdullah was arrested after the proclamation. He was killed by Musa bin Isa. Mohammad bin Sulaiman was angered by this because it was contrary to the promise he had given. When Hadi was informed, he confiscated Musa bin Isa's property. During this fight, Idris bin Abdullah bin Hasan bin Hasan bin Ali bin Abi Talib (Mohammad Mahdi's brother) escaped and went to Egypt. There Saleh bin Mansoor's liberated slave Wazeh, who was the officer of the Postal Department and sympathized with the descendants of Abi Talib, gave him a fast horse and sent him to the western territories. Idris reached the city of Dalilah located on the outskirts of Tangier and started propagating to the Berbers. The account of his descendants will be taken up separately later on in the narrative. A few days later Caliph Hadi was informed that Wazeh had allowed Idris to escape to the western territories. So, Hadi had Wazeh and his men arrested and killed. Idris bin Abdullah's second brother Yahya bin Abdullah escaped from Fakh and went to Delam.

Hadi's Death

Soon after taking over as caliph Hadi became busy trying to depose his brother Haroon from succession and install his own son Jafar in his place. Yahya bin Khalid bin Barmuk was Haroon Rasheed's tutor, the Prime Minster and in charge of all expeditions. He tried to make Hadi see reason and abstain from this act. He succeeded in preventing him from doing so several times but Hadi's other companions repeatedly insisted on his deposing Haroon and replacing him with his son Jafar.

Yahya convinced him saying, "Your son is still underage. If you die today, the officials of the sultanate will never recognize his caliphate and government and there will follow disturbances. Your father, Mahdi nominated Haroon as crown prince after you. If you make Jafar the heir apparent after Haroon, there will be no danger. If Jafar comes of age in your life time and displays his capability, I shall persuade Haroon to abdicate in favor of Jafar." Hadi was satisfied with the argument. But the officials of the government who were against Haroon continued to try to persuade Hadi until Haroon was subjected to persecution. When Yahya came to know about it, he advised Haroon to go somewhere on the pretext of hunting and maintain a distance from Hadi. So, Haroon secured the permission for hunting and went to the palace of Muqatil. When Hadi wanted to recall him, he said he was ill and could not come to him. During the same period, Hadi totally stopped his mother Khaizran from intervening in matters of the administrators and deprived her of all the powers she had enjoyed since Mahdi's regime. The estrangement between the mother and the son took such an ugly turn that they became mortal enemies to each other. When she came to know through Yahya that Hadi was after Haroon's life to make his own son Jafar heir apparent, she became a formidable enemy to Hadi for love of Haroon. Now instead of one supporter Yahya, Khaizran also became Haroon's supporter. When Haroon refused to present himself before Hadi, he left for Mousil. When he returned, Haroon was with him. Hadi fell ill on the way and died after three days on Sunday night 14 Rabia al-Awwal 170 A.H. corresponding to 786 AD at Isabad. He ruled for one year and three months. Hadi's sudden death led the people to believe that Khaizran had Hadi poisoned to death by her slave girl. Since Hadi was ill, poisoning did not find any credibility. Yahya bin Khalid was her accomplice in the matter and it is Allâh who really knows.

Hadi introduced postal service in between Jurjân and Baghdad. He was generous, even tempered and had a tendency towards oppression. He was not unmindful of statecraft and politics. He was stout and strong and soldier-like. He had a short span of life and the duration of his caliphate was also very short. So his habits and nature were not fully exposed.

Abu Jafar Haroon Rasheed bin Mahdi

Abu Jafar Haroon Rasheed bin Mahdi bin Mansoor bin Mohammad bin Ali bin Abdullah bin Abbas was born of Khaizran at Rayy in 148 A.H. A week before Yahya bin Khalid's son Fadal bin Yahya was born. Haroon's mother Khaizran suckled Fadal and Fadal's mother suckled Haroon, by Islamic law this made them foster brothers. Haroon Rasheed succeeded to the caliphate on Sunday 14 Rabia al-Awwal 170 A.H. after his brother's death. The same night his son Mamoon was born. It is strange that the same night a caliph died, the second caliph ascended to the throne and the third one was born. Haroon Rasheed's familiar name, *kunya*, was Abu Musa followed by Abu Jafar later on. He was a tall and handsome man.

Soon after coming into power, Haroon Rasheed made Yahya bin Khalid Barmuk his Prime Minister. He not only entrusted him with the portfolio of this ministry but also gave him the caliph's ring and this made him the most important man in matters of expeditions of the government. Khaizran who had been living in isolation from all administrative activities in Hadi's time, again resumed her involvement in matters of government. Assumption of authority by Yahya and Khaizran does not signify that Haroon Rasheed remained unconcerned with the business of the state. He rather wanted to encourage and honor both Yahya and Khaizran. He believed them to be his real supporters and relied upon their opinion. It was very wise and intelligent on the part of a 23-year-old youth that he selected for his minister a man who was very suited for that high post.

After taking the reigns of the caliphate in his hands, Haroon Rasheed put all his efforts into strengthening the system of government by means of dismissals, appointments, changes and transfers. He replaced Omar bin Abdul Aziz bin Obaidullah by Ishaq bin Sulaiman as the governor of Madinah. He sent Ruh bin Hatim to North Africa as its governor. He separated the border areas from Jazirah and Qansareen and formed a new Province named Awasim. In the first year of his caliphate, he went for Hajj when the season came. He made a parade of his generosity in Holy Cities.

He deputed Ruh bin Saleh to collect *Zakat*, the wealth tax, from Banu Taghlab in 171 A.H. There cropped up dissension between Ruh and Banu Taghlab. Ruh collected an army to punish them but Banu Taghlab launched a night attack on Ruh and killed him.

Idris bin Abdullah has already been mentioned and his fleeing from the battle of Fakh to the western territories during Hadi's regime. He started propagating his leadership among the Berbers, revolted in the city of Dalilah in 172 A.H., took the oath from the people openly and founded his own government in Morocco. That was the first government the Allawiites were able to establish, and they succeeded in Morocco - Andulus (Spain) in the Islamic world was a separate country beyond the jurisdiction of the Abbasid caliphate. Now another country Morocco also went out of their control. At the receipt of the news Haroon Rasheed sent his slave Sulaiman bin Jareer popularly known as Shumakh to Morocco alone to kill Idris bin Abdullah. Shumakh reached there, took the oath for his caliphate, endeared himself to him by criticizing and abusing Haroon Rasheed and waited for a chance. In 177 A.H., he poisoned him to death and returned. However, the government Idris founded continued. After his death, a son was born to his slave girl who was also named Idris by the Berbers and they made him their leader. The details about the Idrisi government will follow later. After a short time, the Abbasid authority was destroyed in Tunis and a separate government was established there. The Abbasid caliphate remained there only as a figurehead. In this way, a large part of their territory went out of the control of the caliphate of the Abbasids.

In 172 A.H. Mohammad bin Sulaiman, the governor of Basra died. Haroon Rasheed confiscated all his property and deposited it in the treasury. Prior to this, Mohammad bin Sulaiman's brother Jafar bin Sulaiman usurped much of the Muslims' wealth and accumulated huge amounts of money for himself. After Mohammad bin Sulaiman's death, Jafar staked his claim to the legacy. Haroon Rasheed deputed Ishaq bin Sulaiman as the governor of Sindh and Makran and appointed Yusuf bin Imam Abu Yusuf to the post of judge in the lifetime of Abu Yusuf.

Ameen as the Crown Prince

Haroon Rasheed's son Mamoon's birth has been recorded above, he was born at the time of Haroon Rasheed's ascension to the throne in 170 A.H. But Mamoon was born of Marjal, a Zoroastrian slave girl. The same year his second son Mohammad Ameen was born to his wife Zubaidah Khatoon bint Jafar bint Mansoor bin Mohammad bin Ali bin Abdullah bin Abbas. Ameen's tutor was Fadal bin Khalid bin Barmuk and Mamoon's tutor was Jafar bin Yahya bin Khalid bin Barmuk. Fadal wanted Haroon Rasheed to make Ameen his heir apparent and Jafar wanted Mamoon. Because Ameen was born of a woman from Banu Hashim, Zubaidah Khatoon, Haroon Rasheed's beloved wife also exerted all her effort in Ameen's favor. So, in 175 A.H. while Ameen was only five years old, Haroon Rasheed took the oath for his succession.

The same year Haroon Rasheed deposed Abbas bin Jafar bin Mohammad bin Ash-ath, the governor of Khorasan, and appointed Khalid bin Ata Kindi in his place.

The Revolt of Yahya bin Abdullah

Mention has been made above that Idris and Yahya, sons of Abdullah bin Hasan and brothers of Mohammad Mahdi (Nafs Zakiya) had fled from the battle of Fakh. Idris went to the western territories and occupied Morocco as has been mentioned above. Yahya bin Abdullah rebelled against the caliphate of the Abbasids at Delam. People from all sides rallied round him and took the oath for him, making him a formidable power. Haroon Rasheed was frightened on hearing about it and sent Fadal bin Yahya along with a 50,000 man army to put down that trouble. Along with the army, he endowed him with the governorship of Jurjân, Tabristan and Rayy. Fadal bin Yahya left Baghdad and reached Talqân and wrote a letter to Yahya bin Abdullah and asked him to obey the caliph and assured him of rewards and landed estates if he reconciled with him. Yahya replied that he was ready to make peace with Haroon Rasheed provided he wrote the treaty of peace with his pen and had the signatures of legal scholars and judges and the chiefs of Banu Hashim as witnesses. Fadal

bin Yahya informed Haroon Rasheed of all these details. Haroon Rasheed was very glad. He wrote the treaty with his own hand duly signed by the persons requested and sent it to Fadal with gifts. Fadal sent it to Yahya bin Abdullah and both Yahya and Fadal left for Baghdad. In the peace treaty the ruler of Delam who extended his hospitality to Yahya bin Abdullah by lodging him at his fort and helped him in all possible ways, was promised 1000,000 dirhams if he persuaded Yahya bin Abdullah to sign the treaty of compromise. When Yahya and Fadal reached Baghdad, Haroon Rasheed received Fadal warmly, fixed landed estates for him and gave him a reward. Fadal was given a promotion and Yahya bin Abdullah was entrusted to Fadal bin Yahya and he began to live in Baghdad under the care of Fadal.

In 176 A.H., Haroon Rasheed received news that the Egyptian governor Musa bin Isa was influenced by the Alwis propaganda and that he was busy maneuvering a revolution against the caliphate. So, he made Jafar bin Yahya the supervisor of Egypt. Jafar bin Yahya proposed Omar bin Mehran whose familiar name was Abu Hafs be named governor of Egypt. He accepted it on the condition that when he completed the arrangements for Egypt and deposited all the arrears of taxes with the treasury, he would be at liberty to return and that he would not have to seek permission to do so. Haroon Rasheed agreed to the condition and wrote the certificate of governorship and handed it over to him. He went to Egypt, took charge from Musa bin Isa and after collecting all the taxes came back to Baghdad. Haroon Rasheed then sent Ishaq bin Sulaiman to Egypt as its governor.

Unrest in Syria

In 176 A.H., the civil wars between Banu Mudar and the Yemaniyah tribes took a dangerous turn. When the governor of Damascus Abdus Samad bin Ali failed to stamp out the trouble, Haroon Rasheed deposed him and replaced him with Ibrahim bin Saleh. Ibrahim supported and helped the Yemaniyah tribes with the result that the disturbance continued for a long time. Then the Mudar tribe captured Damascus and dethroned and suspended the governor. Finally, Haroon Rasheed sent Jafar bin Yahya Barmuk to Syria. He brought the riots under control and came back to the capital Baghdad.

Rise of Attâf bin Sufyan

In 177 A.H. Attâf bin Sufyan staged an uprising and captured Mousil and the surrounding states. He besieged and imprisoned the governor of Mousil in the governor's headquarters and started collecting taxes using 4,000 warriors who were with him to convince anyone who doubted his right to collect taxes. Hearing of this Haroon Rasheed took an army from Baghdad and went towards him. Attâf fled to Armenia. Haroon Rasheed pulled down the city walls of Mousil. But he had to return to Baghdad upon receiving the news of uprisings in both Egypt and Khorasan. Attâf left Armenia and went to Raqah, settled there and began to live a life of seclusion. The same year Abdur Razzaq bin Humaid Dhâlbi invaded the Romans and returned after punishing them.

Uprising in Egypt

At the end of 177 A.H., the news came that in Egypt some tribes were ready to rebel. The Egyptian governor Ishaq bin Sulaiman tried to stamp it out but in 178 A.H. the rebels fought and defeated him. In those days, Harsimah bin Ayun was the administrator of Palestine. Haroon Rasheed wrote to him to go to Egypt with his army and curb the unrest. He went there and defeated and forced them into obedience. Haroon Rasheed then entrusted the governorship of Egypt to him. However, after one month he was deposed and replaced by Abdul Malik bin Saleh.

The Mischief of the Khwarij

The periods during which there were rebellions in Egypt, Syria, and Mousil Qais bin Dhalbah's liberated slave, Haseen Khwarji, had rebelled in Khorasan and created unrest there. The governor of Khorasan Khalid bin Ata Kindi had made Dawood bin Yazid the administrator of Sistan. He sent Uthman bin Ammarah to confront Haseen Khwarji. Haseen defeated and made him flee. Then he looted and plundered Badghais, Busanj and Herat. Then Khalid Kindi deployed a 12,000 man army to capture him. Haseen dealt a crushing defeat to that army with his 600 men and continued to

create disorder and unrest. Repeated confrontations took place but every time the Khorasani army suffered defeat. At last, in the beginning of 178 A.H., Haseen Khwarji was killed and peace was restored in Khorasan. The same year saw Zafar bin Asim invading the Roman Empire.

In Ramadan 179 A.H., caliph Haroon Rasheed performed *Umrah*, (the small pilgrimage,) combined with Hajj, (the great pilgrimage,) with the same *Ihram* (the state in which a pilgrimage performs the rituals of Hajj). He went on foot from Makkah to Arafat. The same year Malik bin Anas رحمه الله, died on 7 Rabia Thani at the age of 84 followed by Imam Abu Hanifah's son Hammâd in Dhul Qada 179 A.H.

In 180 A.H., armies were sent to Mawaraunnahar to declare Jihad on the Turks and the Mongols. Ali bin Isa bin Mahân was made the governor of Khorasan. This appointment was disapproved by Haroon Rasheed's Prime Minister Yahya bin Khalid Barmuk who drew his attention to Ali bin Isa's hard temperament. But Haroon Rasheed did not agree with him and sent Ali bin Isa to Khorasan. Naturally, Yahya bin Khalid did not like anybody to unleash a reign of terror on the inhabitants of Khorasan, which was his native land. On the other hand repeated rebellions in Khorasan demanded Haroon to depute a strict man to govern and deal with Khorasan. The same year 180 A.H. there was a big earthquake, which caused the minarets of Alexandria to fall down. The same year the ruler of Spain, Hisham bin Abdur Rahman died and his son Hakam took the throne. The same year Abu Bishr Amr bin Uthman known as Sibwaih who was the foremost scholar of syntax and an inhabitant of Baizia in Persia died.

In 181 A.H., Caliph Haroon Rasheed invaded the Roman Empire and conquered the fort of Safsâf. The same year Abdul Malik bin Saleh captured territories up to Ankara. The same year the Muslims and the Romans agreed to exchange their prisoners of war. This was the first treaty the Abbasids made with the Romans. The scholars and officials of the two governments and 30,000 soldiers along with the inhabitants of the border areas assembled at Lamas, which was situated at a distance of twelve miles from Tartus. The ruler of Tartus also came and under the aegis of Haroon Rasheed's son Qasim popularly known as Motamin and a grand assembly was held. The Romans came with

3,700 Muslim prisoners and in exchange, Motamin handed over the Christian captives to them. The same year Harsamah bin Ayun was deposed as the governor of North Africa. He came to Baghdad and was appointed officer of Haroon Rasheed's cavalry and in his place Mohammad bin Muqatil was sent to North Africa.

Mamoon as Heir Apparent

It has been stated above that Haroon Rasheed in 175 A.H. had made Ameen his son from Zubaidah Khatoon his heir-apparent. At that time, both Ameen and Mamoon were five years old. No Muslim had ever made his heir apparent a boy of such young age. Now Haroon Rasheed declared his son Mamoon bin Marajal, then 12 years old, heir apparent after Ameen. He took the oath from the people that Mamoon would follow Ameen as heir to the caliphate. Mamoon's real name was Abdullah and Ameen's was Mohammad. When Mohammad was made successor in 175 A.H. he was given the title Ameen and when Abdullah was made the second successor he was given the title Mamoon. Haroon made him governor of Khorasan and its adjoining territories up to Hamdan. Then he sent for Isa bin Ali and giving him the certificate of governorship of Khorasan on behalf of Mamoon, sent him back to Khorasan. The same year on 27 Rajab 182 A.H. Imam Abu Yusuf whose name was Yaqub and had the credit of being Abu Hanifa's disciple and judge of judges of Baghdad, breathed his last.

The Rebellion of Wahab bin Abdullah Nisai and Hamza Khawarji

When Ali bin Isa visited Baghdad on the occasion of the celebration of Mamoon Rasheed's succession, Abu Khaseeb Wahab bin Abdullah bin Nisai revolted and began to loot and kill people in Khorasan. When Isa bin Ali returned and pursued him, Wahab was terrified and asked for pardon and safety which he was granted, he settled down quietly. Immediately, after this incident the news broke that Hamza bin Atrak Khwarji revolted in Badghais and started conquering city after city. Herat was then ruled over by Amrwiyah bin Yazid Azdi. Taking 6,000 men with him, he attacked Hamza. Hamza defeated him and killed

many of his cavalry leading ultimately to Amrwiyah's death in the stampede. Then Ali bin Isa gave 10,000 soldiers to his son, Hasan bin Ali, and sent him to face Hamza. But Hasan did not fight with Hamza. Then Ali bin Isa deputed his next son, Isa bin Ali. Hamza defeated him and forced him to flee. Ali bin Isa gave Isa bin Ali a fresh army and sent him to face Hamza. The fighting took place at Nishapur and Hamza lost and fled to Qahistan. His 10,000 men were killed in the battle and only 40 men were left who fled to Qahqistan with him. Isa bin Ali deputed his warriors at Adaq, Jowin and those towns and villages which helped Hamza and then caught and killed the Khwarij until 30,000 men was put to death. Then he left Abdullah bin Abbas Nasfi at Zaranrj to collect the spoils of war and marched on to Kabul and Zablistan. Abu Khaseeb Wahab bin Abdullah who had received pardon and safety and had settled down quietly in the town of Nisa, saw the field empty and made up his mind to violate the treaty. He was able to gather a group of rebels to rally round him and occupied Abyuro, Nisa, Tus and Nishapur. On the other side, Hamza started making night attacks on the villages and towns and looting travelers. In short, Hamza and Wahab did not allow Ali bin Isa and his soldiers to take any rest for four years. In the mean while Wahab at times besieged Merv. At last with Wahab's death in 186 A.H. there was peace in Khorasan. Then Ali bin Isa began to deal harshly and violently with the inhabitants there.

The same year in 182 A.H. Abdur Rahman bin Abdul Malik bin Saleh along with the summer forces left for the Roman Empire to make Jihad. The Romans after the death of their King Constantine had his mother Rebi succeed to the throne with the title Atshah. Haroon Rasheed had created fear inside the court of Constantinople the Roman queen eventually made endeavors to make peace with him and drew the attention of the Muslim commanders to peace through correspondence. It was at this time that the French King Charlemagne conquered Italy and Western Rome and had an eye on Eastern Rome, the kingdom of Constantinople. The Eastern Roman queen very intelligently made a compromise with Haroon Rasheed and in exchange for paying the Jizyah, she protected herself from the danger of Charlemagne.

The Riot in the Province of Armenia

In 183 A.H., King Khakan's daughter Khazar was sent to Fadal bin Yahya. She died at Baroa. When her men returned they told her father that the Muslims had killed her treacherously. Khakan collected a huge army and rebelled at Babol starting the invasion of the Islamic territories. The Armenian governor Sayeed bin Muslim was not able to defeat him. Khakan killed 100,000 Muslims, captured thousands of them with their women and children and tortured them to such a degree that the description of these tortures is horrifying. This is regarded as one of the greatest tragedies of the Islamic world. Haroon Rasheed sent Yazid bin Mizyad to Armenia as governor prior to which, he was the administrator of Azerbaijan. Armenia was also annexed to his jurisdiction. He appointed Khuzaima bin Khazim at Nasibeen to help the Armenians. As soon as Yazid bin Mizyad's and Khuzaima bin Khazim's armies entered Armenian territory the inhabitants of Khazar fled and the Islamic forces recaptured it.

Haroon Rasheed obliged Imam Musa Kazim ibn Imam Jafar Sadiq to remain in Baghdad as a precautionary measure and did not allow him to leave it for fear that the Aliwiites would make him their leader and rebel. On Friday Rajab 25 183 A.H., Imam Musa Kazim died. He was buried in Baghdad. He is regarded as the seventh Imam of the Shiites. His and Imam Mohammad Taqi's graves are located in Baghdad under a dome and are known as Kazimiah.

Ibrahim bin Aghlab and the city of Abbasia

It has been stated above that Haroon Rasheed sent Mohammad bin Muqatil bin Hakam as governor after Harsima bin Ayun's resignation. Muhammad bin Muqatil was Haroon's foster brother. He put down the rebellion in Africa, which was caused by Harsima bin Ayun's departure from Africa. Mohammad bin Muqatil cleverly and intelligently disciplined them into obedient subjects but their silence and obedience was under compulsion. They were ready to revolt at any time, displeased as they were with Muqatil. The main cause of rebellion was that he always consulted the administrator of the state of Zâb, Ibrahim bin Aghlab, who was in a secret conspiracy with the

chiefs of the rebels and helped them and misguided Muqatil. Due to the repeated rebellions in North Africa, 100,000 dinars from the Egyptian treasury had to be spent annually on the upkeep, expenses and defense of the North African government. Africa, instead of creating revenue, had become a liability with the expenditure of 100,000 dinars per annum. Though Mohammad bin Muqatil restored peace expenses to the Egyptian treasury continued as usual. Now Ibrahim bin Aghlab requested Haroon Rasheed to make him the governor of North Africa and in exchange not only would he eliminate the 100,000 dinars per annum expense but would also send him 400,000 dinars per annum as tax. He consulted his advisors. Harsimah bin Ayun said that there was no harm in making him the governor of Africa. So, Haroon Rasheed sent the certificate of governorship to Ibrahim in Muharram 184 A.H. Soon after arriving in North Africa he arrested all the ring leaders of the rebels who he knew well and sent them to Baghdad. That put an end to all disturbances at once. Then he founded a city near Qirwân and called it Abbasia. He made it the capital. His descendants continued to rule over it, which will be recorded later on in the narrative.

That same year 184 A.H. Haroon Rasheed handed over the governorship of Yemen and Makkah to Hammâd Berberi and sent Dawood bin Yazid bin Hatim as the governor of Sindh. Similarly, he gave the governorship of Qahistan and Tabristan to Yahya Huraishi and Maharaya Razi respectively.

In 185 A.H., the inhabitants of Tabristan attacked and killed Maharaya. Then in his place Abdullah bin Sayeed Huraishi was sent. The same year saw the death of the governor of Azerbaijan and Armenia, Yazid bin Mizyad Shebani. His place was taken by his son Asad bin Yazid.

As has already been stated, Ali bin Isa was able to stamp out all rebellions in Khorasan and restore peace after Wahab bin Nisai's death in 186 A.H. Ali bin Isa was not lucky enough to enjoy peace for long. A new intrigue was created against him in Khorasan. The Khorasanis continuously sent letters of complaints to the Caliph's court. Yahya bin Khalid was not pleased with Ali bin Isa as the governor of Khorasan. Yahya's younger sons Musa and Mohammad

who commanded respect and influence in Khorasan had incited Wahab bin Abdullah and Hamza Khwarji to rebel. And it was due to their covert activities that Khorasan continued to reel under the impact of unrest and riots for years. During this period Haroon Rasheed's attention was drawn by Yahya and Jafar to the necessity of removing Ali bin Isa from the governorship of Khorasan. But he did not listen to them on this point. When peace was restored, paper horses started running. It was the result of instigation by the Barmuk family that the Khorasanis began to write letters of grievances against Ali bin Isa. When these letters became countless and the complaints started pouring in that he not only crossed all limits by torturing and persecuting civilians, he also was busy trying to topple the caliphate. Haroon Rasheed, under compulsion, left Baghdad and camped at Rayy. Hearing of the Caliph's arrival Ali bin Isa left Merv with gifts and reached Rayy and called on him and offered proof of his loyalty and sincerity. Being pleased, Haroon Rasheed retained him as the governor of Khorasan and included Rayy, Tabristan, Nahawand, Qomas and Hamdân under his jurisdiction.

Motamin as Crown Prince

The same year, in 186 A.H. Caliph Haroon Rasheed made his third son Qasim as the third heir apparent. He took the oath from the people that Qasim would succeed Mamoon as caliph and on that occasion, he honored him with the title *Motamin*. While making Motamin the third successor following Mamoon, the condition included in the oath was that if Motamin proved himself capable, he would succeed Mamoon otherwise Mamoon would be entitled to remove him and make someone else the successor. He handed over the reins of Iraq, Syria and the Arab countries to the first crown prince. Mamoon was given the Eastern countries and Qasim was entrusted with Saghoor, Jazirah and the Province of Awasim. Ameen, the first crown prince, was made to write an agreement that read:

> "I shall fulfil my commitments to Mamoon" Similarly he made Mamoon write one: I shall fulfill my commitments to Ameen." These arrangements were duly signed by men of repute, the elders, leaders of the army, officials of the government and the

> elders of Madinah and Makkah and it was hung on Ka'bah. They were made to swear to remain content with what they were given and avoid usurping the other brother's territories. This was an order only concerning the matter of succeeding to the caliphate.

First Ameen would be the caliph of the Muslims and Mamoon would obey him. But Ameen would not have any authority to remove him from the governorship of those territories, which were chosen by Haroon. Mamoon would become caliph after Ameen and so on.

There were clarifications of these agreements, which were duly signed by Ameen, Mamoon and the others, which were also hung up on Ka'bah. Thus by dividing his sultanate among his sons Haroon Rasheed wanted to rule out the possibility of any quarrel among them in future. But this was not a wise step on his part and it probably was his paternal affection that compelled him to do such a thing, which was fated to end in failure.

A Remarkable Hajj of Haroon Rasheed

Caliph Haroon Rasheed was very fond of performing Hajj. He never missed any except under the most compelling circumstances. It was his regular practice to go for Hajj and Jihad every alternate year.

No caliph ever performed Hajj as many times as he did but the Hajj he performed in 186 A.H. is specifically remarkable because it was during this pilgrimage that the particular agreement mentioned above was hung on the Ka'bah, and it was after this Hajj that he destroyed the power of Barmuk family.

Haroon left Ambâr for Makkah with the intention to perform Hajj. He was accompanied by his three sons Ameen, Mamoon and Motamin. Jafar bin Yahya, the Prime Minister, was also with him. Finishing the Hajj, he left Makkah for Madinah. He enriched the people of both the places with gifts and rewards. He distributed 10,500,000 dinar (gold coins) as charity on behalf of himself and his sons. He returned from Madinah and camped at Ambâr. At this place, he had Jafar bin Yahya Barmuk killed at the end of Muharram 187 A.H.

The Barmuk Family and Their Downfall

While recording the conditions of Caliph Haroon Rasheed's caliphate, we have reached 187 A.H. In the beginning of this year, Haroon Rasheed had his minister killed and his brother Fadal and father Yahya imprisoned. In the lives of kings and caliphs killing a minister and imprisoning their family is not an extraordinary or unusual event. The histories of kings are replete with such incidents. The feats of kings are written in blood. The ordinary events of the downfall of the Barmuk family and Jafar's murder have assumed ugly proportions due to the machinations of the lovers of tumult, tellers of false tales, novelists and the ignorant worshippers of fantasies. Because there are many educated yet misinformed persons and many fools giving the impression of being wise who have misunderstand Mahmood Ghaznavi and Aurangzeb Alamgir and léad others to follow them and in the process damage the cause of Islam, it is necessary to expose the falsehoods about Mahmood and Alamgir and present the facts. Similarly false propaganda against the murder of Jafar and the downfall of the Barmuk family should be narrated in detail in order to separate reality from fantasy. Therefore, a detailed narration of the events of 187 A.H. is in order. First of all a short history of the Barmuk family will be followed by those false and unfounded narratives which have found publicity among the ignorant and misinformed, which have been quoted by and alluded to by many educated people and then finally the real facts will be given.

The Barmuk Family

The oldest religion of the Iranians was Mah-âbâdi, which entailed worship of the stars more than fire-worship. A number of reformers as revivers came one after another after Mah-âbâd. The last of them was Zoroaster. The religious legal system, which he brought into practice, Allâh alone knows. But from what is gathered, it shows that his religion contained five-worship more than worship of stars. In his lifetime, his religion became the royal religion and spread to most parts of Iran. Asfandyar's wrestling spread it to Afghanistan and the Punjab. The greatest of the Indian scholars Sangrachah Biyas visited

Zoroaster in Balkh, took an oath of obedience, returned to India and started propagating fire-worship, which survives among the Hindus in the form of *hawan* even today. Zoroaster's and his true devotee and the renouncer of his kingdom, King Lahrasab's, final resting place was Balkh. Balkh is as important in relation to Zoroastrianism as Jerusalem is in relation to Christianity or Buddhism is to Gaya (in India). Alexander of Greece destroyed Astkhar, Samarkand, Kangrah, Karachi and Kabul by assault and plunder. This area was part of the Zoroastrian kingdom of the Kyani family and it was this region where fire-worship was in practice. The influx of Greeks not only put an end to the Kyani kingdom but it also put out fire-worship. After some hundreds of years the Iranians were able to shake off the Greek yoke and Sâsân I unified the multiple kingships and anarchy of Iran, picked the sparks out of the Zoroastrian ashes and lighted its hearths. Balkh had been made desolate by the Chinese during Zoroaster's time but it was repopulated very soon and remained their holy city and their direction of prayer. Alexander's flood had diminished the markets of Balkh but it remained the place of hope of the steadfast Zoroastrians. It regained its youth again during the regime of the Sasanids. When the Sasanids breathed their last on the battlefields of Qadsiyah and Nahawand, the light of the hearths of Balkh increased all the more because the defeated emperor of Iran and the rest of the escaping leaders' place of assembly was in Balkh and it was to Balkh they turned and worshipped Yezdân in the hearth known as Naubahar. The spiritual leader of a hearth was called *Mugh* and the chief of the *Mughs,* the superintendent of all hearths of his province and the *Mugh* of this central hearth was known as *Barmugh*. *Mugh* the great spiritual leader of the Naubahar hearth at the sight of the ruin and helplessness of the greatest patron of fire-worship, the Iranian emperor, must have been moved and thought that the religion of which he was one of the leaders, was about to be humiliated and ruined and with it he and the honor of his family would vanish. The hearth of Naubahar was one of the four central hearths. This hearth commanded the greatest popularity and grandeur for Balkh was considered to be the place of Lahrasap's slaughter, Zoroaster's place of residence and the center of Zoroastrians. The Barmugh of Naubahar commanded the greatest respect among the fire-worshipers and the Iranians. In 31 A.H., the

flood of the Muslim victors moved on to Merv sweeping the plain and rolling off the mountains until they reached Balkh and the fire, which was said to have been burning for thousands of years became extinct. Neither the fire-worshippers survived nor the fireplace was needed any more. No group was there to honor Barmugh nor was there income for his luxuries. However, they maintained their title, Barmugh and the victorious Arabs pronounced it as Barmuk. It is incorrect to conclude that the Arabs put a stop to the fire worshippers prayer and converted them to Islam by force by demolishing Naubahar. Had the Muslims converted the fire worshippers to Islam by force, they would have first converted Barmuk. They did not disturb him rather the fire worshippers kept renouncing their religion and embracing Islam by themselves. It was due to this conversion that the Muslims scored victories wonderfully fast. Their arrival in Balkh meant the arrival of Islam there and consequently, it led to the ruin of the hearth of Naubahar and its Barmugh. Because Barmuk was the religious leader, he did not accept Islam for the advent of Islam in the country had damaged him in all respects. He looked on the Muslims in anger. The Mongols and Turkish tribes along the Chinese border, who had nothing to do with the Iranian nation and their religion but were terrified of attacking Balkh, now began to raid. Consequently, the same Mongol chiefs who promised to pay Jizyah to the Muslims began to rule over Balkh and later on proved inconvenient to the Muslims when they gained power. The Mongols removed all traces of fire worship from Balkh and brought the Barmuk family to the level of the lowest section of the society by dishonoring it. The Arabs did not stay there long and internal quarrels did not let them turn their attention to the borders much and thus Balkh remained the target of attacks by the Mongols. The Barmuk who had seen the good and prosperous days of Naubahar hearth and the Zoroastrian kingdom, died. His son, who was a follower of Zoroaster, came to be known by the same name. Barmuk II had not seen the golden days of Naubahar. In 86 A.H. when Qutaiba bin Muslim, the governor of Khorasan, invaded Balkh, a few women were brought into captivity and became slaves. Barmukh II's wife was among those who came into the share of Qutaiba bin Muslim's brother Abdullah bin Muslim. After a short time there was reconciliation with the people of Balkh, all the women

and captives were returned. So, Abdullah bin Muslim had also to return the women. At the time of her departure she said to him, "I have been made pregnant by you." When she reached Barmuk, she gave birth to a child who was Ja'far Barmuk's grandfather named Khalid. This narration may also be lumped with the same fictitious and imaginary stories which are generally written by wonder loving and wonder worshipping authors. However, Khalid was born at the residence of Barmuk II either in 86 or 87 A.H. In 124 A.H., Imam Ibrahim Abbasi sent Abu Muslim Khorasani as the officer and superintendent of his propagation. Abu Muslim enrolled Khalid bin Barmuk in his group when he was forty. Abu Muslim loved him very much and paid special attention to his training and raising his status. When Abu Muslim sent a man from Khorasan and had Abu Salmah Khâlal alias minister to the family of Mohammad murdered, he wrote to Saffah to make Khalid Barmuk his minister. Khalid Barmuk remained in that capacity until Saffah's death. After Saffah when Mansoor Abbasi succeeded to the throne, he retained him as his minister. In the first year of his caliphate, Mansoor had Abu Muslim who was Khalid's patron, killed. Khalid did not show his resentment or sorrow at his death. But Mansoor taking precautionary measures sent him out on the plea of stamping out a rebellion and appointed Abu Ayub as his minister. Since Khalid did not show his stubbornness and disloyalty in any respect, Caliph Mansoor did not neglect to utilize the services of such an efficient and capable man. Khalid's future actions and attitude satisfied Mansoor. Khalid had the experience of being a true disciple of a conspiring and courageous man like Abu Muslim and was well versed in political matters. He harbored dedication and love for Iran in his heart, he had seen with his own eyes the end of Abu Muslim and while his heart was shedding tears of blood, he assumed the posture of a man deeper than Abu Muslim and succeeded in concealing his real intentions from an alert and discerning man like Caliph Mansoor. He remained the ruler of the state of Mousil and the tutor to Mansoor's son. He maintained his status until the end of his life. To be the tutor of Caliph Mahdi proved highly beneficial to him and to his family. He had cleverly positioned himself to be the tutor of Mahdi. He survived Mahdi's accession to the throne and Mansoor's death. This added more to his

honor and status. He died during Mahdi's regime, in 163 A.H., at the age of 77. The second half of his life was spent in watching the birth and death of caliphates and he had himself worked as a dominant figure in ruining caliphates and founding new ones. At the time of his death, his son Yahya was 54 or 50 and he had also seen all these games and disturbances soon after he came of age. He had inherited from his father all thoughts, wishes, precautions and had heard with reverence and sadness the stories of the ruin of his ancestors, the honor of his family and the Iranian empire. He regarded himself as the representative and religious leader of his nation. He knew it fully that a slight error on his part might put an end to the respect and influence he commanded in the Islamic caliphate and bring him down to total destruction. On the other side, he and his father were fully conversant with the internal and family affairs of the caliph. The constant participation in the Caliph's court had kept his heart from being overawed and shattered by the awe of authority.

Khalid Barmuk's deepest plot was this that in 161 A.H. he advised Mahdi to make Yahya the tutor to Haroon Rasheed. As Mahdi himself had remained under his tutelage, he thought it only natural to give his son to Khalid's son to be coached and trained. Even before that when Haroon Rasheed was born of Khaizrân at Rayy, Khalid was with Mahdi there.

It was Khalid again who was instrumental in making Haroon Rasheed his foster grandson, Yahya's son Fadal, foster brothers by letting him suck Yahya's wife's milk and Fadal suck Khaizran's milk. If all these wise steps of Khalid are studied deeply it becomes apparent that he was able to protect his family very intelligently and beautifully for he wanted to achieve a grand feat, that is, to avenge Abu Muslim's murder and bring the ruling power back to the Iranians.

Yahya bin Khalid had educated and trained Haroon. He had impressed Haroon so much that even after being caliph he used to address him as "Respected father" and was shy of talking informally in his presence. Caliph Hadi's caliphate was not in consonance with the plans of the Barmuk family and Yahya had limited influence on Hadi. Yahya thought out such a diabolical plan that Hadi's own mother Khaizrân turned against him. Their mother wishing to save

Haroon's life along with Yahya did away with Hadi by joining together and Hadi was only able to rule for a little more than a year. Yahya's bid for having Haroon accede to the throne was naturally a bid in his own interest. As expected soon after being caliph, Haroon made Yahya his Prime Minister and in charge of all the expeditions. Yahya was not a fool to keep Haroon's mother Khaizrân displeased. He began to do everything in consultation with her and always consulted her on every issue. After a short time, she died and Yahya no longer had to perform even that formality. He worked with so much concentration, sincerity and efficiency in the affairs of the caliphate and expeditions that his love and respect in Haroon's heart kept growing. He took great care and precaution not to make Haroon feel constrained in any way in the expression of his free mind and fulfillment of his heart's desire. It appeared that Yahya's only duty was to try his best to see Haroon's wish and intention fulfilled and that was all. The greatest strategic move he made was that he appointed and assigned quite imperceptibly his relatives, brothers, nephews and like-minded Iranians to responsible posts in the important states of the provinces and appointed many of them to be leaders of the army. He had managed to make his sons Fadal and Jafar brothers to Haroon Rasheed and Haroon called them his brothers and loved them very much. Haroon had put his sons under the guardianship and protection of Fadal and Jafar and when Yahya grew old in 174 A.H. he made his son Fadal his assistant in the ministry of expeditions.

When Yahya bin Abdullah rebelled in 176 A.H. at Delam, it was Fadal bin Yahya who settled it and had landed estates given to him. Haroon entrusted Yahya bin Abdullah to Jafar bin Yahya to keep him under his custody. Haroon had also made Fadal the governor of Khorasan, Tabristan, Rayy and Hamdân in 178 A.H. He had made Fadal the tutor to his son Ameen. During his governorship of Khorasan Yahya prepared a strong and well-armed Iranian army of 500,000 men. After a year, Haroon recalled him from there and appointed him Prime Minister. Yahya was always consulted in all important matters, that is, he continued to partake in all expeditions of the government.

Yahya's second son Jafar had been Haroon Rasheed's chief companion

and a very close friend. He always accompanied him at home and on journeys. He was very sweet-tempered and methodical. In 176 A.H., he was entrusted with the governorship of Egypt in addition to his being the inspector of Police of the royal palaces. Jafar sent Imran bin Mehrân to govern Egypt on his behalf and he lived in the service of Haroon. When rebellions broke out in Damascus and Syria, it was Jafar who went and put them down. Then Haroon made him the governor of Khorasan. Hardly a month had passed when he was made governor and city Magistrate of Baghdad itself.

Jafar entrusted this task to Harsimah bin Ayun and he himself continued to be Haroon's companion. Haroon Rasheed sent for Yahya bin Khalid and said to him, "Please tell Fadal to hand over the portfolios of the prime minister to Jafar because I feel shy to tell Fadal to hand over the job of prime minister to Jafar." So, Yahya, their father, conveyed Haroon's intention to Fadal and thus Jafar became Prime Minister. This shows how much hold this family had on Haroon.

During the period of his ministry Jafar bin Yahya dominated over all the posts and departments of the government so much that he came to be regarded as the real owner and ruler of the government. All the police and palaces of Baghdad were under him. It was he who had brought and appointed the administrators of the states, governors of the provinces and the commanders of the armies. He was the master and superintendent of the treasury to such an extent that when Haroon required money he used to ask Jafar for it. Yahya bin Khalid had other sons too who were officers in the army. He and his sons took great advantage of their authority and influence seamlessly and intelligently. That is, they spent government money lavishly and generously on gifts and rewards besides giving big revenues from estates and setting salaries. Consequently, his generosity made him as popular as Hatim. (This is in reference to Hatim Tai who is considered the proverbial example of generosity in Arabic culture. Editor) There was no one who was not an admirer and supporter of the Barmuk family. They earned large amounts of money and spent the same lavishly in purchasing their reputation and fame until not only in Khorasan and Iraq but also in Syria, Egypt, Arabia, Yemen and far-off countries the people eulogized their generosity and gifts in their odes.

The honor, popularity and power of the Barmuk dynasty had touched the zenith. Except for the fact that they had no accession to the throne of caliphate, they had all the rest at their disposal. But in spite of all this, they could not do anything against the intention of Haroon Rasheed. Haroon Rasheed and his supporters had no chance to question their power and grandeur. However, if hidden under this handling of power was an evil design or rebellion, then there would be no enemy greater and more formidable for them than Haroon Rasheed.

In the beginning of 187 A.H., it was suddenly witnessed that Haroon Rasheed meted out to the dynasty of Barmuk the treatment which is generally meted out to enemies. So we must observe and try to find out whether the Barmuk family had really starting hatching a conspiracy against his caliphate or not and whether Haroon Rasheed came to know about it or not. If the Barmuk family had really an evil intention against Haroon Rasheed and the Abbasid caliphate then however he treated them in the end was absolutely right and lawful. But if the Barmuk family was the same both internally and externally and they were sincerely loyal to him, then none can be a worse judge and tyrant than Haroon. For those who are accustomed to probe superficially, the ruin of the Barmuks may be insoluble and they have covered this knotty problem with the babblings of the inebriated and propped it up to look like a reality.

The Advent of Nadir Khan in India

When Nadir Shah Irani landed on Indian soil and the Indian king brought him to Delhi as a dear guest with peace and friendship, someone in an intoxicated state at a bar said, "Ha! What a magnificent work Mohammad Shah has done by bringing Qazalbash into the fort and having him killed by female guards!" This mindless group with these words let the heads of the Iranians in Delhi get chopped off. At last being compelled Nadir Shah ordered a general massacre in Delhi and it was of such a magnitude that Delhi had not seen the like of it until date. So, it is in the same vein that someone has narrated the cause of Jafar Barmuk's death and said:

"Haroon Rasheed Abbasi had a sister named Abbasah bint Mahdi. He loved her very much. Similarly Jafar bin Yahya, the

> Prime Minister was also his companion and friend who always lived with him. Haroon used to drink with Jafar and Abbasah. Just as he wanted his sister to participate in drinking, similarly he wished his Prime Minister Jafar to keep company with him. So, he had Abbasah married to Jafar so that their meeting and seeing each other without a veil might be lawful. But Jafar and Abbasah were sternly warned that they should not establish physical relations with each other. But they failed to abide by it. When Haroon came to know of it he had him murdered and thus ruined his entire family."

When the novelists and educated ignorant of our times laid their hands on such nonsense, they polished it and propagated this falsehood so much that he who reads these books reposes more faith in it than Quranic verses and Hadith and does not like to hear anything to the contrary.

This canard was authored hundred of years after Jafar's death and Tabri has mentioned it in his book. As the incident contains novelty and was uniquely narrated, wonder loving minds were inclined to it and no one has missed recording this rumor since and we too unfortunately have to refer to this unpleasant story. Tabri and other historians have given other causes as well. But few of them have tried to use wisdom and common sense by discriminating and selecting genuine incidents.

1) Haroon Rasheed is the fifth caliph among the Abbasids. The Abbasids prided themselves on being superior to all Arabs in respect of family honor and race. The entire Arab world recognized their ancestral superiority. It was their family honor that propelled them to rise against Banu Umayyah and they met with success. When they came into power as ruler and caliph of the entire Islamic world, their pride of race increased even more. Arab prejudice and the sense of respect were deeply ingrained in them. In this case, how was it possible for a caliph like Haroon Rasheed to have his sister married to a man that he regarded as a Zoroastrian slave's son and grandson of a man of an unknown father? Admitted, he addressed Jâfar as his brother and his father as "respected father" because he was his tutor. But at the time of marrying his sister, he could not overlook nation,

family and race. If he had turned liberal minded in respect of marriage like the modern people, his relatives who had a single lineage and were in good numbers, could not remain mute spectators at this familial dishonor. Similarly, Abbasah too could not have tolerated such humiliation.

2) It is beyond comprehension that a religious minded man like Haroon Rasheed who went on Hajj and Jihad every alternate year and who was the chief and caliph of the Islamic world could have held drinking parties. If a caliph in Banu Umayyah had taken date juice wine, it created a stir in the whole world and historians have continued to mention this evil act in particular until the present. However, Haroon Rasheed who visited the meetings of the scholars and Allâh-fearing devotees while alone and sat on tattered mats and wept bitterly while listening to their sermons, how could he have anything to do with wine an impure and dirty thing like urine? Elders like Fudail bin Ayâd, Ibn Sammâk and Sufyan Thauri were his friends and companions. A man who performs his Salat five times a day with great regularity, with humility and piety especially the pre-dawn prayer which is performed an hour and a half before sunrise, coupled with hundreds of supererogatory prayers daily, how shameless and injustice it is to call such a man drinker of wine. How can a man who attended a wine party in the night participate in the pre-dawn prayer? How can humility and piety be found in the prayer of a man who is in the habit of taking wine?

3) The scholars in Iraq had given a fatwa about the legality of nabeedh, a mixture of dates and water, and some wealthy people used it but it cannot be connected with the intoxication found in wine. It has never been proved that Haroon Rasheed ever used date-juice or held such a party as mentioned in these false narratives. Until Haroon Rasheed's regime the simplicity and military life of the Arabs persisted which did not include taking wine. The Arab nobility claimed by Haroon Rasheed always condemned wine as an evil so much so that the nobles in the days of ignorance (the period before Islam) never touched it nor did they consider it a proper act of the nobility. That was why the Prophet ﷺ, Abu Bakr ؓ and many others of the nobility of the Arabs never touched it even during the days

before Islam. Haroon Rasheed could not accept this lowness and depravity in violation of the Islamic instruction.

4) Even in the present irreligious condition nobody, however mean and low and addicted to taking wine in public he might be, would like his sister to drink with him. The drinkurd people even they would not like to start a drinking session with other men taking their sisters with them. How could Haroon Rasheed Abbasi who had *Tabiyyen*, (those who were with the companions of the Prophet ﷺ) and *Taba-Tabiyeen*, (those who were with the *Tabiyyen*,) at his court have committed such a shameless act without dying of shame?

5) Those who are addicted to adultery, theft and drinking, generally try to prevent their relatives from doing such things. If Haroon Rasheed had been habituated to it, he could not have persuaded his sister to follow suit. Probably his beloved wife Zubaidah, whom he loved very much, would have been the first to partake it with him. But none has indicated anything of this kind about her and her life is impeccable on this matter. How surprising is it that there were regular and constant recitations of the Qur'ân at her palace while her dear husband was drowned in wine?

6) The historians have written with confidence that there was a Jewish doctor named Jibrail at Haroon Rasheed's court. He partook a meal with the caliph and when he saw harmful things, he stopped him from eating it. Once fish was served to the caliph and he wanted to eat it but the doctor requested him not to and asked the cook to take it away. By chance, one of the caliph's servants found Jibrail eating the same fish at his residence. Then it was suggested that the doctor himself wanted to eat it and so prevented the caliph from consuming it. The servant communicated this to Haroon. It was a small incident and Haroon Rasheed could have said nothing to him except laugh it off. When the doctor came to know that the caliph was informed of the incident, he put three pieces of the fish into three separate bowls. He put meat and other things eaten by the caliph into a bowl and mixed them. He put ice water in the second bowl. He then poured wine in the third bowl. Then he presented the three bowls before the caliph and said, "The first two bowls contain what you have eaten and the third contains what I have eaten." When he looked into them, he

found that the contents had rotted and were giving off a bad smell. However, the bowl that contained the wine and fish had not rotted. The doctor saved himself from being put to shame and explained to the caliph, "As I take wine, the fish was not harmful to me. And as you do not take wine, I stopped you from eating it." This episode bears proof that Haroon Rasheed abstained from wine.

7) Actually, Abbasah was married to Mohammad bin Sulaiman. When he died and she became a widow, she was then married to Ibrahim bin Saleh bin Ali who was Haroon Rasheed's close relative and descendent from Abbas. To attribute such a falsehood to such a noble and pious lady is a proof of the lowness of the liar. He who tries to prove falsehood to be a fact is certainly a man of devilish nature. The strangest point in this allegation is that Haroon took care of following the Islamic law in finding a legal way to allow Jafar and Abbasah to look at each other but he forgot the Islamic law concerning drinking.

The Reality Behind the Extermination of the Barmuks

Power and kingdoms are objects that create enmity between two brothers and between father and son. The histories of governments and kingdoms bear witness to this. The Abbasids killed without any hesitation anyone whom they thought to be harmful to their authority. When Caliph Mansoor saw that Abu Muslim wanted to capture power, he put him to death at once. Sometimes the companions and officials of kings and rulers take advantage of this habit and nature and they attempt to prove a man, who they want to be harmed by the king, to be a rebel. The officer of Mansoor's bodyguards was Rabi bin Yunus who descended from Uthman bin Affan's servant Kaisân. He was the greatest confidant of Mansoor and he also was his advisor. He wielded much power and authority during Mansoor's regime. It was Rabi who is said to have advised him to kill Abu Muslim. Mansoor made Abu Ayub his minister in place of Khâlid Barmuk but in 153 A.H., he appointed Rabi bin Yunus instead. At Mansoor's death, it was he who managed the oath of Mahdi's caliphate. During Mahdi's caliphate, he retained his post as minister but since he was known as the *Hajib* (literally the covering or in the political sense one who speaks for the caliph without actually involving him), Mahdi made

Abu Abdullah Muawiya bin Yasar his minister also and assigned to him most of the departments of the government. After some time, Rabi had Abu Abdullah censured, deposed and jailed. Then Mahdi appointed Yaqub bin Dawood. He was also censured and removed after some time. Then he selected for the job Faiz bin Abi Saleh who came from a Christian family in Nishapur. In short, Rabi bin Yunus did not let any minister succeed and he remained the only important minister. When Hadi's caliphate was established after Mahdi's, Rabi's authority reached its pinnacle because Hadi had invested him with all powers. It was at his insistence that Khaizran was distanced from dabbling in state affairs. Hadi and Rabi died almost at the same time. Rabi's son Fadal bin Rabi expected to be appointed to a high post but soon after coming into power Haroon handed over the entire administration of the caliphate to Yahya bin Khalid. Yahya bin Khalid belonged to Abu Muslim's group as has been mentioned above. He hated Rabi bin Yunus because it was he who was instrumental in having Abu Muslim murdered and doubt cast upon Yahya's father Khalid bin Barmuk and had him deposed as minister and had his own friend Abu Ayub appointed. Yahya bin Khalid did not let Fadal bin Rabi get a post and by retaining the post of Hajib for himself, he snatched away all his powers and reduced him to being totally ineffectual. It is clear that there existed old and strong enmity between the Barmuk family and Fadal bin Rabi. With the rise of the Barmuk's power, Fadal bin Rabi's enmity and hatred also increased. However, since Haroon fully relied upon the Barmuks, Fadal could not harm them. In such a situation, there was only one alternative for Fadal and that was to find real proof of the Barmuks' disloyalty, betrayal and rebellion and then guide the Caliph against them and thus serve his purpose. Since Barmuk was very experienced, clever and alert, Fadal bin Rabi could not find any opportunity to have him accused but he continued to study all his activities minutely. The Barmuks had collected so many supporters by virtue of their generosity and endowments of wealth that Fadal bin Rabi found it difficult to find a confidant. Haroon wanted to give him a post in view of his old and ancestral connections but since his mother Khaizran was angry with Fadal and his father Rabi for trying to limit her influence in the time of Hadi, she insisted that her son stop trying to assist Fadal bin Rabi and

Yahya supported her on this point. When she died in 174 A.H. Haroon recruited him as the head clerk of his accounts office and then Fadal bin Rabi had a bit more influence than before.

When Yahya bin Abdullah came from Delan with Fadal bin Jafar, Haroon Rasheed wanted to imprison him despite the treaty he had written. First, he sought a fatwa (religious decision) from some scholars. Hearing this the Barmuks recommended Yahya bin Abdullah to the Caliph because the latter shared Abu Muslim Khorasani's faith and supported the partisans of the Prophet's family internally. Haroon Rasheed put Yahya bin Abdullah under Jafar bin Yahya's charge and asked him to keep him under his custody. Jafar kept him with respect and comfort.

When Haroon Rasheed sent Ali bin Isa as the governor of Khorasan in 180 A.H., Yahya bin Khalid as stated earlier, opposed that appointment. That was perhaps Haroon Rasheed's first act that he did in defiance of Yahya bin Khalid's intentions and wishes. As Yahya, his sons and relatives had been dominating all the countries, the Barmuks did not give Ali bin Isa any rest. Yahya's son Musa bin Yahya pooled up all his resources and started inciting rebellions and breaches of the law one after another. Ali bin Isa came upon it by chance as to who engineered all the disturbances in Khorasan. He dispatched a letter to Haroon briefing him on the situation and complaining against Musa bin Yahya. This complaint and the contrary complaint of Yahya's created a doubt in Haroon Rasheed's mind. As a result when news after news regarding Ali bin Isa's preparation for revolt started pouring into the caliph's court, Haroon Rasheed did not send any Amir or commander to him. Rather he himself marched to Khorasan with his army. He encamped at Rayy in 186 A.H. He had a slight doubt and he never doubted the Barmuks. He did know that the Barmuks disliked Ali bin Isa living in Khorasan. When Ali bin Isa sent letters against Musa bin Yahya and Yahya bin Khalid's other sons and relatives that they created mischief in Khorasan, Haroon Rasheed's attention was seriously drawn towards the problem of Khorasan. He did not disclose to the Barmuks nor could they know by themselves how curiously and minutely the Caliph was watching them. They had the letters of complaints against Ali sent to Haroon Rasheed. Had they

realized that Haroon Rasheed was casting doubtful eyes towards them, they would never have sent them and would never have accused Ali bin Isa of revolt. When Haroon Rasheed arrived at Rayy, Ali bin Isa paid a respectful visit to him and told him in detail about the situations in Khorasan. He informed him that the whole of Khorasan and all its provinces were in the grip of the Barmuks and they were completely ready to avenge Abu Muslim Khorasani's death. Understanding this one can well imagine how seriously Haroon Rasheed was affected by this shocking news. Knowing how dependant he was on the Barmuks and realizing the implications of their activities in Khorasan was a nightmarish scenario for him to contemplate. He encouraged Ali bin Isa and sent him to Rayy and he returned with his emotions fully suppressed and buried in his heart. After Ali bin Isa had left, Fadal bin Rabi, who finally had concrete evidence against Jafar Barmuk, communicated the shocking news to Haroon Rasheed that Jafar Barmuk had released Yahya bin Abdullah who had gone somewhere to prepare to lead a revolt. When meeting Jafar and in the course of their talk, Haroon Rasheed asked Jafar about Yahya bin Abdullah. Jafar told him that he was still under house arrest. Haroon Rasheed asked him whether he could say that under oath. This made Jafar extremely nervous and he realized that the secret was out. He steadied and said, "Yahya bin Abdullah has been living under my care for a long time and I did not apprehend any danger from him. So I did not see any harm in releasing him." This was the most critical point for Haroon Rasheed. If he had shown his displeasure at that moment, the Barmuks would have never come under his control and would then have made use of all those resources, which they had made available both materially and morally. Confrontation with the Barmuks was no easy job for Haroon Rasheed and probably they would not have given him breathing time and would not have let him make a sign indicative of distress, because 25 persons among Yahya bin Khalid's sons and grandsons were men of letters and sword who remained present at his palace in different posts on the grounds. They had under their possession the keys to the administration and provisions for all territories. All the military commanders were appointed by them and they were all loyal to them. All the administrative officers and high officials were their appointees.

The Scholars, Legal Experts and spiritual leaders were not out of their control because they served them much and obliged them. All the poets were their admirers. They were popular with their subjects by virtue of their generosity and so from the west to the east they had become liked by the people at large. They had made such large scale and fool proof preparations that several Haroon Rasheeds would not have succeeded. But Haroon Rasheed steadied himself and after hearing about Yahya bin Abdullah's release from Jafar said carelessly, "I simply asked you about him by the way. That you have let him go is very good. I was myself about to ask you to release him right now."

It is easy to imagine that the release of a person like Yahya bin Abdullah was in reality a shock to Haroon Rasheed. The Alawiites' revolt did not give the Abbasids any rest throughout their reign and Yahya bin Abdullah was not an ordinary man whose freedom from captivity could be insignificant to Haroon Rasheed. Anyway, Haroon Rasheed succeeded on this occasion and concealed his feelings. At that same time, another incident took place. On the occasion of some feast, the officials of the government and Iranian chiefs were present. Somebody said, "How intelligently Abu Muslim transferred the rule from one dynasty to another." Jafar said, "It was not a praiseworthy piece of work because he did it by killing 600,000 people. It would have been more admirable if it was done quietly." There was someone at the party who heard and narrated the incident to Haroon Rasheed who was sure that Jafar was the man who wanted to do it himself. Then in order to put the Barmuks off their guard he started drafting the documents for distributing the powers of succession and territory among his sons. This was the kind of work that was not expected to be taken up by a caliph who was aware of a serious conspiracy against him. This was the greatest allusion and trap that Haroon Rasheed led the Barmuks into. He could neither spend much time in the affairs nor could he put the Barmuks off their guard for long. So, in 186 A.H. he came back to Rayy, took *bay'at* for Motamin's succession, prepared the deed of distribution and had the treaty written and duly signed by Ameen and Mamoon. Then he went for Hajj, gave alms to the needy, came to Madinah, gave away rewards and alms and returned. He then arrived at Ambar and suddenly on the last night of Muharram, he killed Jafar, put his father and brother into captivity and did not

give anyone a chance to move against him.

Haroon Rasheed reached Ambâr and one night he sent for his Hajib Masroor and said to him, "Take a reliable body of Sarhangis and go to Jafar's tent, call him to the door and cut off his head and come back." Masroor was horrified to hear it. But Haroon Rasheed said to him silently, "This order of mine must be complied with without any delay." Masroor left at once, went to Jafar's tent and came back with his head. That same night Caliph Haroon Rasheed put Jafar's father and brothers into jail and at once issued an order that Jafar's, Fadal's and Yahya's property wherever it was must be confiscated. Then all the members of the Barmuk dynasty were arrested and sent to jail, and all their appointees were removed from all responsible posts in the government. Thus, Haroon Rasheed in a single night succeeded in warding off the danger of the Barmuks and heaved a sigh of relief. He achieved this feat in such a manner that no one had time to create any opposition. He very much relied on Yahya bin Khalid's brother Mohammad bin Khalid Burmuk's loyalty and it is possible that he might have revealed some secrets to Haroon Rasheed. He was not arrested. On the other hand a respectable member of Haroon Rasheed's family Abdul Malik bin Saleh bin Ali bin Abdullah bin Abbas who was his grandfather, entered into the conspiracy with the Barmuks because he was promised to be made caliph. After taking the Barmuks captive, Haroon Rasheed held Abdul Malik bin Saleh captive. Abdul Malik bin Saleh's son Abdur Rahman stood witness against his father and Abdul Malik remained in captivity. Mamoon set him free during his regime. Ibrahim bin Uthman bin Naheek was also an accomplice in the conspiracy and was put to death. Yahya Barmuk and Fadal Barmuk died in captivity in 190 A.H. and 193 A.H. respectively.

As the Barmukis gave money to the people thoughtlessly and patronized the poets, the people in general who were unaware of the reality, felt shocked and they declared Haroon Rasheed a tyrant. The poets wrote elegies, the storytellers narrated their generosity and qualities with exaggeration. Haroon Rasheed did not make information of the conspiracy public and issued strict orders against any discussion about the Barmuks. During his regime, the public in general never found out the real cause of the removal of the Barmuks.

Had the public come to know about the betrayal and conspiracy of the Barmuks, Haroon Rasheed and the government of the Abbasids would have lost their hold and it would have given rise to new conspiracies. It was his foresightedness that he did not make any public statement about them and by so doing kept the people terror stricken, overawed and puzzled and this was most suited to keeping the rule of the Abbasids intact. If the common people were allowed to air their views about the fall of the Barmuks, their supporters and admirers who were present everywhere in great numbers might have opened their mouths and the wind of opposition might have started blowing against the Abbasids. In this particular case, no other strategy was more suitable than the one he adopted.

The Barmuks claimed to be the lovers of the Prophet's family and supporters of the descendents of Abi Talib. The Alwites took their ruin as a personal loss and even today, the partisans of Ali ✤ and partisans of Husain ✤ are found mourning over their death and destruction. Their love for knowledge and patronage of the scholars is narrated exaggeratedly and colorfully although that Zoroastrian family did not do any extraordinary or significant service to Islam and the Muslims. The cause of their death and destruction is quite evident and there is no room for doubt, in order to save his sultanate Haroon Rasheed killed the Barmuks as a king who destroys his enemies to safeguard his kingdom. He held also grand father a captive with Barmeeks. There is no need to mix speculative and nonsensical theories with a matter that is clear.

Other Events of Haroon's Regime

We have reached 187 A.H. in recording conditions and important events of Haroon Rasheed's regime. After the incident of the Barmuk family, Haroon Rasheed sent his son Motamin to the province of Awasim, Motamin invaded Rome and sent Abbâs bin Jafar bin Ash'ath to lay siege to the fort of Sanân. The Romans failed to put up any resistance and by returning 320 Muslim prisoners made a settlement with the Muslims. During the same period, the Romans deposed their queen and made a commander Nagfoor their king. Mention has already been made that the Romans, out of fear of the

French king Charlemagne after his capture of Italy made peace with Haroon Rasheed. The first thing Nagfoor did after assuming power was to make an agreement with the French King and after settling the matter of jurisdiction with him wrote a letter to Haroon Rasheed:

> The Queen, because of her natural weakness and too much pressure, came to terms with you and continued to pay you the Jizya. This was from her foolishness. Now you must repay all the taxes you have collected from us and promise to give payment as a fine or we will punish you with our swords.

When this letter was received and read by Haroon Rasheed, he flew into such a rage that the officials and ministers around him had no courage to remain sitting there and left the court silently. Haroon wrote on the back of the same letter:

> In the name of Allâh who is most Beneficent and Merciful. From Amir al-Muminin Haroon Rasheed to the Roman dog. You, the son of unbelief, I read your letter. You will see its reply with your own eyes. You need not read it. That is all.

He wrote the above reply and sent back the letter. The same day he left Baghdad with the army for the Roman territories, arriving there he besieged its capital Herculah. Nagfoor was at a loss and finding himself powerless to resist, begged him to be excused and promised to pay him the Jizya. Having defeated and humiliated him Haroon returned after exacting a promise from him to pay more Jizya than before. He had hardly reached the city of Riqqah when Nagfoor violated the peace treaty and prepared to rebel. He was sure that due to winter the Muslim soldiers would not dare to launch an attack on them. However, as soon as Haroon heard this news he left Riqqah, entered Roman territory and conquered and destroyed many forts. He continued to capture Roman territory until he confronted Nagfoor, who pleaded for forgiveness again. Haroon collected the full amount of tax and brought most parts of the territory under his control.

The same year, 187 A.H. Ibrahim bin Adham died. (Ibrahim Adham was a prince from Balkh who gave up his worldly power and wealth to become an ascetic.)

In 188 A.H., the Roman King Nagfoor gave indications that he was going to rebel again. Ibrahim bin Jibrail from Safsâf invaded Rome. The Roman Emperor himself came out to fight. However, he could not stand the pressure, was decisively defeated and left 40,000 Roman soldiers dead while he escaped. The Islamic army returned victorious.

In 189 A.H., caliph Haroon Rasheed went to Rayy and made adjustments in the administration by deposing and appointing new administrators in the provinces west of Khorasan. He consoled and encouraged Marzaban Delam by sending him a certificate of pardon and safety. The elders and rulers of the border regions visited him and assured him of their loyalty. He made Abdul Malik bin Mâlik the ruler of Tabristan, Rayy, Qumas, and Hamadân. The same year another exchange of prisoners between the Romans and the Muslims took place. The same year Imâm Muhammad bin Hasan Shibani, Abu Hanifa's disciple died at Al-Zambuwaih near Rayy and the same day Kisai Nahvi also died. Both had been in the company of Haroon Rasheed. He joined the burial service and when he returned from the graveyard, he said, "We have buried both Fiqah and Nahw today."

In 190 A.H., Haroon Rasheed made his son Mamoon his deputy at Riqqah, handed over to him all the affairs of the government and invaded Rome with 135,000 soldiers following Nagfoor's violation of the peace treaty. He surrounded the fort and after thirty days, he conquered it and captured and killed the Romans. Then he sent Dawood bin Isa bin Musa with 70,000 soldiers to capture other Roman forts. This army shook up the entire Roman Empire. During the same period Sharjeel bin Maan bin Zaidah captured Saqaliah, Dalbashah and other forts. Yazid bin Mukhlid and Abdullâh bin Mâlik conquered the forts of Qauniyah and Mukhallad respectively. Humaid bin Mayuf, the Admiral, repaired the Syrian and Egyptian fleet and invaded Cyprus, defeated the inhabitants and took the entire island as spoils of war and brought 17,000 men as captives. Then Haroon encircled Tawwanah. In short, the Muslims made up their mind to create an upheaval in the Roman Empire, put an end to and settle the frequent battles once and for all. Nagfoor felt helpless he accepted to pay the taxes and sent a sum of 50,000 Asharfis to Haroon on behalf of himself and on behalf of his son and the bishops. He sent

an appeal to Haroon requesting him to return a certain woman from among the captives of Herculah for she was betrothed to his son. The caliph granted his request and sent back the said woman. Taking pity upon Nagfoor for his entreaties and humility, he returned his country to him in exchange for 300,000 Asharfis and the normal taxes. Immediately after his return, the Romans revolted again. The same year 190 A.H. Khalid bin Yazid bin Hâtim was made Governor of Mousil and Harsimah bin Ayun was entrusted with the task of constructing the fort of Tartoos. 3,000 soldiers of Khorasan and 1,000 soldiers of Masisah and Antakya were busy constructing the fort of Tartoos. It was completed in 192 A.H. The same year Kharmiyah in Azerbaijan revolted. Abdullâh bin Mâlik with 10,000 soldiers was sent to punish him. He defeated the rebels and killed the captives and put an end to the mischief. The same year on 3 Muharram 190 A.H. Yahya Barmuk died in Riqqah in captivity. He was 71. His funeral service was led by his son Fadal bin Yahya.

In 191 A.H., Haroon Rasheed made Muhammad bin Fadal bin Sulaiman the governor of Mousil. The Governorship of Makkah was given to Fadal bin Abbâs.

Rebellion in Khorasan

It has already been mentioned that when Ali bin Isa was appointed governor of Khorasan, the Baramuks incited Wahab bin Abdullâh and Hamza bin Atrak to revolt. Wahab was killed but Hamza survived and escaped and he continued to plunder in the area. Ali bin Isa, the Amir of Khorasan, deputed Yahya bin Ash'ath the Administrator of Samarkand and Mawaraunnahr. There was a famous chief in the army of Mawaraunnahr named Rafe bin Laith bin Nasr bin Sayyar who was linked with the organization of the Barmuk family. He hated Caliph Haroon and Ali bin Isa. Yahya bin Ash'ath married a certain woman and Rafe bin Laith became involved with her and she wanted to be divorced from Yahya but he would not divorce her. Rafe suggested a way out saying, "Announce that you have become an atheist and present two witnesses. Your marriage with him will automatically be terminated. Embrace Islam after that and then I shall marry you." She acted upon his advice and by this trickery married

Rafe. It was a technique to annul the marriage, this was probably the first time this legal trick was used. Yahya bin Ash'ath sent a detailed report about all these events to Haroon Rasheed. He wrote to Ali bin Isa the governor of Khorasan, to separate the woman from Rafe, and exercise the Islamic law concerning his case, mount him on a donkey and display him in Khorasan. So, in compliance he was separated from her and sent to jail in Samarkand. One day he escaped from the jail and went to Ali bin Isa, the governor, in Balkh. Ali bin Isa wanted to execute him but his son made a recommendation for him and Ali bin Isa ordered him to be sent to Yahya bin Ash'ath in Samarkand. Rafe arrived there and killed the administrator and occupied Samarkand.

At this news Ali bin Isa sent his son Isa bin Ali to Samarkand. Isa bin Ali was killed in the fighting. Then Ali bin Isa, taking his army, left Balkh and came to Merv before Rafe could capture it. This occurred in 191 A.H. Caliph Haroon Rasheed heard about Rafe's crimes, deposed Ali bin Isa from the governorship of Khorasan and deputed Harsimah bin Ayun in his place. The fact was that all the chiefs of the Khorasan army and the members of the Baramuk's group had joined Rafe. Harsimah bin Ayun arrived in Samarkand and besieged Rafe. Rafe's defense continued for a long time.

The Death of Haroon Rasheed

After punishing the Romans, defeating and humiliating Nagfoor and collecting all taxes from him, Haroon Rasheed returned to Riqqah. Here he was apprised of the crimes of Rafe bin Laith and the disloyalty of some Khorasani leaders. He made up his mind to go to Khorasan. He made provisions for the army, left Riqqah in Shâbân 192 A.H. and then marched on to Baghdad. While departing, Haroon made Motamin his deputy at Riqqah and Khuzaima bin Khazim his assistant. He then made his son Ameen his deputy in Baghdad and ordered Mamoom to stay with him there. Mamoon's scribe, Fadal bin Sahal, said to Mamoon. "It is not proper for you to remain with Ameen in Baghdad try to accompany the Caliph." Mamoom requested from his father to be allowed to accompany him and he granted it. Just as Haroon was about to leave Baghdad, Fadal bin

Yahya Barmuk died in captivity in Muharram 193 A.H. When he was busy fighting the Romans, he became sick and reached Riqqah in the same state of illness. When he came to Baghdad, he was still ill and it was in that condition that he left for Khorasan with the army. The Caliph left Baghdad and reached Jurjan in Safar 193 A.H. His illness took a turn for the worse there. He made an announcement before all the military commanders at Jurjan. "Whatever army and military equipment with me at the moment, it will remain attached to Khorasan and Mamoon. He is the commander and owner of all these armies and all the commanders will obey him." Relieved in this way from Mamoon's position Haroon Rasheed sent him to Merv in the company of leaders like Abdullâh bin Mâlik Yahya bin Ma'az, Asad bin Khuzaima, Abbas bin Jâfar bin Muhammad bin Ash'ath and Naim bin Hazim. After sending Mamoon to Merv, he went to Tus. He was then accompanied by Fadal bin Rabi, Ismail bin Sabih, Mansoor Hajib Husain and Jibrail bin Bakhtishu. At Tus his condition worsened and he was bed-ridden. We have read above about the fight between Harsimah bin Ayun and Rafe bin Laith. Bukhara was conquered and Rafe's brother Bashir bin Laith was arrested. Harsimah sent him to the Caliph's court. When Haroon was in his sickbed, Bashir was led into his presence. Haroon ordered his death and he was killed very mercilessly. After giving the execution order, Haroon became unconscious. When he regained his consciousness, he ordered a grave to be dug in a corner of the home where he was staying. When it was ready, a few Quran readers descended into it and recited the whole Quran. He had his cot shifted to the graveside and lying on it he continued to look at the grave. In that state, he died on the night of 3 Jamad Thani 193 A.H. corresponding to 24 March 808 AD. His funeral service was led by his son Saleh. He had been Caliph for 23 years and two and half months. His grave in Tus is well known.

Haroon Rasheed was married to Zubaidah bint Jâfar bin Mansoor. Her kunya was Umm Jâfar. Muhammad Ameen was born to her. Ali, Abdullâh, Mamoon, Qasim, Motamin, Muhammad Mu'tasim, Saleh, Muhammad Abu Musa, Muhammad Abu Yaqub, Abul Abbâs, Abu Sulaiman, Abu Ali and Abu Ahmad all were born to his slave-girls. Among his sons, four are famous Ameen, Mamoon, Mu'tasim and Mohasin. Mohasin was not literate and so Haroon did not regard him

fit for succession. However, he became caliph and many of his descendents were Abbasid caliphs and Haroon Rasheed's line continued through him. Just as he left many sons at the time of his death, he left many daughters as well who were all born from his slave-girls.

Haroon Rasheed should be considered as the high point in the Abbasid dynasty. The Abbasid caliphate became powerful and touched its zenith during his administration. The descendents of Abi Talib and other conspiring groups felt discouraged in their efforts. He was a great lover of knowledge and cared very much for Islam. He completely uprooted the evil of atheists. The Christian Empire of Rome paid taxes to him. He left 900,000,000 dinars in the treasury at his death. He was the ruler of the entire Islamic world except Spain and Morocco. It was during his period of rule that the work of composition and compilation of the Islamic sciences was begun in earnest. The Jewish and Christian scholars were honored and patronized in the court of Baghdad. He endowed the Christians with military commands and kept them in his company as friends. During his Caliphate, the Indian scholars reached Baghdad directly or through the Governor of Sindh and they were all honored. Books in Hebrew were translated and the compilation of various sciences and arts were introduced. During his rule, the life of the people was comfortable and they enjoyed a high level of wealth and prosperity. Poetry and music also flourished in Baghdad in this period. Story tellers wrote fictitious and fanciful tales about Haroon, which became popular in the world and created a good deal of misunderstanding about him (this is a reference to 1001 Nights among other works). Haroon Rasheed was a brave and military-minded man. He spent months and years happily in the saddle of his horse. And when he was in the company of the ascetic, he appeared to be an ascetic, and when among the legal scholars, he was a legal scholar of the first order and similarly when sitting with scholars of the Prophet's traditions, he was an excellent scholar in this field as well. He was an enemy to the atheists, with the followers of other religions he dealt kindly and sympathetically. He was extremely fond of three things Hajj, Jihad and charity. He was very sensitive and softhearted. Whenever anybody sincerely lectured him and made him fear hell, he wept bitterly.

One day Ibn Sammâk was sitting with Haroon. Haroon felt thirsty and he asked for water and water was brought. When he wanted to drink, Ibn Sammâk said: "O Amir al-Muminin! Stop a moment." Haroon Rasheed said, "Yes?" Ibn Sammâk said, "If you can't get water when you are most thirsty, how much will you spend to get a bowl of water?" Haroon Rasheed said, "I shall exchange it for half of my realm." Ibn Sammâk said, "Now, you may drink." When he finished Ibn Sammâk said, "O Amir al-Muminin! If this water remains in your abdomen and does not come out, how much will you spend to take it out?" Haroon Rasheed said, "Half of my realm if need be." Ibn Sammâk said, "Enough. Now you must know that the price of your whole realm is equal to a bowl of water and a bowl of urine. You must not be proud of it." Haroon Rasheed burst into tears and continued to weep for a long time.

Once Haroon Rasheed requested a righteous and pious man to advise him. He said, "If your friend is such as makes you fear leading to good results he is better than the friend who makes you careless of and indifferent to fear leading to bad results." Haroon Rasheed requested him to explain what he said. He replied, "If anybody who tells you that on the day of judgment you will be questioned about your subjects and so you fear Allâh much it is better than he who tells you that you are from among the family of the Prophet (ﷺ) and that by virtue of your proximity to the Prophet (ﷺ), all your sins will be forgiven." Hearing it he wept so much that those sitting near by began to feel pity for him,

Qadi Fudail says, "Except two Kings there is none who has undertaken a journey for religious knowledge during his student days. One is Haroon Rasheed who along with his sons Ameen and Mamoon went on a journey to listen to the Mu'atta of Imam Malik and the manuscript that was read from is available with the Egyptian Kings. The second is Sultan Salahuddin Ayyubi who traveled to Alexandria to give audience to the Muwatta of Imam Malik.

Haroon Rasheed was interested in polo and archery. He was 45 when he died. Doctor Jibrail bin Bakhtishu committed an error in treating him and that was why the Doctor was considered pro Ameen and his *Hijab*, spokesman, Masroor was considered a supporter of Mamoom.

While Haroon was on the journey, his condition continued to worsen and his son Ameen wrote some letters addressed to Haroon Rasheed's companions and sent them through Bakr bin Al-Motamir. Those letters were purported to have been written for the sake of the oath being taken for his caliphate, presuming Haroon Rasheed dead. One letter was addressed to his brother Saleh to come to him at once with all the army, equipment and the treasury after consulting Fadal bin Rabi. The same types of letters were addressed to other companions of Haroon Rasheed. A similar letter was written to Fadal bin Rabi. The letters assured all the chiefs they would be retained in their respective posts. Haroon came to know of the event and the arrival of Bakr bin Almotamir by chance. He sent for him and questioned him about the purpose of his visits. When he failed to give a satisfactory reply, he was imprisoned.

Haroon Rasheed died after this incident. Fadal bin Rabi had Bakr released from the jail and he distributed Ameen's letters. When the leaders went through them, they had consultations. As all were eager and anxious to go back to their native land Baghdad, Fadal bin Rabi was able to take all of them to Baghdad and the orders left by Haroon and their commitments to Mamoon were all forgotten.

Ameen Rasheed bin Haroon Rasheed

Muhammad Ameen bin Haroon bin Mahdi bin Mansoor Abbasi was born to Zubaidah Khatoon. Ameen and Mamoon were the same age. Haroon had set Ameen to be Caliph after him and making Mamoon the permanent ruler of Khorasan and other eastern countries. He exhorted Ameen not to depose Mamoon from the governorship of Khorasan and advised Mamoon not to disobey Ameen. When Haroon Rasheed died as Tus, Mamoon was in Merv and Ameen was in Baghdad. Saleh was with Haroon Rasheed. The day after his death the 4th of Jamad-at-Thani 193 A.H. the chiefs and soldiers of Haroon's army took the oath at Saleh's hands in Tus for Ameen's caliphate. The officer of the Postal Department Hamwaih at once informed his deputy in Baghdad of the incident. He therefore conveyed to Ameen the news of Haroon's death and Ameen's succession. Saleh bin Haroon also reported the matter to his brother Ameen and

congratulated him on becoming Caliph and sent to him the caliph's ring, staff and coverlet. At that time Haroon Rasheed's wife and Ameen's mother Zubaidah Khatoon was in Riqqah and the caliph's treasury was under her procession. At the receipt of this news, Ameen went to the central mosque and delivered a sermon to the people. He narrated how Haroon died and took the oath from the people. At this news Ameen's mother along with the royal treasury left Riqqah for Baghdad. Ameen went to Ambar to receive her and brought her to Baghdad with great honor. When Mamoon in Merv heard the news of his father's death, he assembled all the Amirs and commanders and sough their views as to what he should do. Notables among them were Abdullâh bin Mâlik, Yahya bin Maaz, Shabeeb bin Humaid bin Qahtabah, Allamah Hajeb Abbas bin Zuhair, Ayyub bin Abi Sameer, Abdur Rahman bin Abdul Mâlik bin Saleh and Fadal bin Sahal. Mamoon and all these leaders had been with Haroon Rasheed on the journey from Baghdad to Jurjan. During the journey, Fadal bin Sahal tried to attract the commanders and other leaders to Mamoon and many of them assured him that they would join Mamoon's supporters. However, Fadal bin Rabi who was Ameen's supporter arrived in Tus and after Haroon's death and due to Fadal bin Rabi's efforts all who were present in Tus, took the oath for Ameen and went to Baghdad without thinking that they should have paid a visit to Mamoon in keeping with Haroon's will that Mamoon was the owner of all the armies and provisions of the journey. All the chiefs who were with Mamoon supported him as the ruler of the eastern countries. Some of them advised him that Fadal bin Rabi was still on the way and he could be brought back with the help of the army. But Fadal bin Sahal disapproved it saying, "If they are brought back in this way, there is apprehension that they will play false and prove harmful. Although, it is certainly proper that those who professed obedience and promised help and sympathy should be contacted through messenger and be reminded of their promises they made to Haroon Rasheed in response to his will." So two messengers were sent. When they visited Fadal and the others, they found them to be their adversaries. Some abused Mamoon openly. They barely escaped, with their lives and returned with great difficulty then they reported all they had seen with their eyes. Mamoon was sure that he would not

be allowed to bring under his control the eastern countries, this made him very worried and thoughtful. Fadal bin Sahal, in the east, took up the gauntlet to make Mamoon the caliph. There were people among Mamoon's men who disliked him to be the caliph but wanted him to remain in power the eastern countries. But Fadal bin Sahal and his friends did not like Ameen's caliphate and were in favor of Mamoon to be the caliph. Fadal bin Sahal's father Sahal was a new Muslim who was originally a Zoroastrian who embraced Islam in Haroon Rasheed's times and it was Haroon who appointed his son Fadal as clerk to his own son Mamoon. Because of his cultural preferences, he wanted to make Mamoon the Caliph.

The fact was that Ameen's mother, Zubaidah Khatoon, was a Hasimiite which gave him the support of the Arabs. Mamoon's mother was Iranian by race therefore, the Iranians and the Khorasanis supported Mamoon. Ameen was present among the Arabs in Baghdad and Mamoon was among his supporters the Iranians in Merv. Zubaidah Khatoon hated Mamoon. The Arab leaders who supported the Abbasids disliked the Alawiites. However, in Khorasan the supporters of the Alawiites were found in large number. Jafar Barmuk, who supported the Alawiites, was Mamoon's tutor. Therefore, Mamoon was more popular in the eastern countries like Khorasan. Fadal bin Rabi who hated the Baramuk family was displeased with Mamoon. In brief, Mamoon and Ameen's intentions were not clear and not without selfish concerns and they were surrounded by leaders, who were divided into two groups both antagonistic to each other. Therefore, immediately after Haroon's death both these groups under the leadership of Ameen and Mamoon started a trial of strength and were not pleased with each other. In order to win the hearts of the Khorasanis one quarter of their taxes were excused in addition to promising them a grant of honor and promotions for the Khorasani leaders. The Iranians were overjoyed and said, "Mamoon Rasheed is our sister's son. He will definitely raise our status and authority." On the other side Mamoon called the scholars and legal experts of Merv and said, "Please influence the people through your sermons and keep the situation under control." Under the prevailing conditions, the wisest step that Mamoon Rasheed took was that he wrote to Ameen Rasheed fervently trying

his best to assure him of his respect and loyalty.

If Caliph Ameen Rasheed had been patient and far-sighted, Mamoon Rasheed would have probably become involved in something illegal and uncalled for and would have been declared guilty and blameworthy in the eyes of the people and probably would not have succeeded. However, Fadal bin Rabi and the other counselors did not prove worthy and Ameen did not show any trace of wisdom. All his activities convinced the people that he was not capable to run the caliphate. As soon as he assumed power, he committed the first mistake. He deposed his brother Qasim, Motamin, from the governorship of the Jazirah leaving him with the provinces of Qansareen and Awasim only in the beginning of his caliphate and deputed Khuzaima bin Khazim to Jazirah. The same year, on the advice of Fadal bin Rabi, he wanted to replace Mamoon by his own son Musa bin Ameen as the heir apparent and this gave Mamoon a chance to oppose him justly. At the time when Haroon Rasheed was going to Khorasan, he had announced that the army and the entire supply of weapons and provisions would be under the authority of Mamoon and that he would be in charge. However, Fadal bin Rabi took the entire army, weapons and the provisions which were present at the time of Haroon's death, to Baghdad leaving Mamoon very weak. Fadal bin Rabi had the apprehension that if Mamoon succeeded Ameen as Caliph, he would deal harshly with him. He tried to have Mamoon deposed from the succession to protect himself. Ali bin Isa, the governor of Khorasan, considered himself in the same position so he seconded Fadal's proposal and persuaded Ameen to remove Mamoon. When the issue was put before Khuzaima bin Khazim, he dissented from it and stopped the Caliph from undertaking this action for the time being. This news continued to reach Mamoon but he kept quiet and waited for the results.

Rafe and Harsimah in the Service of Mamoon

It has been stated above that Harsimah had laid a siege to Rafe at Samarkand and Rafe was still at large when Haroon died in Tus. Rafe's brother, Basheer, was arrested and brought to Haroon Rasheed who had him killed.

After Haroon's death Harsimah bin Ayun entered Samarkand by force and occupied it, at the time he was accompanied by Tahir bin Husain. Rafe escaped and ran away from Samarkand and took refuge with the Turks. He came back with a Turkish army to fight with Harsimah but he lost this battle. Rafe became estranged from the Turks and he became very weak. He sent his messenger to Mamoon and begged for pardon and safety. Mamoon granted it to him and he came to Merv in his service. He was given a warm reception. Harsimah visited Mamoon and Mamoon made him an officer of his cavalry. It was during the same period that Mamoon deposed Abbas bin Abdullâh bin Mâlik from the governorship of Rayy.

Ameen and Mamoon as open Rivals

Ameen received the news in Baghdad that Mamoon had made Harsimah an officer of his cavalry and accepted Rafe as his companion with honor and deposed Abbas bin Abdullâh as the governor of Rayy. He was justifiably displeased to hear this and expunged Mamoon's name from the Friday sermon and entered his son's name as heir apparent. He then sent Abbas bin Musa bin Isa bin Jâfar and Muhammad bin Isa bin Naheek to Mamoon with the message, that said, "Agree to my son superceding you as heir apparent and make an announcement to the effect that Musa bin Ameen is the heir apparent in your place." Mamoon rejected this and Fadal bin Sahal took advantage of the situation. He converted Abbas bin Musa to his camp secretly and persuaded him to remain stationed in Baghdad and work as to spy and communicate any important information. Ameen had asked Mamoon to withdraw from the governorship of a few states in Khorasan, which he refused immediately. When Mamoon was informed that his name had been removed from the Friday sermon in Baghdad, he also deleted Ameen's name from sermons is Khorasan. Ameen tore up the document that was hung on the Ka'bah by Haroon. This occurred in the beginning of 194 A.H. From this point forward Mamoon Rasheed had the right to oppose Ameen openly. Mamoon very carefully sealed Khorasan so that no letter or messenger of Ameen's could enter it and create any unrest or revolt there.

Unrest in the Provinces

When the new's of the enmity between the two brothers caused by the removal of the document from the Ka'bah and tearing it into pieces, and the removal of their names from their respective sermons became common knowledge, forces that breed on dissension began to appear. Khagan, Tibet, the lands of the Turks and Kabul territories that paid their taxes and were loyal to the Islamic authority, began to revolt. The news upset Mamoon however, on the advice of Fadal bin Sahal he wrote mild letters to the Kings of those lands, excused the taxes of some and allowed concessions to some and thereby strengthened the bond of reconciliation with them. Mamoon's worries were short lived and no disturbances inside his territory were created because most of the Khorasanis supported Mamoon wholeheartedly and wanted to defeat Ameen who was supported by the Arabs. Negative forces of dissension caused unrest, and disturbances surfaced in the provinces under Ameen and they proved more dangerous to him. Only one man from among the Banu Umayyah dynasty had survived named Ali bin Abdullâh bin Khalid bin Yazid bin Muawiya. His mother was Nafisah bint Obaidullah bin Abbâs bin Ali bin Abi Talib. He was known as Siffenane. He used to say," I am the son of the chiefs of Siffen, that is, Muawiya's and Ali's son." He was educated and wise. Seeing Ameen and Mamoon preparing to confront each other he revolted in Syria and the Syrian tribes, which had connections with Banu Umayyah, joined him. Ameen sent his army to Syria and it was defeated. Syria remained unstable for several years. At last in 198 A.H., Siffenane was defeated by some other Syrian tribes and he fled from Syria and the Syrians captured Damascus. When Ameen had the document of Ka'bah torn into pieces, Dawood bin Isa refused to obey him and contended to the inhabitants of Madinah and the Hijaz, "Ameen is unjust to Mamoon. What we have promised before to Haroon Rasheed, we should keep it and we must never take the oath of succession for Musa who is only a baby." His efforts bore fruit and all the inhabitants of the Hijaz recognized Mamoon as Caliph and removed Ameen's name from the Friday sermons. Dawood bin Musa then left Makkah for Merv via Basra, Persia and Kerman and apprised Mamoon of, the situations in the Hijaz. Mamoon was very pleased

with him and appointed him governor of Makkah. That occurred in 196 A.H. In brief, disobedience and rebellions damaged Ameen considerably. Mamoon suffered no damage or loss and that was a pointer to the fact that Ameen was wanting in his capability of governing the land.

The Romans

Just a few days before Haroon Rasheed's death the Roman emperor Nagfoor was killed in the battle of Barjân. His son succeeded him after his death. He also died after two months. Then his sister's son-in-law Michael bin Jarjees sat on the throne. When the Romans rebelled against him the next year 194 A.H., he left the capital and joined a band of ascetics. Then the Romans chose their commander in chief as their King. In short, at the time when internal riots and disturbances were taking place in Haroon's government, the Roman Empire was not free from similar complications.

The Tug of War between Ameen and Mamoon

During the last days of 194 A.H., Ameen removed Mamoon as heir apparent and Mamoon expunged Ameen's name from the Friday sermon. After that, Ameen not only replaced Mamoon by his own son as heir apparent but also deposed his brother Motamin and replaced him by his other son Abdullâh as second heir apparent. Now Musa and Abdullâh's names were read in the sermons. There was nothing to stop Ameen and Mamoon from fighting with each other for superiority. Mamoon conferred the title of Dhurriyasatain on Fadal bin Sahal and appointed him as the Prime Minister. Tahir bin Husain bin Mus'ab bin Zaraiq bin Asad Khaza'i was made commander-in-chief of the army. Fadal bin Sahal went to the border state of Rayy and recruited veteran soldiers and by recruiting the people of the border regions formed an army and gave it to the commander. Tahir bin Husain appointed Abul Abbas Khazai the Commander of the army of Rayy, Abul Abbas equipped and fully armed his troops. On the other side, Ameen Rasheed sent Esmat bin Hammad bin Sâlim with an army of infantry to Hamadan and ordered him to stay there and send the vanguard to Sadah, then he prapered a huge army under

commandership of Ali bin Isa bin Mahan and sent it to Khorasan to face Mamoon. It was a great mistake on the part of Ameen and his Minister Fadal bin Rabi to send Ali bin Isa as commander to Khorasan because the inhabitants of Khorasan had been displeased with Ali bin Isa when he was governor there. As soon as they heard about his approach, they became determined to fight even more. Ameen handed over to Ali bin Isa Nahawand, Hamadan, Qum and Isfahan as feudal estates for him and gave him cash and equipment for more than his needs, he sent him a 50,000 man cavalry. He issued commands to all the administrators and officials to send reinforcements and every type of aid to him. When Ali bin Isa came to Ameen's mother Zubaidah Khatoon to say good-bye to her, she instructed him to refrain from showing disrespect to Mamoon if he was captured. In Shâbân 195 A.H. he set out from Baghdad. Caliph Ameen along with officials of the government went with them for a little distance. The army was so large and impressive that the people of Baghdad had not seen the like of it before. When Ali bin Isa arrived near Rayy, his companions advised him to make fortifications and assign a vanguard. But Ali said, "Fortifications and vanguards are not needed to fight a man like Tahir." Hearing the news of Ali approaching near, Tahir also left Rayy and at a distance of five miles from Rayy, they clashed. Ali bin Isa had more than 50,000 fighters while Tahir had only 4,000 men. The distinction of strength between the two armies was so great that Ali bin Isa said to his men at the time of forming lines. "They need not be killed. They should be surrounded and captured." Seeing the huge army some of Tahir bin Husain's men fled at the time of marshalling of the troops in battle array and came to Ali bin Isa to reap the benefits of belonging to the victorious side and be safe from defeat. However, Ali bin Isa broke the rebels up and turned some out and captured others. This benefited Tahir considerably making every soldier in his army ready to fight for his life. Tahir bin Husain's right and left flanks were defeated by Ali bin Isa's right and left flanks and they fled. Tahir, taking the center of his army, launched such a fierce attack on the middle part of Ali bin Isa's army that they had to withdraw. Seeing this, the defeated right and left flanks of Tahir's army returned and courageously joined him. A very fierce clash took place and during the turmoil of battle, an arrow

pierced Ali bin Isa's neck and killed him. As he fell, his army began to retreat. Tahir's men chopped off Ali bin Isa's head. His victorious army chased the runaways for two miles and kept killing and capturing the Baghdad troops. The darkness of night intervened and saved them from further death and captivity. Tahir bin Husain came back to Rayy and sent a victory letter to Mamoon:

To,

Amir al-Muminin

Respectfully, I beg to state that I am writing this letter in such a situation that Ali bin Isa's head in lying before me, his ring in on my finger and his army is under my command.

The letter took three days to reach Fadal bin Sahal in Merv. He carried it to Mamoon and congratulated him on his victory and the officials of his government saluted him as the Amir al-Muminin. After two days Ali's head also arrived which was taken around the country and shown to the people.

When Baghdad received the news of Ali bin Isa' s death, Ameen gave an army of 20,000 men to Abdur Rahman bin Jablah Ambari to fight with Tahir. Ambari was bestowed with the letter of governorship of Hamadan and Khorasan urging him to go, capture and form his government. Abdur Rahman bin Jablah arrived at Hamadan and besieged its fort. When Tahir received the news, he took his army and marched towards Hamadan. Abdur Rahman Jablah left Hamadan to fight him. In the very first assault, Tahir defeated and forced them to flee. Abdur Rahman went back to Hamadan and made preparations to fight again, they clashed and Abdur Rahman's forces suffered defeat again and he entered Hamadan and took refuge their. Tahir moved forward and encircled the city and the siege became prolonged. During this period, Tahir conquered Qazwin making its administrators flee. The prolongation of the siege caused great inconvenience to the civilians and Abdur Rahman apprehended a night attack by the civilians themselves. He begged Tahir to grant him pardon and safety. Tahir granted it and brought Hamadan under his control. Tahir's granting Abdur Rahman pardon and safety allowed Abdur Rahman to live in Hamadan freely. One day Abdur Rahman

found an opportunity, collected his men and launched a sudden attack on Tahir when he was off his guard. Tahir defeated and killed Abdur Rahman. His companions who survived fled and met Huraishi's sons, Abdullâh and Ahmad who were coming from Baghdad to help him. Both were overawed at the prospect of fighting Tahir and they returned and went back to Baghdad without fighting. Tahir began to conquer city after city. He reached Halwan and made fortifications and had trenches dug. After these conquests, Mamoon made a proclamation that the oath for caliphate should be taken in every city and his name should be mentioned in the Friday sermon. It was at this point that he appointed Fadal bin Sahal as his Prime Minister. Under Fadal bin Sahal, Ali bin Hisham was made the Defense Minister and Naim bin Khâzim Finance Minister and superintendent of the office of letters and composition. Fadal bin Sahal's brother Hasan bin Sahal, was made an officer in the Ministry of Taxes.

Disturbances in Caliph Ameen's Government

When Baghdad received the news of Abdur Rahman bin Jablah's death while fighting with Tahir, there was an uproar in the city. The Caliph called Asad bin Yazid bin Mizyad and sent him to confront Tahir. Asad bin Yazid said to him, "Please give my army salaries for a year in advance in addition to arms and equipment and promise that you will leave under our control any of the countries we capture. Give me veteran and brave fighters sorting out the weak ones." Ameen flew into a rage when he heard these conditions and sent him to jail. Then he sent for Abdullâh bin Humaid bin Qahtabah and asked him to go and fight with Tahir. He also laid down similar conditions. He was also punished. Then Ameen called Asad bin Yazid's uncle Ahmad bin Mizyad and begged him to excuse him for imprisoning Asad and asked him to face Tahir. Ahmad bin Mizyad recommended to him to release Asad and he was freed. Ahmad bin Mizyad then left Baghdad with 20,000 fighters. Seeing this, Abdullâh bin Humaid bin Qahtabah expressed his willingness to go fight with another 20,000 soldiers. Both set out for Halwân together. They both camped at Khafeqeen near Halwân with their forces. Tahir learned of their position and he also arrived there with his army. He spread his spies

among the Baghdad army in disguise and they spread the rumors that the treasury in Baghdad had become empty and the soldiers were going without salary. The soldiers began looting what ever they could. This created confusion and anarchy. Some of the spies contradicted the rumor while others confirmed it. The situation deteriorated and there was dissension and quarrels among the troops and they returned to Baghdad without fighting. Tahir moved forward and occupied Halwân. Meanwhile Harsimah bin Ayun came to Tahir at Halwan with a huge army and a letter from Mamoon from Rayy. The letter said:

"You must hand over all the territory you have conquered to Harsimah and march towards Ahwâz."

Tahir complied and marched to Ahwâz with the army.

Deposition and Appointments of Caliph Ameen

It has been stated above that Caliph Haroon Rasheed had imprisoned Abdul Malik bin Saleh for his complicity with the Barmuk family. Immediately after assuming power, Ameen set him free. When the Baghdad armies began to suffer repeated defeats at the hands of Tahir, Abdul Malik bin Saleh went to the Càliph's court and said, "The Syrians and not the Iraqis should be sent to fight with the Khorasanis for they can fight more valiantly and I stand surety to their obedience and loyalty." Caliph Ameen gave him the letter of governorship for Syria and Jazirah and sent him there. He reached Riqqah and entered into correspondence with the nobles of Syria and formed a large army of Syrians. Husain bin Ali bin Isa was also with Abdul Malik heading the part of the army that consisted of Khorasanis. Abdul Malik fell ill and died during this period. A civil war broke out between the Syrians and the Khorasanis. The Syrians proceeded towards their homes. Husain bin Ali bin Isa took the Khorasani army with him and went to Baghdad. The civilians and the nobility of Baghdad welcomed him. Ameen called him to his court at night but Husain refused to go. The next morning having persuaded his men to depose Ameen, he came to the bridge leading into the city. There was a confrontation with Ameen's army, which was defeated. Husain bin Ali attacked the Caliph's palace, arrested Ameen and his

mother Zubaidah Khatoon and imprisoned them in Mansoor's palace and took the oath from the people for Mamoon's caliphate. The next day they demanded their daily allowances but they did not receive as much as they required and that began gossip among the people. Slowly and gradually, the inhabitants of Baghdad began to express their sorrow at Ameen's deposition and arrest. They united and clashed with Husain bin Ali bin Isa. Husain bin Ali bin Isa fought a very fierce battle with them in which Husain bin Ali bin Isa was defeated and captured. The citizens went to Mansoor's palace and freed Ameen and Zubaidah Khatoon. They had Ameen sit on the throne of the Caliphate and took the oath with him again and they brought Husain in chains before Ameen. Ameen reproached him and then pardoned him and said to him, "Make amends for your mistake by going to fight with Tahir and defeat him and gain respect and fame." He was then invested with a robe of honor and sent off with great respect. The civilians of Baghdad accompanied him to the bridge congratulating him. When the crowed thinned, Husain crossed the bridge and ran away announcing that he was still a rebel. Ameen sent some cavalry after him. They caught him at a distance of three miles from Baghdad and after a light skirmish he was killed. His head was cut off and brought to Ameen. This occurred on 15 Rajab 196 A.H. The same day Fadal bin Rabi who was Ameen's Prime Minister, disappeared mysteriously and no one knew his whereabouts. Ameen was very worried over Fadal bin Rabi's disappearance and betrayal.

Tahir's Conquests

While Baghdad was witnessing these destructive events, Tahir bin Husain handed over the conquered territories to Harsimah bin Ayun in Halwan and proceeded to Ahwâz on the orders of Mamoon. Before his departure he sent Husain bin Omar Rustami to intercept any armies coming from Baghdad. Following the return of Abdullah bin Humaid bin Qahtabah and Ahmad bin Mizyad, Caliph Ameen sent Muhammad bin Yazid bin Hatim from Baghdad to defend Ahwâz. Hearing that Muhammad bin Yazid was coming from Baghdad with an army, Tahir dispatched a few divisions of his army to reinforce Husain bin Omar Rustami and issued orders for them to join Husain bin Omar Rustami as soon as possible. When Muhammad bin Yazid

reached Mokarram, he was informed of the reinforcements sent by Tahir. He did not think it proper to face them before he first captured Ahwâz. He arrived at Ahwâz where he faced Tahir. Following a bitter battle Muhammad bin Yazid was killed. Tahir captured Ahwâz and sent administrators to Yamama, Bahrain and Oman. Then he went to Wasit. Its ruler ran away and Tahir easily captured it. Then he sent his forces to Kufa. The governor, Abbas bin Hadi, quickly announced Ameen's deposition and took the oath for Mamoon's caliphate and wrote a letter to Tahir to that effect. The governor of Basra, Mansoor bin Mahdi also followed suit. Kufa and Basra were the most important and strategic locations in Iraq. The governors of both these places were related to the family of the caliph. They preferred Mamoon to Ameen and recognized the over throw of Ameen and the caliphate of Mamoon and thereby set an example to be followed by others. Dawood bin Isa, the governor of Hijaz who was also from the family of the caliph also took the oath for Mamoon in the Hijaz as has been mentioned above. Even the governor of Mousil, Muttalib bin Abdullâh bin Malik announced Ameen's overthrow and recognized Mamoon as caliph and took the oath. Tahir retained them all in their posts. He camped at Jarjaraya and sent Harith bin Hisham and Dawood bin Musa to Qasr bin Hubairah. This event took place in Rajab 196 A.H. when Baghdad was witnessing the deposition and accession of Ameen caused by Husain bin Ali bin Isa as mentioned previously.

Assuming power again after being removed Caliph Ameen sent Muhammad bin Sulaiman and Muhammad bin Hammad Berberi to Qasr bin Hubairah and Fadal bin Musa to Kufa. Harith and Dawood fought with Muhammad Sulaiman and Muhammad bin Hammad and after a hard fight forced them to flee back to Baghdad. Tahir then deputed Muhammad bin Ala to face Fadal bin Musa. When they met each other on the way, Fadal said to Muhammad bin Ala, "You have unjustly come to fight with me. I have come as an obedient man to Mamoon." At night Fadal attacked Muhammad's troops. However, Muhammad bin Ala anticipated a possible night attack, and was on his guard. He gave Fadal a tough fight, defeated and forced him to flee to Baghdad. Then Tahir turned his attention to Madain where Caliph Ameen's biggest army was deployed and reinforcements and supplies from Baghdad continued to reach there uninterruptedly. As

soon as Tahir had arrived there, Ameen's entire army fled to Baghdad. He captured Madain and camped at the Sarsar River and had a bridge constructed there. When Caliph Ameen sent his armies to Qasr bin Hubairah and Kufa, he had also sent Ali bin Muhammad bin Isa bin Naheek to fight Harsimah bin Ayun. The battle took place at Nahrwân. Harsimah defeated Ali bin Muhammad's army and put them to flight, captured Ali bin Muhammad and sent him to Mamoon at Merv. He himself came to Nahrwân instead of Halwân and camped there.

The Death of Ameen

Every army deployed by Ameen was defeated by Mamoon's commanders and his two powerful generals Tahir bin Husain and Harsimah bin Ayun continued to march towards Baghdad from two different directions. After the provinces of Mousil, Wasit, Kufa, Basra, Hijaz and Yamama, went out of Ameen's control his caliphate was confined to Baghdad and its outskirts. Following the continual failures of his armies, a very critical and dangerous period started for Ameen from Ramadan 196 A.H. Being compelled Ameen sent secret messages to the soldiers in Tahir's army and conspired to win them over in exchange for gifts. By this method, 5,000 soldiers from Tahir's army stationed at the Sarsar River went over to Ameen in Baghdad. Then some military commanders also joined Ameen. He honored them and bestowed on them gifts and rewards in accordance with their qualifications and status. He was able to form a huge army and sent it to face Tahir. The battle raged from the morning to the evening resulting ultimately in the defeat and collapse of Ameen's army. The runaways arrived in Baghdad and Ameen formed a new and fresh army that did not include any of the defeated soldiers and sent it again to Sarsar. It also met the same fate. Now Tahir and Harsimah left Sarsar and Nahrwân respectively and set out for Baghdad. Tahir camped at Ambâr and Harsimah made fortifications at the river. Abdullâh bin Waddah camped at Shamasiyah and Musayyab bin Zuhair at the palace of Kalwâze. In this way, Mamoon's generals encircled Baghdad and put the civilian population to great difficulty. Meanwhile, Ameen sold his gold and silver ornaments, utensils and precious goods and disbursed salaries to his army and spent all he had on defense. The siege continued for about one year and three

months. Whatever difficulties and inconveniences the people of Baghdad and Ameen's generals had to undergo and the bravery with which they fought are undoubtedly worthy of praise but all those acts were fruitless and unwise. Sayeed bin Qadim received security and pardon and joined Tahir who entrusted him with the task of digging moats and finishing the fortifications. The besiegers included Harsimah and Tahir, two great generals, but Tahir by virtue of his conquests and fighting ability was more popular and he was regarded as the Commander-in-chief of the entire army. Ameen had deputed a few chiefs at Qasr Saleh and Qasr Sulaiman situated outside of Baghdad and next to the Tigris River. They were engaged in launching fireballs and stones with the help of catapults in order to break the dikes and fortifications of the besieging army. Tahir was replying in kind by shooting stones and fireballs. The besieging army advanced and quickly dug moats and more fortifications. They reached the city wall by narrowing the circle of the siege and entered by the city gate and by pulling down and over running the battlements. Then they had to fight in every district and at every step until they surrounded Ameen in Madinat al-Mansoor (the royal district). There was a ban on the import of grain and other necessities of life, criminals were released from the jails and the wicked and evil ran rampant in the city. Influential and brave generals continued to leave Ameen and join Tahir due to his efforts to bring them to his side.

The nobility of the city kept leaving and many districts were deserted. Muhammad bin Isa, Yahya bin Ali bin Isa bin Hamân and Muhammad bin Abi Abbas Tai joined Tahir one after another. The places they were defending also surrendered to Tahir. Ameen stood like a rock in defense. At last he entrusted all the war operations to Muhammad bin Isa bin Naheek. The newly recruited Baghdad army attacked on the side where the army of Abdullâh bin Waddâh was camped and defeated him and captured Shamasiyah. Harsimah rushed to aid him. He was also defeated and taken captive. His men through trickery were able to release him. When Tahir was informed of the setbacks, he himself went to that side, led a very fierce attack and made Ameen's army retreat and had Abdullâh bin Waddah reestablish the front. By degrees, Tahir distributed his army all over the city and besieged Ameen in the royal district. Ameen stood the

hardships of the siege with great perseverance. From among the officials of his governments only Hatim bin Saqr, Hasan Huraishi and Muhammad bin Ibrahim bin Aghlab Afriqi accompanied him. Muhammad bin Ibrahim Aghlab said to Ameen,

> "Even in this deteriorating situation 7,000 cavaliers are ready to carry out your every order. You should select the sons of the nobility and the officials of the government and appoint an officer to lead them leave through a gate when the enemies are off their guard and go to Jazirah and Syria and found a new government. It is possible that after some time the people may be inclined towards you and a good way to achieve your goals may emerge."

If Ameen had acted upon this advice, he would not have met the fate he encountered. When Tahir came to know of Ameen's intention he wrote to Sulaiman bin Mansoor and Muhammad bin Isa bin Naheek that if they did not stop him from doing so, it would not be good for them. Afraid of Tahir both went to Ameen and said, "It is not proper for the Amir al-Muminin to surrender to Ibn Aqhlab and Ibn Saqr. They are untrustworthy and unreliable. It is better to receive pardon and safety from Harsimah bin Ayun." When Ibn Saqr came to know that Caliph Ameen was ready to seek pardon and safety from Harsimah bin Ayun and hand himself over to him, he said, "O Amir al-Muminin! If you want pardon and safety you must ask Tahir for it." Don't go under Harsimah's security. But Ameen said, "I will not seek pardon and safety from Tahir." Therefore, the message was sent to Harsimah and he gladly agreed. When Tahir was informed, he was determined to stop it thinking that the credit for the victory would go to Harsimah. He placed Ameen's palace under strict surveillance to thwart his attempt to escape. Harsimah had proposed to Ameen that at night he should leave his palace, step into his boat just under the palace and come under his protection. When Harismah saw preparations on Tahir's side to stop him, he sent a message to Ameen requesting him to postpone that night because he had seen some activities on the riverside that indicated danger. Ameen sent back the reply, "All my supporters and sympathizers have parted with me. I cannot stay here even for a moment. I feel apprehension that if Tahir

finds out, he will capture and kill me." Eventually on 25 Muharram 198 A.H. at night, Ameen hugged his two children, kissed them, departed and came to the riverside weeping and sat in the boat. Harsimah who was present in the boat received him respectfully, kissed his hands and ordered the crew to move. As they started, Tahir's war boats surrounded them and began to attack their boat. Tahir's divers made holes in the boat and his men showered arrows from all four sides until it was flooded and sank. The crew caught Harsimah by his hair and saved him. Ameen began to swim and Tahir's men caught him. Ahmad bin Sâlim swam to the bank when he came out of the water, he was also arrested by Tahir's men. Ahmad bin Sâlim says I was arrested and presented before Tahir who threw me into captivity. A short time later Tahir's soldiers opened the door of the prison pushed Ameen in closed the door and then left. He was in his pajamas with a turban on his head and an old cloth over his shoulders. I read إنا لله و إنا إليه راجعون (To Allah do we belong and to Him is our return) and began to cry. He recognized me and asked me to hug him. I was over wrought and nervous. I hugged him. When he came to his senses after some time, he asked me about Mamoon. I told him that he was alive and safe. Ameen said, "His advocate told me that Mamoon was dead. He probably thought that I might become indifferent to him." I said to him, "May Allah's curse be on your ministers who betrayed you." Then he gave vent to a cold sigh and said, "Why brother! Will these people not honor their word of pardon and safety? I said, "Inshallah they will keep it." As we were talking, Muhammad bin Humaid came, stood at a distance watching, recognized Ameen and went back. At midnight, a few non-Arabs entered the prison with naked swords in their hands. Ameen began to move backward slowly to see them. One of them rushed forward, caught hold of him, threw him on the ground, slaughtered him, chopped off his head and returned with it. When morning came, they took away his dead body.

Tahir had Ameen's head publicly displayed. When the people had seen it fully, he sent it with the Caliph's ring, staff and coverlet to Mamoon through his cousin Muhammad bin Hasan bin Zuraiq bin Mus'ab and made a proclamation in the city to this effect. On Friday, he read the sermon in the name of Mamoon at the central mosque and

condemned Ameen. He sent Ameen's sons, Musa and Abdullâh to Mamoon. He then sent Ameen's mother Zubaidah Khatoon to a place near the river Zâb. Tahir's army demanded their allowances. When they were not met, they rebelled. Tahir had to leave Baghdad to save his life. Then he called all his leaders, formed a group, entered Baghdad and forced the soldiers and the inhabitants of the city to obey him.

A Review of Ameen's Caliphate

Caliph Ameen was 27 or 28 years old. He had been caliph for 4 years and 7 months. His entire reign was plagued with riots and carnage. Thousands of Muslims were killed for only political reasons. His regime was one of troubles, evils and misfortunes for the world of Islam. Ameen was well versed in syntax and literature and composed verse proficiently, he honored the scholars but he was inclined to sports and amusement. In matters of administration and expeditions, he was a misfit. Immediately after becoming Caliph, he ordered a polo field to be built near the palace of Mansoor. He paid special attention to decoration and beautification projects. He was fond of singing and playing musical instruments and worshipping beauty. His greatest trouble was the body of selfish ministers none of whom ever reminded him that he was a soldier and he should not dally with women.

In brief, Ameen was overwhelmed with his own youthful passions and totally devoid of the ability to conquer and rule. Fadal bin Rabi, his Prime Minister, did not prove to be a good minister for the dynasty of the Abbasids. It was he who was instrumental in having the army and the equipment which should have remained under Mamoon's control in keeping with Haroon's will, brought from Tus to Baghdad. He tried to harm Mamoon and sowed seeds of contention between the two brothers. Mamoon would have probably tolerated this as a small matter and Ameen would not have turned against Mamoon just for the sake of his extravagance. However, the next destructive act that Fadal bin Rabi had Ameen accomplish was beyond the limit of reconciliation. The removal of Mamoon from the succession and the installation of his own infant son as the next Caliph destroyed Haroon's well-documented plans for his sons. In order to

establish the succession of his son, Ameen had to capture the territory that belonged to Mamoon in accordance with Haroon's will and distribution. He had the official document of Caliph Haroon Rasheed removed from the Ka'bah and destroyed at the instance of Fadal bin Rabi. Consequently, all the influential members of the Abbasid dynasty were offended and disgusted with him at the inferred disrespect to his father and even the holy sites.

If we ponder a little we can easily infer that the man who is responsible for all this damage done to Islam is Haroon Rasheed. The biggest blunder and the most condemnable act of Haroon Rasheed was that he was dishonest in naming his successors. He knew that Mamoon was more capable and deserving yet he chose Ameen to take the caliphate. A plea may be offered from Haroon's side that Ameen was noble born from both sides and a pure Hashimiite and Mammon's mother was Iranian and he had apprehensions that Mamoon would weaken the Arab elements and promote and strengthen Iranian authority and power.

Haroon chose Ameen as his successor because he was a pure Arab and Hashimiite and he believed Ameen would successfully continue his policy of breaking the Iranians power that he had adopted at the end of his caliphate. Ameen's heart and mind were not suited for this purpose. Haroon was aware of this in the last year of his life and he had become fully convinced of Mamoon's ability to rule and Ameen's inability. If we go deeper, we will find that Haroon Rasheed was not at fault but the fundamental policy adopted and followed by the Abbasids from the very beginning of their dynasty was bound to yield these results. First, the Abbasids opposed the Arabs by using the Khorasanis. They put all their energy into effacing and destroying Arab power and influence and made the newly converted Khorasanis the leaders. Mention has been made above about the order given by the leaders of the Abbasids to Abu Muslim not to spare even a single Arabic speaking soul and Abu Muslim put to death 600,000 Arabs in Khorasan and Iran. The joint efforts of the Alawiites and the Abbasids aimed against Banu Umayyah weakened the Arab's influence and power and strengthened the Khorasanis, Persians and Iraqis. Every conspiracy against Banu Umayyah that proved fruitful was supported

and implemented by the Iraqis and the Khorasanis. When the Banu Umayyah were destroyed, the Alawiites stood as mute spectators while the Abbasids became the masters of the caliphate and authority. When the Alawiites began to oppose the Abbasids and initiated a series of conspiracies against them, the Abbasids received aid from the Iraqis and Khorasanis.

Those who were goaded to kill the Arabs against Banu Umayyah became the greatest threat to the Abbasids. The Khorasanis power continued to rise until the regime of Mansoor Abbasi. Only for the short span of a few years during Mahdi's caliphate the Khorasanis rise stood still and the Arabs were honored. During Hadi and Haroon's regimes, the Khorasanis continued to increase their power. In the last years of his caliphate, Haroon realized that by weakening the Arabs they had harmed the caliphate considerably. He tried to correct the situation but death did not allow him to do so. During Ameen's reign, the center of strength for the Arabs was Ameen and Mamoon for the Khorasanis. In other words, the clash between the two races Arabs and Iranians manifested itself through Ameen and Mamoon. Because Ameen was personally incapable and Mamoon was more capable, the Arab group lost and the Iranians became the masters of the Islamic world. The Khorasanis held Mamoon dear in order to bring under their control the machinery of the government and hand it over to the Alawiites after Mamoon. Due to the sequence of events, they did not succeed and the government and the caliphate remained with the Abbasid dynasty. Later, the Khorasanis and newly converted Turks gathered enough courage and power to decimate the power of the Islamic Caliphate and form their own separate kingdoms. The details of which will follow in the next chapter. The substance of the matter is that the curse of the son succeeding his father and inherited rule is the root cause of these evils, troubles and defects in the Islamic Caliphate and it was this innovation that has done the greatest harm to the Muslims and kept the inherent justice of Islamic government from being maintained. The defects of Ameen's regime were the by products of the curse of inherited succession.

It is a coincidence that the three Caliphs Ali (ؓ), Imam Hasan (ؓ) and

Ameen Rashеed were Hashimiite from both mother and father and the Caliphate did not obviously suit them. That is, the entire regime of Ali (ﷺ) passed in internal conflicts and civil war among the Muslims and eventually he was martyred. Imam Hasan (ﷺ) renounced the Caliphate and he still was poisoned to death. Similarly, Ameen's entire period of rule was dominated by internecine fights at the end of which he too was killed.

Chapter 4

The Caliphate of the Abbasids

(Second Phase)

Mamoon Rasheed

Mamoon Rasheed bin Haroon Rasheed's given name was Abdullah. His father gave him the title "Mamoon." His kunya (father of __, generally followed by the name of the first son) was Abul Abbas (father of Abbas). He was born on Friday in the middle of Rabi-al-Awwal 170 A.H. The night Mamoon was born Hadi, his uncle who preceded his father as Caliph, died. His mother's name was Marajil. She was a Zoroastrian slave girl and died within forty days of his birth. She was born in Badighais in Herat. Ali bin Isa, the governor of Khorasan, had presented her as a gift to Haroon Rasheed. Mamoon did not have the opportunity of being brought up in the lap of his mother. However, Haroon Rasheed paid special attention to his upbringing and training. At the age of five, he was put under the tutelage of Kasai Nahvi and Yazeedi. They taught him Qur'ân and Arabic literature.

At 12 when Mamoon achieved understanding and intellectual ability by virtue of his divine gifted intelligence, he was made the apprentice of Jafar Barmuk. In the same year 182 A.H., Haroon nominated him to

be the heir apparent after his half brother Ameen. Besides these teachers there were many religious scholars and those blessed with deep knowledge of Islam at Haroon's court and they were requested to educate him from time to time. Mamoon memorized the entire Quran and was a great scholar. He wâs eloquent and clever. He was slightly older than his brother Ameen. He had studied Islamic Law and Hadith under the guidance of great scholars of these subjects. Haroon had both his sons educated and trained with great interest and attention however, the impact this produced in Mamoon was not shared by Ameen.

Although Mamoon Rasheed had been the ruler of the eastern countries including Khorasan since Jumad-al-Thani 193 A.H. when Haroon died, the period of his caliphate begins from Muharram 198 A.H. when Ameen was killed. Ameen was killed on the night of 25 Muharram and the oath for Mamoon's caliphate was taken on Friday 26 Muharram 198 A.H.

When Mamoon was informed about Ameen's murder and the capture of Baghdad by his army and his recognition as caliph by the people of Baghdad, he gave the governorship of Jabal Faras, Ahwaz, Basra, Kufa, Hijaz, and Yemen, to Hasan bin Sahal, the brother of his minister Fadal bin Sahal and sent him to Baghdad. Harsimah bin Ayun and Tahir bin Husain had conquered these territories and it was by virtue of their courage that the people of Baghdad recognized Mamoon as caliph and Ameen was defeated.

Tahir who did the most to achieve the victory expected that he would be given the governorship of the newly conquered territories. Contrary to his expectations it was given to Hasan bin Sahal. Hasan bin Sahal then made Tahir bin Husain the governor of Jazirah, Mousil and Syria and sent him to fight with Nasr bin Sheeth bin Aqeel bin Kab bin Rabia bin Amir who had taken the oath of allegiance to Ameen and had collected a huge army to fight against Mamoon's forces and he continued to conquer territory in Iraq. When Hasan bin Sahal was appointed governor and next to the caliph, the civilians were sure that he would completely dominate Mamoon and the Iranians would be the dominant force in the government. The Arab leaders were worried about these developments and they felt

discouraged and disappointed. They were convinced that Mamoon would retain Merv as his capital in deference to Fadal bin Sahal's wishes and would not come to Baghdad.

When Hasan bin Sahal sent Tahir to face Nasr bin Sheeth bin Aqeel, he only had limited success. He stayed at Riqqah and continued to engage in light skirmishes with Nasr bin Sheeth. While in Riqqah, Tahir received the news of his father Husain bin Zuraiq bin Mus'ab's death in Khorasan and Caliph Mamoon's participation in it. Hasan bin Sahal ordered Harsimah bin Ayun to go to Khorasan. Nasr bin Sheeth bin Aqeel rebelled simply because the non-Arabs were given priority over the Arabs. Tahir did not concentrate on defeating Nasr, as he himself disliked the domination of the Arabs by the non-Arabs. Harsimah bin Ayun, who was one of the old devotees of the Abbasid dynasty, looked at the rise of the non-Arabs with apprehension.

The Revolt of Ibn Tabataba and Abu Saraya

Abu Saraya bin Mansoor was related to the tribe of Banu Shaiban. During Ameen's Caliphate, he was in the army of the governor of Jazirah. There he murdered a man belonging to Banu Tamim. When the governor of Jazirah ordered his arrest for the crime, he escaped and with 30 persons who joined him began plundering whatever and wherever they could.

After a short time, he along with his group went to Yazid bin Mizyad in Armenia. Yazid bin Mizyad appointed him to the rank of general. When Yazid bin Mizyad died, he began to live with his son Asad bin Yazid. When Asad was deposed from the governorship of Armenia, Abu Saraya, went to Ahmad bin Mizyad. When Ameen deputed Ahmad bin Mizyad to fight with Harsimah, Ahmad bin Mizyad made him chief of the vanguard of the army. Harsimah entered into a conspiracy with him and he went over to Harsimah's side.

He then called the men of his tribe Banu Shaiban to him 2000 of them responded and joined Harsimah's army. Abu Saraya made a recommendation on their behalf and handsome allowances were fixed for them. When Ameen was killed, Harsimah refused to pay the daily allowance to Banu Shaiban. Abu Saraya became angry with him and sought his permission to go for Hajj. Harsimah gave him the

permission plus a sum of 20,000 dirhams for the expenses of his journey. He divided the amount among his men and told them to come to him in one and twos to avoid suspicion. Abu Saraya took leave of Harsimah and left ostensibly for the purpose of Hajj. He halted on the way and 200 men rallied round him there. He arrayed them and invaded Ainuttamar and arrested the rulers there. Ainuttamar was looted and the spoils were distributed among his men. He continued plundering and looted government treasuries in several places.

Harsimah sent an army to punish and arrest him. Abu Saraya defeated them and forced them to escape. More men joined Abu Saraya and his power increased. Then he defeated the ruler of Waquqa and looted the treasury. He went to Ambar, killed its ruler Ibrahim Sharwi, looted the town, and distributed the spoils among his men. He went to Riqqah where he came across Mohammad bin Ibrahim bin Ismail bin Ibrahim bin Hasan bin Muthanna bin Ali who declared his Caliphate and left Riqqah with Abu Saraya. Mohammad bin Ibrahim's father was known as Ibrahim Tabataba and he was known as Ibn Tabataba.

It was at this time that Hasan bin Sahal arrived in the Baghdad after being appointed the governor there and in Yemen and Hijaz. The Arabs in general looked upon the increase of non-Arab power with hatred and apprehension and regarded Mamoon's caliphate as harmful to them and the Alawiites became busy taking advantage of it.

Nasr bin Sheeth announced that he was not an enemy to the Abbasids but he opposed the present regime simply because it preferred non-Arabs to Arabs. The announcement made an impact on the Arab chiefs of the army and their activities were very lax against Nasr bin Sheeth.

Hasan bin Sahal at the same time was displeased with Harsimah and sent him to Khorasan. Abu Saraya took Mohammad bin Ibrahim's (Ibn Tabataba) presence as a sign of good fortune and took the oath for his caliphate.. Ibn Tabataba sent Abu Saraya to Kufa by boat along the river and he himself went to Kufa by land. According to plan Abu Saraya and Ibn Tabataba entered Kufa on 15 Jamad-al-Thani 199 A.H. from two different directions and looted the palace of Abbas bin Musa

bin Isa which was the governor's residence and which also housed the royal treasury. The entire city was brought under control and all the civilians took the oath for ibn Tabataba's Caliphate.

When Hasan bin Sahal was informed of the occupation of Kufa by Abu Saraya and Ibn Tabataba, he sent Zuhair bin Musayyib with 10,000 men to Kufa. They came out of Kufa and clashed with Zuhair and defeated him. Abu Saraya looted Zuhair's military camp, killed and plundered the people mercilessly. Ibn Tabataba forbade him to indulge in merciless killing and plundering. Abu Saraya who had become accustomed to such killing and plundering could not tolerate the interference and he had Ibn Tabataba poisoned. The next day he was found dead and the period of his authority and conquest ended. Abu Saraya had a young boy Mohammad bin Jafar bin Mohammad bin Zaid bin Ali bin Husain bin Ali bin Abi Talib, Ibn Tabataba's deputy and took the oath for him and began to run and manage all state affairs using him as a figure head.

Abu Saraya's Government and its End

After being defeated, Zuhair bin Musayyib went to Qasr bin Hubairah and stayed there. Hasan bin Sahal gave Abdus bin Mohammad bin Khalid Marwarozi 4,000 men and sent him to reinforce Zuhair. Zuhair and Abdus attacked Kufa but were defeated and killed on 15 Rajab 199 A.H. while fighting against Abu Saraya. Following the victory Abu Saraya issued coins in his name in Kufa, appointed several Alawiites as governors of several provinces. He sent Abbas bin Mohammad bin Isa bin Mohammad to Ahwaz, Husain bin Hasan bin Ali bin Husain bin Ali bin Abi Talib known as Aftas to Makkah, Ibrahim bin Musa bin Jafar Sadiq to Yemen and Zaid bin Musa bin Jafar Sadiq to Basra. Abbas captured Basra after defeating its ruler. All the governors of Abu Saraya scored victories. Abu Saraya wrote to Abbas bin Mohammad to take an army from Ahwaz and invade Baghdad from the eastern side while he stayed at Qasr ibn Hubairah. Hasan bin Sahal sent Ali bin Sayeed from Baghdad to Madain in defense of Madain and Wasit. When Abu Saraya found this out, he at once sent an army from Qasr ibn Hubairah, which occupied Madain in Ramadan 199 A.H. before the arrival of Ali bin Sayeed. Abu Saraya

himself left Qasr Ibn Hubairah and camped at the Sarsar River. Ali ibn Sayeed reached Madain and besieged Abu Saraya's army in Shawwal 199 A.H. Receiving the news that his army had been encircled, Abu Saraya left the Sarsar River and marched towards Qasr ibn Hubairah.

When the armies sent by Hasan bin Sahal suffered defeat at the hands of Abu Saraya and his leaders were killed and captured in Rajab 199 A.H., Hasan bin Sahal was very worried. At that time Tahir was in Riqqah and could not leave due to Nasr bin Sheeth. Harsimah had left Baghdad and gone to Khorasan. Except these two commanders, Hasan bin Sahal had no other commander at his disposal to be sent against Abu Saraya. Abu Saraya had begun making preparations to conquer Baghdad. He had already captured Basra, Kufa, Wasit, and Madain, Hasan bin Sahal and Harsimah were at odds with each other. Hasan did not want to seek help from Harsimah but in view of the critical situation, he sent a fast messenger to Harsimah asking him to return and tackle the affair of Abu Saraya. Harsimah did not want to make Hasan bin Sahal's affairs easier. However, since Hasan bin Sahal had personally requested help, he did not think it proper to refuse and immediately returned to Baghdad. He entered the city at the time Abu Saraya had already left the Sarsar River for Qasr Ibn Hubairah after hearing about the siege of Madain. Harsimah left Baghdad in pursuit of Abu Saraya without any hesitation. He came across a group of Abu Saraya's supporters and he surrounded and killed them. He moved quickly and caught up with Abu Saraya. Abu Saraya attacked. The battle resulted in the death of many of his men but Abu Saraya escaped. He went to Kufa and looted the houses of Banu Abbas and their supporters and reduced them to rubble capturing all their goods, belongings and valuables. Harsimah moved forward, and besieged Kufa. Abu Saraya showed great perseverance in defense in a two month long siege of Kufa. Being compelled by the siege, he took Mohammad bin Jafar bin Mohammad and 800 horsemen and escaped from Kufa. Harsimah entered Kufa on 15 Muharram 200 A.H. appointed an administrator there and returned to Baghdad.

Abu Saraya left Kufa for Qadsiyah. Then he went towards Tus. He came across a caravan, which was going from Ahwaz loaded with merchandise. He looted it and distributed the loot among his men.

During the same period, Hasan bin Ali Mamooni expelled Abu Saraya's governor from Ahwaz and occupied it. When Hasan bin Ali heard about Abu Saraya's condition, he took an army from Ahwaz and went in pursuit of Abu Saraya. When they clashed, Abu Saraya suffered a crushing defeat. After being defeated, he went to Rasain in Jalula. Hasan bin Ali quickly surrounded and captured him along with Mohammad Jafar bin Mohammad and sent them to Hasan bin Sahal. He had Abu Saraya slaughtered and hung his corpse on the bridge of Baghdad. He sent his head and the head of Mohammad bin Jafar bin Mohammad to Mamoon. Ali bin Sayeed conquered Madain, slaughtered Abu Saraya's men and went to Wasit and captured it in accordance with Hasan bin Sahal's order and then left Wasit for Basra. He dethroned Zaid bin Musa bin Jafar Sadiq there and captured Basra. Zaid bin Musa set fire to all the houses of Banu Abbas and their supporters. He came to be known as Zaid an-Nâr (Zaid the fire). Ali bin Sayeed arrested Zaid an-Nâr and put him in confinement. In Muharram 200 A.H., the corruption of Abu Saraya in Iraq came to an end but Hijaz and Yemen were still reeling under the disturbances and unrest that he had started.

Unrest in Hijaz and Yemen

As mentioned above, Abu Saraya had appointed many members of the family of Abi Talib as governors and heads of provinces and states. The Alawiites were engaged in a conspiracy against the Abbasid caliphate. It was a display of wisdom on the part of Abu Saraya to appoint Alawiite rulers to provinces and states thereby turning his government into a government of the Alawiites. Although Abu Saraya was dead, most of the Alawiites who were in power in the provinces did not surrender and kept struggling to establish their caliphate. They had an opportunity to establish themselves after Ameen's death because Sahal's sons Fadal and Hasan, who had Mamoon under their control were Iranian by race and considered the family of Abi Talib superior to the family of Abbas so they favored the Alawiites.

Mamoon was educated and trained by Jafar Barmuk and had respect and love in his heart for members of the Prophet's family. His Prime Minister had the opportunity to turn the government towards the

Alawiites after the death of Ameen. However, Harismah's military acumen put an end to Abu Saraya and cleared Iraq of the Alawiites' style of governing and caused their failure in the Hijaz and Yemen. When Abu Saraya appointed Husain Aftas governor of Makkah, Haroon Rasheed's servant, Masroor with 100 men, was in Makkah. At that time the governor of Makkah appointed by Mamoon was Dawood bin Isa bin Musa Abbasi. Masroor and Dawood heard the news of the arrival of Husain Aftas in Makkah and they convened a meeting of the Abbasids and their supporters to decide what to do. Masroor and others felt that they should fight. However, Dawood said, "I do not like bloodshed at the Haram Shareef. If Husain Aftas enters Makkah by one side, I shall make an exit by the other."

Masroor remained silent and Dawood left for Iraq upon the arrival of Husain Aftas. Masroor also left Makkah. Husain Aftas halted outside Makkah and entered when he heard that the Abbasid governor left Makkah, he entered with only ten men. He made Tawaf, circling the Ka'bah, stayed there for one night and then called for his men to join him and occupied Makkah and began to rule over it.

Having reached Yemen, Ibrahim bin Musa bin Jafar Sadiq expelled Mamoon's governor Ishaq bin Musa bin Isa and began to govern it. Husain Aftas removed the cover of the Ka'bah and put the new one sent by Abu Saraya on, he looted the houses of Banu Abbas, took their valuables by force and then started taking the possessions of the general public in Makkah. He removed the gold from the pillars around the Ka'bah and emptied the treasury and distributed it among his men.

Ibrahim bin Musa arrived in Yemen and started slaughtering and plundering he was called Qassab for massacring people in large numbers. He is still referred to by this name. Other chiefs of the Alawiites who ruled on behalf of Ibrahim bin Musa and Husain Aftas were also involved in looting, killing and plundering. You have read about Zaid bin Musa who was called "Zaid the fire" for perpetrating atrocities. The Alawiites who received power from Abu Saraya for a short period, created disturbances and their tyrannical and merciless acts proved to be their doom. When the news of Abu Saraya's death reached Makkah, the Makkans began to whisper among themselves.

Husain Aftas called on Mohammad bin Jafar Sadiq bin Muhammad Baqar bin Ali bin Husain bin Ali bin Abi Talib and said, "This is the most suitable time. People's hearts are inclined towards you. Abu Saraya has been killed. You should accept the oath for your caliphate. I take the oath at your hands and none will oppose you." Mohammad bin Jafar was ready to take the oath and he began to be addressed as Amir al-Muminin. After this, Husain Aftas and Mohammad bin Jafar's son Ali started criminal activities. They began raping women and became so notorious that it was very difficult for the women of Makkah to protect their chastity. They began to humiliate men and women in public. A group of criminals joined them and they continued their crimes.

One day, Ishaq bin Mohammad, the son of the head judge of Makkah, was passing through the market and Ali bin Mohammad bin Jafar, the Amir al-Muminin's son had him arrested and imprisoned him in his house. The people held a meeting and it was unanimously resolved that Mohammad bin Jafar Sadiq should be removed and the judge's son should be released from the control of Ali bin Mohammad bin Jafar. When they went to the Amir al-Muminin's house and encircled it, they granted his son pardon and safety if he returned the judge's son. He then entered his son's house and found the boy there and handed him over to the people.

It has been mentioned above that Ibrahim bin Musa Kazim known as Ibrahim Qassab had expelled the governor of Yemen, Ishaq bin Musa bin Isa. Ishaq bin Musa went in hiding in Yemen and bided his time. Having observed the oppressive government of the Alawiites and the people's hatred against them, he easily formed an army. Ibrahim came from Makkah. Ishaq left Yemen and decided to invade Makkah. The Alawiites gathered the Bedouins of the adjoining areas, dug out trenches and prepared themselves to face Ishaq. Ishaq marshaled his troops in the battle array but changed his mind and he left for Iraq. Hasan bin Sahal became free from the troubles in Iraq and drew Harsimah's attention to the necessity of putting down the riots in the Hijaz and Yemen. Harsimah gave an army to Raja bin Jameel and Jaludi and sent them to Makkah. While Harsimah's army was on the way to Makkah, Ishaq was coming from there and they met on the

way. Ishaq and his army returned to Makkah with them. They found the Alawiites there quite ready to accept the challenge. After a fierce battle, the Alawiites were defeated and the Abbasid army entered Makkah as victors.

Mohammad bin Jafar asked for pardon and security and it was granted. He went to Juhfa and from there he proceeded to Juhaina where he started gathering an army. When he formed a large army, he invaded Madinah. The governor of Madinah Haroon bin Musayyib fought several battles with them and finally Mohammad bin Jafar Sadiq suffered a crushing defeat and returned to Juhaina. During the battle, he lost an eye and many of his men were killed. The next year during the season of Hajj, he asked the rulers of Makkah Raja bin Jameel and Jaludi for pardon and security and came to Makkah. He gathered the people and delivered a sermon. He said "I thought that Mamoon Rasheed was dead and therefore I took the oath from the people. Now the correct information has come to me that he is still living. Therefore I release you from the oath". Then after performing Hajj, he went to Hasan bin Sahal in 201 A.H. who sent him to Caliph Mamoon. Mamoon treated him with honor. He decided to go to Merv from Iraq and died at Jurjan on the way.

The Death of Harsimah bin Ayun

Fadal bin Sahal had assisted Mamoon very much after Haroon Rasheed's death and provided him with all the materials for the fight against his brother Ameen. Mamoon made him the Prime Minister and the director of the military expeditions and the office of official documents. The Iranians favored Mamoon who had been trained by Jafar Barmuk. He had reduced their taxes of the Iranians by one quarter. Fadal had all the facilities available to dominate over his ministry and was able to dictate to the Caliph. He had persuaded Mamoon to keep Merv as the capital. The Arabs were not able to establish their power in Merv. Had Mamoon Rasheed gone to Baghdad, Fadal bin Sahal would not have enjoyed as much power and the Arabs would not have allowed the Caliph to follow Sahal bin Fadal's dictates. Hasan bin Fadal was appointed as the ruler of Iraq and Hijaz in order to weaken the Arabs. Harsimah and Tahir were two formidable

and powerful generals who performed great feats in the battles that established Mamoon's caliphate. Tahir was more popular than Harsimah but Harsimah's age and length of service raised him in rank and they both enjoyed equal honor at the Caliph's court.

Tahir felt that his killing Ameen hurt Mamoon and this damaged his chance for advancement. Tahir was not given the governorship of the territories he conquered. Sahal bin Fadal was able to appoint his brother, Hasan bin Sahal as the ruler of the Western territories by the order of Mamoon. Tahir was powerless to make any move to break the power of the non-Arabs and bring Mamoon and the government from Merv to Baghdad. Only Harsimah could have done something to draw the Caliph's attention to it in deference to the wishes of the Arabs. Harsimah knew that no letter or application could reach the Caliph direct without passing through Fadal bin Sahal's hands. He also knew that no one could see him without the permission of Fadal. Mamoon Rasheed's condition was like that of a prisoner in his own court.

This was the first example in the history of Islam that a minister had virtually put the Caliph under house arrest and the latter did not realize it. Following Abu Saraya's death and the departure of the army to Makkah Harsimah found out that the caliph was completely in the dark about the rebellions in Iraq and the Hijaz and the general condition of the country. He immediately departed for Khorasan with the intention of going personally to the Caliph's court and apprising him of all the details of Fadal bin Sahal's activities, which he had concealed from him. Without taking permission from Hasan bin Sahal, Harsimah left for Khorasan. When Fadal bin Sahal was informed that Harsimah was on the way to the Caliph's court, he had an order sent by Mamoon that he should go to Syria and the Hijaz where he was needed and that it was not necessary for him to come to Khorasan.

Harsimah already realized the reality of Mamoon's court and therefore did not pay attention to Mamoon's order and depending on his service record and special rights continued to Merv. When he approached Merv, he ordered the drums to be beaten as soon as he entered the city so that the Caliph would know that some commander was entering the city and to stop Fadal bin Sahal from preventing him to go before the Caliph. When Fadal came to know that Harsimah did

not comply with the Caliph's order and continued marching to Merv and had the intention of lodging a complaint against him, he said to Mamoon Rasheed, "I have come to know through a reliable source that Harsimah incited Abu Saraya to rebel against you and when Harsimah was deputed to punish him, he let him escape, and it was Hasan bin Ali who killed him. Only Allah knows his intention but his boldness and impertinence have exceeded all limits, when you ordered him to go to Syria he disobeyed it and is coming to Merv as if he is the ruler."

When Harsimah entered the city with the accompanying uproar of beating drums, Mamoon said, "What is causing this noise?" Fadal said, "Harsimah has arrived and he is entering the city in an insolent manner." Mamoon flew into a rage on hearing this. Finally, Harsimah entered the court but before he could explain the purpose of his visit, Mamoon said, "Why did not you comply with my order?" Harsimah began to offer excuses but Mamoon was so angry that he expelled him from the court dishonorably and sent him to jail. His past performance and achievement could have helped him and Mamoon might have relented and turned to him after cooling down but Fadal bin Sahal did not let this opportunity slip through his fingers. He had him killed and informed Mamoon that he died of natural causes in the jail. Mamoon was not sorry to hear of his death and the condition of Mamoon's court that Harsimah tried to change continued as usual. He died a sad death and there was nobody to undertake the job of informing the Caliph of the truth.

Commotion in Baghdad

When Harsimah was killed in the jail, Hasan bin Sahal was away from Baghdad in Nahrwan. When the news of Harsimah's death reached Baghdad, there was a great outcry and everybody felt that Fadal bin Sahal had captured the Caliph and because Fadal was a Zoroastrian and the son of a Zoroastrian the Arabs would be humiliated. Mohammad bin Abi Khalid promised the people of Baghdad that he would expel Hasan bin Sahal from Iraq and the inhabitants of Baghdad supported him. Mohammad bin Abi Khalid reorganized the army and expelled Ali bin Hisham, the governor appointed by Hasan

bin Sahal, from Baghdad. Hasan bin Sahal sent forces from Nahrwan to Baghdad. Mohammad bin Abi Khalid defeated them and made them flee. Hasan bin Sahal went to Wasit and Mohammad bin Abi Khalid left Baghdad with his army and marched towards Wasit.

Hasan bin Sahal left Wasit when he learned of Mohammad bin Abi Khalid's approach. He entered Wasit and occupied it and then immediately set out in pursuit of Hasan bin Sahal. Mohammad bin Abi Khalid camped at Jarjaraya and after preparing himself clashed with Hasan bin Sahal. Several battles were fought. In one of the battles, he was mortally wounded. His son brought him to Baghdad but he succumbed to the injuries. The natives of Baghdad wanted to make Mansoor bin Mehdi bin Mansoor Abbasi caliph but he declined. Finally, after much persuasion he agreed that Mamoon would remain caliph and his name would continue to be read in the sermon and he would be the Caliph's deputy in place of Hasan bin Sahal. Therefore, in the month of Rabia al-Awwal 201 A.H., Mansoor bin Mehdi took over Baghdad and Isa bin Mohammad bin Abi Khalid was appointed commander-in-chief.

Hasan bin Sahal steadied himself and then sent forces against Mansoor bin Mehdi and a chain of battles started. In Iraq there was an uproar and in Merv Mamoon Rasheed remained in the dark because Fadal bin Sahal had cut off all means of communicating information to him. During the battles between Mansoor bin Mehdi and Hasan bin Sahal, criminals had a chance to commit crimes with impunity. Looting, robbery, theft, rape and oppression were committed openly on a large scale. No one hesitated in committing a crime, when the corruption reached its zenith the noblemen of Baghdad who had grown sick of the lawless deeds in Baghdad nominated Khalid Madryush and Sahal bin Salamah to begin the work of calling to the good and forbidding evil by sermonizing the masses. Their joint efforts yielded results and the corruption was reduced considerably. However, Mansoor bin Mehdi and Isa bin Mohammad bin Abi Khalid apprehended rebellion from Sahal bin Salamah. At last Mansoor and Isa reconciled with Hasan bin Sahal on the condition that Hasan bin Sahal should have a pardon for them signed by caliph Mamoon and keep these two men as the rulers of Baghdad.

Hasan bin Sahal entered Baghdad, assigned them as rulers of Baghdad on his behalf and went back to Nahrwan. This took place in Ramadan in 201 A.H. While these incidents were taking place, in Merv in Ramadan, 201 A.H. Mamoon Rasheed was nominating Ali Rada bin Musa Kazim bin Jafar Sadiq his heir-apparent and was totally unaware of the events that were taking place in Baghdad.

The Succession of Imam Ali Rada

Mamoon Rasheed was completely unaware of the affairs of state under Fadal bin Sahal who ran the government as he wanted. Mamoon didn't even know that he was living the life of a man under house arrest.

In 200 A.H., Mamoon called most of the members of the Abbasids to Merv and kept them as his guests for months although none of them merited selection as heir apparent. Finally, Fadal bin Sahal and other supporters of the Prophet's family drew his attention to Ali Rada bin Musa Kazim. The fact was that he was superior to all among the Banu Hashim in respect of his competence and qualification. Mamoon had his daughter married to Ali Rada without any hesitation and in Ramadan 201 A.H. he made Ali Rada bin Musa Kazim his heir-apparent and deposed his own brother Motamin who was made heir-apparent after Mamoon by Haroon Rasheed. Haroon had himself authorized Mamoon to remove Motamin and so Mamoon cannot be accused of deposing Motamin unlawfully. Following this Mamoon stopped wearing black clothes, which was the mark of the Abbasids and began to put on green clothes, which was the mark of the Alawiites. Then all the territories followed suit.

Mamoon then issued instructions to the governors, officials and soldiers to use green clothes instead of black ones throughout the entire realm. He sent orders to the governors to take the oath from the people for the succession of Ali Rada bin Musa Kazim. When that order was conveyed to the government officials through Fadal bin Sahal, some obeyed it with pleasure and some detested it. When Hasan bin Sahal sent that order to Isa bin Mohammad bin Abi Khalid and Mansoor bin Mehdi in Baghdad, it created a new uproar and the people were convinced that Fadal bin Sahal succeeded in taking the

caliphate away from the Abbasids and delivered it to the Alawiites. The Abbasids and their supporters could not tolerate it. They knew that Abu Muslim was the first who tried to take the caliphate away from the Abbasids and deliver it to the Alawiites and about another abortive attempt that was made by the Barmuk family. As the distinction between the Arabs and the non-Arabs became apparent, the general Arab masses considered Fadal bin Sahal to be their opponent and the patron of the non-Arabs. The Arab's understood Áli Rada's succession to be a victory for the non-Arabs and a defeat of the Arabs.

The Arabs dominated Baghdad and it was the central city of the Abbasids. The news created great unrest there and caused them to consult with one another on the issue. They had the recent experience of undergoing untold miseries during rebellion and disobedience and caution made them to decide that it was essential to learn the reaction of the other Islamic provinces and territories to the news of Ali Rada's succession before they considered action. The news reached Baghdad in Ramadan 201 A.H. and for three months, they did not take any steps. Meanwhile the movement to stop the caliphate from being taken away from the Abbasids and given to the Alawiites continued to gather strength.

Ibrahim bin Mehdi's Caliphate

On 25 Dhul Hijjah 201 A.H., the Abbasids and their supporters chose Ibrahim bin Mehdi for the caliphate and took the oath for him secretly. On 1 Muharram 202 A.H., all of Baghdad took the oath openly and made him caliph and deposed Mamoon. As soon as Ibrahim assumed power, he promised the soldiers to pay them six months salary as a reward. He captured Kufa and Sawad and marched to Madain and was occupied in strengthening his army. He then deputed Abbas Bin Musa ruler of Baghdad and Ishaq bin Musa in the eastern territories.

On Hasan bin Sahal's side, Humaid bin Abdul Humaid was in Qasr Ibn Hubairah. He went to Hasan bin Sahal. Ibrahim bin Mehdi sent Isa bin Mohammad bin Abi Khalid to capture Qasr Ibn Hubairah and he captured it looting Humaid's military camp. Hasan bin Sahal gave a letter of governorship to Ali Rada's brother Abbas bin Musa Kazim and sent him to Kufa. He reached Kufa and made an announcement

saying, "My brother Ali Rada will succeed to the caliphate after Mamoon. Those of you who are the lovers of the Prophet's family should not recognize Ibrahim bin Mehdi as caliph and any action against Mamoon Rasheed's caliphate is not correct."

The Kufans recognized Abbas bin Musa Kazim's governorship and only the Shiites stayed unattached maintaining the position that they supported his brother Ali Rada but wanted nothing to do with Mamoon. Ibrahim bin Mehdi deputed his two generals Sayeed and Abul Bast to challenge Abbas bin Musa Kazim. Abbas sent his cousin Ali bin Mohammad bin Jafar to fight with him. The armies clashed, which resulted in the defeat of Ali bin Mohammad. Sayeed camped at Hirah and ordered the army to move on to Kufa. The Kufans and Abbas fought several battles and finally the Kufans and Abbas asked for safety and security. Abbas bin Musa Kazim came out of the house and the victorious army began to enter Kufa. In the meantime, Abbas's men felt enthused and emboldened and prepared to fight again. Sayeed's army defeated them again, occupied Kufa and imprisoned Abbas.

Hearing the news Sayeed left Hirah and came to Kufa and after making an inquiry if Abbas had violated the agreement after asking for safety and security released him. He had some killed for violation of the peace and after appointing a governor in Kufa went to Baghdad. Hasan bin Sahal sent Humaid bin Abdul Humaid to Kufa. The governor in Kufa fled without a fight. Ibrahim bin Mehdi sent Isa bin Mohammad bin Abi Khalid to Wasit to attack Hasan bin Sahal. Hasan bin Sahal defeated and forced Isa bin Mohammad to flee to Baghdad. In short, 202 A.H. passed and 203 A.H. began with these upheavals.

Ibrahim left no stone unturned in strengthening his caliphate in all possible ways. In the beginning of 203 A.H., Baghdad saw an upheaval, which put his caliphate and government in peril. Humaid bin Abdul Humaid made up his mind to go to Baghdad and fight with Ibrahim bin Mehdi after gaining control over Kufa. Ibrahim bin Mehdi's general was Isa bin Mohammad bin Abi Khalid.

Humaid conspired with Isa bin Mohammad bin Abi Khalid by sending to him messages surreptitiously therefore, he avoided and evaded a confrontation with Humaid. When Isa's brother Haroon bin

Mohammad found out about the conspiracy, he informed Ibrahim bin Mehdi. Ibrahim bin Mehdi called Isa to his court, humiliated him and threw him into prison. When the soldiers heard of his imprisonment, they became restless and Isa's deputy Abbas entered into a coalition with them and proposed the overthrow of Ibrahim bin Mehdi. Most of the inhabitants of Baghdad joined the coup and imprisoned Ibrahim's officials and agents. Then Abbas wrote to Humaid, "Come to Baghdad at once. I shall hand over Baghdad to you". Humaid arrived in Baghdad with his army and gained control over a part of the city. The other part was under the control of Ibrahim bin Mehdi. A few battles were fought in the city. Finally, becoming frustrated Ibrahim bin Mehdi went into hiding and the whole of the city fell under the control of Hasan bin Sahal's generals Humaid bin Abdul Humaid and Ali bin Hisham. Thus, the caliphate of Ibrahim bin Mehdi ended on 17 Dhul Hijjah 203 A.H.

The Death of Fadal bin Sahal

It has been mentioned that whatever news Fadal bin Sahal wanted to communicate to Mamoon he passed it on and whatever he wished to conceal from him he withheld it. He therefore withheld from him the news of Ibrahim bin Mehdi's assuming power as caliph in Baghdad and none dared to acquaint Mamoon with the state of affairs in Iraq. Fadal had deputed Tahir bin Husain as the ruler of Riqqah. Tahir was a famous general whose services could have been utilized in putting an end to the unrest in Iraq but Fadal bin Sahal considered him to be like Harsimah. So, by appointing him governor of an ordinary state he had virtually paralyzed him.

In Iraq unrest continued to increase unabated and the masses began to hate Hasan bin Sahal even more. A few persons therefore gathered courage and ran the risk of undertaking the journey to Merv and called on Ali Rada bin Musa Kazim, the heir apparent to the caliphate, and said, "No one else dares to make Mamoon aware of the real state of affairs except you. So kindly settle this issue."

Although Ali Rada did not regard Fadal bin Sahal as his opponent and always looked at him as a supporter, it was the purity of his heart and intention that convinced him to do the job. He briefed Mamoon

Rasheed in detail about Fadal bin Sahal's and Hasan bin Sahal's improper activities, the murder of Harsimah, neutralizing the power of Tahir, the riot in Iraq and the caliphate of Ibrahim bin Mehdi and said, "The masses are getting sick and your caliphate is in danger." While informing him of all these details he also said to him clearly, "Because you have made me your heir apparent Banu Abbas and their supporters are displeased with you."

After hearing about all these matters Mamoon said to him, "Is anybody else aware of these things other than you?" He said, "Your chiefs and companions also know these things but they are paralyzed with fear of Fadal bin Sahal and they dare not tell you." Mamoon called those officers in private and inquired of them. They all declined to speak but when he assured them that Fadal would not harm them, they opened their months and told him everything and confirmed what Ali Rada had informed him. Hearing this he intended to leave. Merv and go to Iraq. When Fadal came to know about the disclosures, he persecuted the leaders who had acquainted Mamoon with the real state of affairs. He imprisoned some of them and some were insulted and lashed but it was too late to change anything. Mamoon took the wise step that he did not let Fadal bin Sahal become afraid or frustrated. He made Fadal bin Sahal's cousin Ghassan bin Abbad the governor of Khorasan and left Khorasan and went to Iraq. He arrived at Sarkhas. There Fadal bin Sahal was attacked and killed by four persons in his bathroom. The killers escaped.

Mamoon announced that whosoever captured the killers would be given 10,000 dinars. They were duly arrested and killed by his orders. Their heads were sent to Hasan bin Sahal.

Mamoon wrote a consolatory letter to Hasan bin Sahal and made him his minister in Fadal bin Sahal's place. He then visited Fadal's mother to console her. He said to her, "Just as Fadal was your son, I am your son also." After a few days, he married Hasan bin Sahal's daughter Boran and thereby raised Hasan's prestige. In short, Fadal bin Sahal's murder took place in the same way in which Jafar Barmuk's murder had taken place. It goes without saying that it was Mamoon Rasheed who had him murdered and those four men who killed him in his bathroom were ordered by Mamoon Rasheed. Fadal had proved

himself deserving to be killed. In this respect, Mamoon followed his father Haroon Rasheed with the difference that the Haroon had Jafar Barmuk killed and then punished the entire Barmuk family and took the blame of his murder upon himself, while Mamoon had Fadal killed and bestowed so much favor on his family that no one could dare condemn or slander him or prove him guilty to such an extent that even Fadal's brother, father and mother did not complain. The murder took place at Sarkhas on 2 Shaban 202 A.H.

The Death of Imam Ali Rada bin Musa Kazim

Caliph Mamoon Rasheed had already had his daughter Umm Habib married to Ali Rada. During the journey to Iraq, he married his second daughter to Ali Rada's son Mohammad bin Ali Rada but the departure to her husband's house was deferred until she came of age some years later. Mamoon left Merv in Rajab 202 A.H. and reached Baghdad on 15 Safar 204 A.H. He covered the journey in one year and six months and came to Baghdad after halting at many places on the way. The journey fully acquainted him with the situation in the country and the people favorably responded to him upon his arrival in Baghdad. During the same journey, he sent Ali Rada's brother Ibrahim bin Musa Kazim as the leader of the pilgrimage and gave him the governorship of Yemen. He halted at Tus and came to his father's grave and prayed for him.

He stayed in Tus for over a month. What happened while they were there was that the heir apparent Imam Ali Rada died while eating grapes. Mamoon was extremely shocked about his death. He accompanied the funeral procession bare headed and said, "O Abul Hasan! Where should I go and what should I do after you?" For three days, he halted at the grave and lived on bread and salt. He had his father Haroon Rasheed's grave dug out and put Ali Rada's dead body into it so that Haroon Rasheed should be benefited from Ali Rada's grace. Mamoon Rasheed was dedicated to Ali Rada. The popular suspicion that it was Mamoon Rasheed who had his grapes poisoned seems to be totally baseless since he was not compelled to choose him as his heir apparent, which he did of his own accord. He married his daughters to Ali Rada and to his son willingly. He made Ali Rada's

brother governor of Yemen and leader of the pilgrimage. He could not have served a man so much whom he wanted to have killed. Furthermore, how could he put the body of a man he had killed into his father's grave? To have him buried in his father's grave is ample proof of his true and deep love for him, which was not tainted by hypocrisy or pretense. His deep mourning over his death also indicates this fact. Mamoon Rasheed always dealt kindly with the Alawiites during his caliphate and appointed them to high posts, which cannot be overlooked. All these sufficiently demonstrate that he did not hate the Alawiites. He wanted to improve their lot and help them. Had he removed Ali Rada by poison, he could not have continued to behave with them in the manner that he did. It is possible that Banu Abbas or one of their supporters poisoned his grapes because they were displeased with Mamoon Rasheed for making Ali Rada his heir-apparent. Imam Ali Rada died in Safar 203 A.H. when he was 55. He was born at Madinah.

Tahir bin Husain's Reappearance

Tahir bin Husain bin Mus'ab bin Zuraiq bin Hamam has been mentioned above. His grandfather, Zuraiq was the slave of the famous Talha bin Obaidullah. Zuraiq's son Mus'ab bin Zuraiq was a clerk to Banu Abbas's Naqeeb Sulaiman bin Kaseer and was eventually the Ameer of Herat.

Mus'ab's son Tahir bin Husain was born at Merv in 159 A.H. Fadal bin Sahal gave him the governorship of Riqqah and sent him to fight with Nasr bin Sheeth. Nasr bin Sheeth captured Halab and its eastern territories and set himself up as its ruler. Since Tahir did not get the expected and suitable reward following Ameen's death and the victory of Baghdad and since he did not get sufficient encouragement from Fadal bin Sahal, he lived at Riqqah and fought with Nasr bin Sheeth but without enthusiasm. Nasr announced that he did not want to obey Mamoon because he had preferred the non-Arabs to the Arabs. On this point, Tahir agreed with him. When Mamoon became aware of the real state of affairs and left for Baghdad, he wrote to Tahir asking to see him at Nahrwan before reaching Baghdad.

Mamoon left Tus and arrived at Jurjan. He stayed there for over a

month. Continuing in this way, he arrived in Nahrwan after stopping at several places. Tahir had also arrived there after making his nephew Ishaq bin Ibrahim his deputy in Riqqah, and in Nahrwan he met Mamoon. As he was approaching Baghdad, Ibrahim bin Mehdi's caliphate had met its end before he actually entered Baghdad and Ibrahim was in hiding there.

After leaving Nahrwan, Mamoon entered Baghdad on 15 Safar 204 A.H. He held court there and keeping in view Tahir's conquests and sacrifices, asked him to express his wish. Tahir said, "Please give up wearing green clothes and permit all others to wear the traditional black clothes and adopt the ways of the Abbasids." Mamoon agreed and acted accordingly. This met with popular appreciation all over Baghdad and Banu Abbas's grievances were redressed. This happened on 23 Safar 204 A.H.

Appointment of Governors and Important Events

In the month of Safar 204 A.H., Mamoon Rasheed entered Baghdad and attended to improving his administration. He appointed Tahir bin Husain officer of the Police Department and City Magistrate of Baghdad, which were very important posts compared to the governorship of Jazirah and Sawad. The governorship of Kufa was given to his brother Abu Isa and that of Basra to another brother Saleh. Hijaz was given to Abdullah bin Husain bin Abbas bin Ali bin Abi Talib, Mousil to Syed bin Anas Azdi, Riqqah to Abdullah bin Tahir bin Husain, Jazirah to Yahya bin Ma'az and Armenia and Azerbaijan to Isa bin Mohammad bin Abi Khalid.

The same year saw the death of the governor of Egypt, Sirri bin Mohammad bin Hakam. After his death, his son Abdullah bin Sirri succeeded him. Dawood bin Yazid, the governor of Sindh, also died the same year. His place was taken over by Bishr bin Dawood on the condition that he would send yearly 10,000 dirhams to Mamoon as tax. The same year Hasan bin Sahal went mad and his condition deteriorated so much that he had to be physically confined. Mamoon appointed Ahmed bin Abi Khalid as his prime minister. There lived a group near the Persian Gulf known by the name Zutt, who numbered fifteen to twenty thousand. They committed highway robbery making

the road to Basra perilous. Mamoon instructed the governor of Jazirah, Yahya bin Ma'az, to punish them but they were not fully subdued.

Tahir the Governor of Khorasan

Mamoon Rasheed deputed Isa bin Yazid Jaludi in charge of the expedition against the Zutt. In the same year, Tahir visited Mamoon on the occasion of a normal gathering. Seeing Tahir reminded Mamoon of his brother Ameen and tears rushed to his eyes. He was also reminded of Tahir's oppressive measures, which he had used in arresting, humiliating and killing Ameen. When Tahir asked him the reason of his tears, he said, "There is something which is humiliating if expressed and painful if concealed but who in the world is free from pain and sorrow. I also tolerate this pain."

Tahir did not say anything at the moment but later on he ordered one of Mamoon's courtiers Husain who was also present on the occasion to ask him the cause and sent him 100,000 dirhams through his clerk Mohammad bin Haroon as a reward. Finding an opportune moment, Husain asked Mamoon the reason tears were brought to his eyes. He, on condition of not revealing it to anyone, said, "My eyes were filled with tears to see Tahir on that particular day because I thought it was the same Tahir who humiliated and killed my brother Ameen and today he gives me so much respect." When Husain conveyed this information to Tahir, he was very worried and began to envision his own death assuming that Mamoon would certainly harm him one day. Keeping it in his heart he said to the Prime Minister Ahmad bin Abi Khalid, "I want to live away from Baghdad. Please send me as the governor of a province and I won't forget this service of yours."

When Mamoon set out to Baghdad from Khorasan, he had made Ghassan bin Abbad the governor of Khorasan. Ahmad bin Abi Khalid went to Mamoon and said to him, "The thought of Ghassan bin Abbad and Khorasan did not allow me to have a wink of sleep last night because news is coming from the border that the Turks (Mongols) are going to rebel soon. If this happens, Ghassan bin Abbad won't be able to save Khorasan. A more able and experienced man is needed there." Mamoon said, "Yes, it is a matter of great concern. Can you tell me who should be sent there?" Ahmad bin Abi Khalid said, "I don't see

anybody better than Tahir bin Husain." Mamoon said, "Tahir bin Husain may also rebel." Ahmad bin Abi Khalid said, "I stand surety on behalf of Tahir. He won't rebel."

Mamoon sent for Tahir and made him the ruler of all the provinces of the east from Baghdad to Khorasan up to Sindh, Balkh and Bukhara and sent him off to the capital of Khorasan, Merv. His son Abdullah was appointed the city magistrate and chief of police in Baghdad. Tahir was given 1,000,000 dirhams plus a slave as a reward at the time of departure. Mamoon said to him, "This is the reward for your excellent service." Mamoon had briefed the slave that if he saw Tahir bent upon rebellion he should remove him with poison. Tahir left Baghdad at the end of Dhul Qada 205 A.H. and went to Khorasan.

Abdullah bin Tahir's Governorship

The news reached in 206 A.H. that Yahya bin Mu'az, the governor of Jazirah, and Sirri bin Mohammad Hakam, the governor of Egypt, died and they made their sons Ahmad and Obaidallah the governors of Jazirah and Egypt respectively. Nasr bin Sheeth began to advance towards Jazirah and Obaidallah raised the flag of rebellion in Egypt. Mamoon appointed Ishaq bin Ibrahim bin Husain bin Mus'ab officer to the Police Department in place of Obaidullah. Then he appointed Abdullah bin Tahir, governor of Jazirah and sent him off with the instructions first to fight Nasr bin Sheeth and after completing this, send the forces to Egypt.

Abdullah bin Tahir at once left with the military forces, halted in between Riqqah and Egypt and spread out groups of his soldiers to besiege Nasr bin Sheeth. When Tahir bin Husain received the news in Khorasan that the Caliph had made Abdullah governor of Jazirah and in charge of all the western provinces, he wrote a letter to Abdullah, which contained his views on the principles of administration, grand ethics and politics. Historically, it is considered to be one of the best documents on ethics and the principles of administration.

Mamoon learned about it, had it copied and sent a copy to each of his governors. Imam Ibn Khaldoon in his book *A Preface to History* and Ibn Atheer in his book *A Complete History* have recorded it. It is considered

essential to include it in the study of ethics. The same year Fadal bin Rabi who went into hiding for fear of Mamoon and then eventually went to Ibrahim bin Mehdi and joined his companionship and hid himself when Ibrahim went underground, begged for forgiveness and Mamoon forgave him.

A series of battles continued to be fought between Abdullah bin Tahir and Nasr bin Sheeth and due to this disturbance no expedition could be sent to Egypt. Abdur Rahman bin Ahmad became an insurgent in Yemen but he was defeated in the same year. Mamoon sent Dinar bin Abdullah to Yemen, Abdur Rahman bin Ahmad requested Dinar to grant him security and pardon and left Yemen for Baghdad and Yemen came under the control of Dinar bin Abdullah.

The Death of Tahir bin Husain the Governor of Khorasan

Having arrived in Khorasan, he easily succeeded in establishing his government and authority and he put an end to all the disturbances there. It is a fact that he was the best choice for the governorship of Khorasan. As mentioned above, Tahir was not satisfied with Mamoon. He could have possibly avoided Mamoon and captured a vast territory in order to protect him from coming into his grip. He had seen the end of Fadal bin Sahal and the Barmuks and had read about Abu Muslim Khorasani. He also knew Mamoon's view about him, which he had gathered from Husain Nadeem. In brief in Jumad-al-Thani 207 A.H., Tahir made a sermon on Friday at the Central Mosque in which he neither named Caliph Mamoon Rasheed nor did he offer prayers for him. He simply prayed for the correction of the community and stepped down from the pulpit.

Kulthum bin Thabit, an agent of the caliph was present there and he at once sent the information to Mamoon in Baghdad. When Mamoon read the report, he sent for the Prime Minister, informed him of the events and instructed him to leave with the army for Khorasan without any delay. He said to him, "As you stand surety, you should go to Khorasan and save it from his mischief and bring back Tahir as a captive." Ahmad bin Abi Khalid prepared for departure. The next day another report arrived that Tahir had fallen ill on Friday and suddenly

died on Saturday. The slave who was given to Tahir on the occasion of his appointment to the rank of governor probably poisoned him when he found out Tahir's negative intention about Mamoon.

Upon hearing the news of Tahir's death, Mamoon Rasheed said, "All praise is due to Allah who caused his death before mine." Then he made his son Talha bin Tahir governor of Khorasan and sent Ahmad bin Abi Khalid to Khorasan to establish Talha bin Tahir firmly there so that there might not be any possibility of rebellion and disobedience there. It was a trademark of Mamoon that he would penalize a rebel or revolutionary and nothing ever stopped him from destroying him but he never harmed the guilty party's family and relatives. He usually would endear himself to them even more by serving them. Ahmad bin Abi Khalid went to Khorasan and Mawaraunnahr and punished the insurgents. When he was informed that Tahir's brother Husain bin Husain bin Mus'ab rebelled in Kerman he went there, arrested him and presented him to Mamoon. Mamoon excused him. When Ahmad bin Abi Khalid was returning from Khorasan to the capital Baghdad. Talha bin Tahir presented to him 3,000,000 dirhams in cash and goods worth 100,000 dirhams as gift. He gave Ahmed's clerk 500,000 dirhams.

The same year Mamoon removed Isa bin Yazid Jaludi and assigned Dawood bin Manjoor commander of the expedition to Zutt and put the territories of Basra, Dajlah, Yamama and Bahrain under his control. He made Mohammad bin Hafiz the ruler of Tabristan. The same year the tribe of Banu Shaiban revolted against Mamoon. Mamoon sent Syed bin Anas to punish and discipline them. The clash with Banu Shaiban took place at Waskarah and they were defeated.

The same year Mamoon Rasheed sent Mohammad bin Jafar Amri as ambassador to Nasr bin Sheeth who had been continuously suffering defeat at the hands of Abdullah bin Tahir, who persuaded him to obey. Nasr bin Sheeth said, "I am ready to reconcile with Mamoon Rasheed provided I should not be forced to go to his court." He came to Mamoon and conveyed Nasr's condition. Mamoon swore that he would not rest until he forced Nasr to present himself in his court. Nasr said to his companions who were all Arabs, "How can Mamoon Rasheed, who failed to subdue the toads of the Zutt community, get the better of us?" He then geared up to give him a tougher fight than before.

The Insurrection in Africa

North Africa, this province included central Tunis and Qairwan situated between Egypt and Morocco, was given to Ibrahim bin Aghlab in 184 A.H. on lease for 40,000 dinars as tax annually during Haroon Rasheed's regime. He ruled over Africa very efficiently. In Mamoon Rasheed's regime the ruler of North Africa was Ibrahim's son Zeyadatullah bin Ibrahim bin Aghlab. In 208 A.H., there was a revolt in Tunis, which was engineered by Mansoor bin Naseer. Mansoor bin Naseer captured most parts of Tunis and besieged Zeyadatullah in the capital Qairwan. Zeyadatullah defeated and forced Mansoor bin Naseer to flee but Mansoor rallied his forces again and came to fight and the tug of war continued from 208 A.H. to 211 A.H. At last, Mansoor bin Naseer was killed by one of his own men and Zeyadatullah ruled over Africa easily.

The End of Nasr bin Sheeth's Rebellion

Nasr bin Sheeth's situation has been related above. He loved and befriended Ameen bin Haroon. He prepared himself to revolt when he heard of Ameen's murder and seeing the subjugation of the Arab elements and the domination of the non-Arabs over the Islamic caliphate. He had no sympathy with the Alawiites and his opposition and hatred of the non-Arabs compelled him to fight with Mamoon. Before Abdullah bin Tahir, Tahir bin Husain had waged a low-key war with him. He prolonged the battle and remained safe which, earned him great popularity and a reputation for valor caused him to have a meteoric rise in status. He had occupied almost all the regions of the province Jazirah and lived at Kaisoom to the north of Halab. At last, in 209 A.H. Abdullah bin Tahir encircled him from all sides and besieged him there. Being compelled by the severity of the siege and his helplessness he surrendered to Abdullah bin Tahir unconditionally. He sent him to Mamoon in Baghdad who put him under surveillance in Mansoor City.

The Murder of Ibn Ayesha and the Arrest of Ibrahim

Ibrahim bin Mohammad bin Abdul Wahab bin Ibrahim Imam bin Mohammad bin Ali bin Abdullah bin Abbas bin Abdul Muttalib alias Ibn Ayesha took the oath for the caliphate at the hands of Ibrahim bin Mehdi. When Ibrahim bin Mehdi went into hiding, Ibn Ayesha followed suit. Ibrahim bin Aghlab and Malik bin Shaheen accompanied them. When Abdullah bin Tahir caught Nasr bin Sheeth and sent him to Baghdad, spies informed Mamoon that the day Nasr bin Sheeth entered Baghdad, ibn Ayesha, Ibrahim bin Aghlab and Malik bin Shaheen would revolt and create chaos. Mamoon had prior information about their hiding in Baghdad and trying to win over people to become accomplices in the conspiracy.

Upon receiving this news, the Baghdad police department was ordered to arrest the ringleaders of the conspiracy at any cost. The Police succeeded and three of the leaders except Ibrahim bin Mehdi were taken into custody and put in jail. They tried to break out and escape. When Mamoon was informed, he went to the jail. He had them executed. Ibn Ayesha was the first Abbasid who was executed by Mamoon. This happened in the month of Safar 210 A.H. After a short time Ibrahim bin Mehdi was arrested while traveling in the guise of a woman. He was presented in the court with the same female clothes on.

Mamoon counseled with the people present in the court. They advised him to execute Ibrahim but Mamoon's Prime Minister Ahmad bin Abi Khalid said, "Please forgive him and pardon his rebellion." Mamoon forgave him and Ibrahim bin Mehdi recited verses in praise of Mamoon and Mamoon treated him with honor and love. This took place in Rabi-al-Awwal 210 A.H.

Revolt in Egypt and Alexandria

It has been recorded above that the governor of Egypt, Sirri bin Mohammad bin Hakam had nominated his son Obaidullah as his heir-apparent at the time of his death. Immediately after assuming power Obaidullah revolted. Busy fighting Nasr bin Sheeth, Abdullah bin Tahir was not able to pay attention to Egypt and Mamoon because

of disturbances on other fronts could not send another expedition to Egypt. A great part of the province of Egypt went out of the control of his government. It is said that Imam Malik bin Anas's followers who lived in Cordova, the capital of Andulus (Muslim Spain), entered into a conspiracy against the Ummayah Caliph Hakam bin Hisham. At the last minute, the caliph received information about the plot and destroyed and demolished the western part of the city of Cordova where the conspiracy was centered.

He arrested the followers of Imam Malik and punished and expelled them from Spain. One group settled in Morocco and another went to Egypt and entered Alexandria by boat. After a short time, the newly arrived Malikis revolted against Obaidullah's ruler. They expelled the ruler from Alexandria, captured it and its surrounding territories and made Abu Hafs Omar Baluti their Ameer. At this time Abdullah bin Tahir was at war with Nasr bin Sheeth.

Obaidullah bin Sirri was not able to recapture the territory from the Malikis. When Abdullah bin Tahir was free from fighting Nasr bin Sheeth, he turned his attention to Egypt. Obaidullah bin Sirri fought but Abdullah bin Tahir, defeated and surrounded him. Compelled by the siege Obaidullah requested security and pardon and laid down arms and surrendered himself to Abdullah. Abdullah then went to Alexandria. Abu Hafs Omar Baluti was powerless and requested security and pardon. Abdullah bin Tahir agreed on the condition that Abu Hafs and his group should leave Alexandria and Egypt and go to an island in the Roman Sea (Roman part of the Mediterranean Sea).

Omar, along with his men, boarded the ships and went to Crete and captured it and they settled there permanently and established their rule there. This took place in 210 A.H. For the next 160 years the dynasty of Abu Hafs Omar Baluti ruled over Crete. Finally, Armetius, Constantine's son, took the island from the last ruler of the Abu Hafs dynasty, Abdul Aziz and annexed it to Greece.

Zuraiq and Bâbak Khurmic

Zuraiq, whose real name was Ali bin Sadqah, was an Arab. He was made governor of Armenia and Azerbaijan in 209 A.H. by Caliph Mamoon Rasheed. He collected 40,000 men and declared his

independence and revolted against Mamoon.

Mamoon sent Ibrahim bin Laith bin Fadal to Azerbaijan. A new religion had been spreading since the time of Haroon Rasheed in northern Persia near the border of Azerbaijan, Jawedan, a Zoroastrian, had founded this new religion. It professed murder, bloodshed and adultry as lawful. It resembled the Mazdki religion. When Jawedan died, his disciple Bâbak Khurmi took possession of his wife and became the head of his teacher's followers. During his regime, they continued to grow in power and their number increased considerably. Their constant plundering and looting put an end to peace in the provinces there.

They began to challenge the government forces in 201 A.H. Several times the governors suffered defeat and that quickened the rise of Babak's power and influence considerably. In 209 A.H., Bâbak captured the governor of Azerbaijan following which, Zuraiq was sent there as governor.

Following Zuraiq's revolt in 211 A.H. there appeared two enemies instead of one. Mamoon Rasheed ordered the governor of Mousil, Syed bin Anas to fight against him. He attacked Zuraiq with a big army but was killed and his soldiers escaped fleeing. Mamoon was shocked to hear this. At the end of 211 A.H., he appointed Mohammad bin Humaid Toosi, governor of Mousil and ordered him to punish Zuraiq and Bâbak both. Zuraiq had occupied Mousil before Mohammad bin Humaid Toosi left Baghdad with his army. They fought near Mousil, Zuraiq lost and fled and Mohammad bin Humaid entered Mousil as the victor.

He then recruited Arabs into his army, put his army and equipment in order and marched towards Zuraiq. They clashed at the Zab River. Zuraiq was defeated again and had to bear the humiliation of capture and imprisonment. Mohammad bin Humaid went ahead removed all his administrators and workers and put the whole province of Azerbaijan under his own control. Then he decided to deal with Bâbak Khurmi. Several battles were fought and Khurmi was pushed back to the mountains. Khurmi and his forces climbed upon the mountain. Mohammad bin Humaid followed them. Khurmi turned back and

attacked and defeated Mohammad bin Humaid. Khurmi's men came out of their hiding places and began a general massacre. During this fight, Mohammad bin Humaid was killed. This victory encouraged Bâbak Khurmi even more. This event took place in 212 A.H.

The same year Musa bin Hafs the governor of Tabristan died and Mamoon appointed Musa's son in his place. Then he sent Hajib bin Saleh to Sindh as its governor. The previous governor Bishr bin Dawood refused to hand over the authority. A fight ensued and Bishr lost and fled to Kerman.

The same year Mamoon recalled Abdullah bin Tahir from Egypt and ordered him to finish the insurrection of Bâbak Khurmi. He wanted to march to Babak Khurmi and marshal his troops in battle array at Dinoor however, he received news that the Khwarij had revolted in Nishapur following the death of Talha bin Tahir, the governor of Khorasan. Mamoon immediately sent a letter to Talha's brother Abdullah bin Tahir appointing him governor of Khorasan and ordered him to put down the revolt of the Khwarij. Abdullah bin Tahir left Dinoor and turned to Nishapur. Bâbak Khurmi therefore remained safe from Abdullah bin Tahir. No other general was assigned to fight him. His mischief met its end following the death of Mamoon. Abdullah bin Tahir arrived in Khorasan and succeeded in putting down the rebellion of the Khwarij.

Miscellaneous Events

Mamoon Rasheed's Prime Minister Ahmad bin Abi Khalid was very wise, noble-hearted and good-natured, died the same year, 212 A.H. Mamoon appointed Ahmad bin Yusuf in his place. Ahmad bin Abi Khalid was a Syrian slave of Bani Amir he was a talented author and administrator.

Ahmad bin Yusuf was a scribe in an undistinguished office. As Mamoon knew his merit, he appointed him the post of prime minister. In 212 A.H., Ahmad bin Muhammad Omari alias Ahmar al-Ain (Red Eye) revolted in Yemen. Caliph Mamoon deputed Mohammad bin Abdul Humaid popularly known as Abur Râzi in Yemen. In 213 A.H., Mamoon deputed his own son Abbas in Jazirah, Thagoor and Awasim

and his own brother Abu Ishaq Motasim in Syria and Egypt. Abu Ishaq on his own behalf sent Ibn Omairah Baz Isa as the ruler of Egypt. In 214 A.H., groups of the Qais and Yemenia tribes created chaos and wanted to kill ibn Omairah and revolted. Motasim himself went to Egypt, subdued the insurgents and appointed administrators and peace was restored there.

In 213 A.H., Mamoon appointed Ghassan bin Abbas the governor of Sindh. The same year saw the death of Abur Râzi, the governor of Yemen, at the hands of rebels. Having been compelled Mamoon gave the state of Yemen to Mohammad bin Ibrahim Ziyadi who descended from Zeyad bin Abi Sufyan. He went there, founded the city of Zubaid, he made it his headquarter and began to rule over Yemen. He used to send presents and gifts to the Caliph and read his name in the sermon. He governed independently until his death in 245 A.H. After him, his descendents and slaves ruled there until 533 A.H.

In 214 A.H., Mamoon made Ali bin Hisham the governor of Jabal, Qum, Isfahan and Azerbaijan. In 214 A.H., Abu Bilal Sabi Shâri revolted. Mamoon sent his son Abbas to punish and discipline him. Abu Bilal was killed in the fighting and the malevolence ended. In 215 A.H., the Emperor Michael died and his son Nofil succeeded him. When he noticed signs of disobedience and enmity from the Romans, Mamoon assigned Ishaq bin Ibrahim bin Mus'ab to the governorship of Sawâd, Halwân and Euphrates, left a deputy in Baghdad and he invaded the Romans. He passed through Mousil, Antakia, Masisa and Tartoos and entered Roman territory. He captured the fort of Qarah and pulled down its fortifications. Then he sent Ashnas to the fort of Sundus, and Ajeef and Jafar to the fort of Sanan with a division of the army and these two forts were captured. Abbas bin Mamoon Rasheed conquered the city of Maltiah. Motasim, who lived in Egypt, returned and called on Mamoon. The Romans were humbled and begged to be forgiven. Caliph Mamoon returned and went to Damascus. He was still on the way when the Romans rallied their forces and suddenly invaded Tartoos and Masisa. The civilians of the two cities were off their guards thinking that the Romans had reconciled with the Muslims and they were massacred mercilessly. As soon as Mamoon heard this news, he retraced his steps causing fear in the Roman

territories. The Islamic Army began to conquer fort after fort and city after city. Caliph Mamoon continued to advance after conquering many forts and territories and Motasim attacked and captured thirty forts. On another flank, Yahya bin Aksam was busy conquering cities and captured many Roman soldiers. Finally, the Roman emperor begged to be excused for his impertinence. Caliph Mamoon then ordered the army to return . He returned to Damascus and then turned his attention to Egypt. He punished the rebels severely and put things in order there. He left Egypt and went to Syria. He took one year for this invasion and the return journey.

In 217 A.H., the Romans became involved in some rebellious activities and Mamoon had to attack them again. Several battles were waged and eventually Nofil, the Roman Emperor, again begged for reconciliation. Mamoon again forgave him and then he returned from the Roman territory. In 218 A.H., he had to punish and discipline the Romans again. On his return, he ordered his son Abbas to build the city of Tawana as a memorial. He constructed a fort one-mile square. He had fortifications eight miles in circumference built and populated the city with people from different cities.

Mamoon's Death

On the return from the Roman territories, Mamoon halted at Baznadoon River, near Riqqah. He came down with a fever on 13 Jumad-al-Thani 218 A.H. and died on Thursday 18 Rajab 218 A.H.

Before his death, he assembled the noblemen, officials, scholars and legal experts he made his will and gave instructions regarding his burial. He forbade them and others to weep noisily after his death. He called his brother Abu Ishaq Motasim, whom he had made his heir apparent, advised him and drew his attention to the principles of running an administration. He continued to recite Qur'ânic verses. At the end he was heard saying, "O! You whose kingdom is eternal take pity on him whose kingdom is decaying" after which, he breathed his last. His brother Abu Ishaq Motasim and his son Abbas brought him from Riqqah to Tartoos and buried him there. He was 48 and he ruled for 20 years and six months.

His entire regime was passed in fighting battles and putting down rebellions. He left the expedition of Zutt and Bâbak Khurmi incomplete both of these problems could not be suppressed and resolved during his caliphate. The era of his conquests against the Romans had just begun when he was overtaken by death. At the end of his life, he gave proof of his ability as a valiant general. He fought against the Romans over several years continuously and he died in a state of war on the battlefield.

Independence of Provinces and Countries

While the caliphs of Banu Umayyah were in power, Damascus was the center and capital of the entire Islamic world. The Abbasids inherited the caliphate of Banu Umayyah and Abdullah Saffah the first Abbasid caliph in 132 A.H. became the inheritor of Banu Umayyah and the ruler of the entire Islamic world. However, in a short span of six years, from 138 A.H. Andulus was taken away from the control of the Abbasids and a separate caliphate of Banu Umayyah was established there. 172 A.H. another independent territory was established in Morocco, which came to be known as the sultanate of the Idrisids and Morocco left the jurisdiction of the Abbasids forever. In 184 A.H., the territories of Tunis and Algeria, called the province of North Africa, remained under the control of Banu Abbas in name only. An independent kingdom was established by Ibrahim bin Aghlab, which continued to exist for long years. In 205 A.H., Mamoon Rasheed fixed Tahir bin Husain as the Governor of Khorasan and Tahir's family ruled over Khorasan from that time. North Africa was nominally under the Abbasid rule, similarly Khorasan under Tahir's rule was only nominally under the Abbasids and only a small amount of taxes were paid to the caliph. The name of the Abbasid caliph was read at the Friday sermons but in the remaining affairs, Tahir and his descendants were quite independent.

In 213 A.H., Mohammad bin Ibrahim Zeyadi was given the governorship of Yemen and this kingdom remained with his family for a long years. Yemen became technically free like Khorasan and North Africa. In brief, between 138 A.H. and 213 A.H. a span of 75 years, five independent states were established. The Umayyahs in

Andulus, the Idrisids in Morocco, the Aghlabs in North Africa, Tahir and his descendants in Khorasan and the Zeyadis in Yemen all established independent states.

Academic Developments

Mamoon Rasheed's regime was constantly involved in betrayal and rebellion and he remained busy maintaining order in the administration of the territories and provinces and punishing insurgents. It is beyond expectation that a man who had to constantly monitor the situation and the latest developments in his caliphate, could have paid attention to the acquisition of knowledge and the development of the arts. It is surprising that during his administration the sciences and arts developed greatly. Mamoon achieved many remarkable feats in the field of learning he patronized scholarship in an unprecedented manner exceeding that of any other age. That is why his fame is so enduring. Haroon Rasheed founded in Baghdad the institute of Translation and the institute of Compilation called the House of Wisdom, where educated of different foreign countries, followers of different religions and scholars of various languages were always found at work.

Mamoon was interested in having Aristotle's works translated. He wrote to the Roman Emperor requesting him to send all of Aristotle's works available with him. The Emperor hesitated. He consulted his Christian scholars. They said to him, "The books on philosophy are under lock and key in our country and none is allowed to read and teach them because they expel respect for religion from the people's hearts. We must send these books to the Caliph of Islam so that the publicity of philosophy will dampen the religious spirit of the Muslims." The Emperor had five camels loaded with these books and sent them to Mamoon Rasheed. Mamoon assigned the work of translation to Ishaq bin Kindi. He then sent his Christian scholars, under his employment, to Rome and Greece to search and bring books of science and the arts to him. A Christian scholar named Costa bin Luka went to Rome of his own accord and brought many books from there. Mamoon appointed him in the institute of Translation. In a similar manner, he employed Zoroastrian scholars with high salaries and entrusted them with the translation of the sciences and arts of that

civilization, when Indian kings knew the intererts of Mamoon they sent Sanskrit scholars of repute to him as a gift to please him. The translators at the institute of Translation received salaries up to 2,500 and these scholars numbered in the hundreds. Famous among them are Yaqub Kindi, Hunain bin Ishaq, Costa bin Luka Balbakki, Abu Jafar Yahya bin Adi, and Jibrail bin Bakhtishu. Besides salaries, the translators used to receive gold or silver equal to the weight of the books they translated. The books brought from Palestine, Egypt, Alexandria, Sicily, Rome, Iran and India were translated into Arabic. Most of the translators themselves authored books on sciences and arts. Some meritorious translators were deputed for correction and revision of previous translations.

It was during Mamoon Rasheed's regime that a famous scholar Muhammad bin Musa Khwarzami wrote a book on Algebra in a competition sponsored by Mamoon in which he formulated the principles of Algebra and till this age those principle were not brokend not amended. When the study of the Greek books revealed to him that the earth was round, he called the scholars of Geography and Astronomy and ordered them to measure the circumference of the earth by selecting a vast and level field and measuring one degree of it. The level field of Sanjar was chosen. At a point an angle was formed with the height of the North Pole and then measuring with a surveyor's measuring chain they moved straight towards the north. When they had gone 69 and 2/3 miles to the North, one degree had increased in the angle of the height of the North Pole. Therefore, if a distance of one degree on the surface of the earth is 69 and 2/3 miles, the circumference of the whole earth should be approximately 25,000 miles. 360 degrees multiplied by 69 and 2/3 miles is approximately 25,000 miles. When the experiment was repeated on the plains of Kufa, the same results were arrived at.

[Editors note: The actual circumference of the earth is 24,902 miles. It makes an interesting footnote since this event took place more than 650 years before the time of Columbus.]

He had an observatory built at Shamsiyah by Khalid bin Abdul Malik Marwrozi and Yahya bin Mansoor, and appointed scholars of Astronomy to study the heavenly bodies. He called scholars and those

who were enlightened from all areas of the caliphate by order. He held academic seminars and symposia and participated in them in person. Scholars of literature, poets, orators, doctors, in short, the leaders in all fields the like of whom one could have hardly found in the whole world at that time, were present in Baghdad. Asmai was the most eminent scholar of Arabic compilation, syntax and literature could not leave Kufa due to old age. His salary was sent to him there. Important problems were sent to him in Kufa for solution. Farra Nahwi collected and compiled the *Science of Syntax* with many books written on this subject. A separate room in the royal palace was vacated and reserved for him. Scholars used to come to be benefited as his students. It was during Mamoon's regime that books on calligraphy were written and its principles and rules were collected, classified and set in order. In brief, it was due to Mamoon's patronage of learning that the Muslims were fully exposed to the sciences and arts of Greece, Iran, Egypt and India all in one place, the city of Baghdad.

Although the Muslims needed no other sciences and arts in the presence of the Qur'ân and Hadith, they turned to the ancient philosophers and the physical sciences and systemized them as if they were newly formulated. They worked with absolute freedom. Although these foreign sciences and philosophies clashed with the Qur'ân at times, the servants of Islam had the opportunity to prove these philosophies and principles wrong. A chain of clashes between religion and science began. The academic superiority that Islam achieved surpassed the conquests of territory achieved during the dynasty of Banu Umayyah. These academic conquests elevated the status of the caliphate of the Abbasids to be on par with Banu Umayyah. However, from the standpoint of worldly conquests the caliphate of the Abbasids can never be equal to the caliphate of Banu Umayyah. On the contrary, if we evaluate on the basis of worldly conquests the caliphate of Banu Abbas totally failed because it was not able to hold all the territory it acquired from Banu Umayyah,

Rebuttal of a Charge

In some history books it was recorded wrongly that Mamoon Rasheed Abbasi invaded an Indian king of Rajputana named Bapa Râwal 22 times and every time he was defeated and chased away by Bapa

Rawal. It is said that the same distortion has also been recorded in some other books used in the Indian school system. Those who read in their youth that Mamoon was defeated 22 times by Bapa, automatically have a low image about Mamoon who, in order to subdue an ordinary feudal lord, had to use all his might throughout the long period of his Caliphate in vain. In the above pages, the conditions of Mamoon Rasheed Abbasi's regime have been recorded including the activities he was engaged in before he became Caliph. After becoming the ruler of Khorasan, he lived in Merv. It was at that time that Haroon Rasheed died at Tus. After that, Mamoon remained in Tus six years and did not leave. It is correct that his armies put down the rebellion in Kandahâr and Kabul and Islam came to be accepted in that territory by 200 A.H.

During that period, the king of Tibet embraced Islam and sent his images of gold and silver to Caliph Mamoon Rasheed at Merv. Sind was a part of his Caliphate and the governors, appointed by the Caliph's court, ruled there. However, Mamoon never went there in person. He left Merv and went to Baghdad. The details of that journey are recorded in historical documents. However, there is no mention of his journey to Sind or his invasion of India. After arriving in Baghdad, he lived there for a long period. At the end of his life, he left Baghdad to launch attacks on Roman territory. He also went to Syria and Egypt.

While he was returning from the campaigns against the Romans, he died. It defies reason to find the period in which to record his supposed attacks on India. It is possible that some governor of Sind might have sent a division of an army to Rajputana to discipline and punish some feudal Lord. But it probably was such an insignificant expedition that it was not recorded in the historical documentation. If it is said the governor of Sind sent an army, which was defeated by Bapa and the Muslims did not record it to preserve their reputation. Such an objection exposes the objector's dishonesty for he justifies falsehood in the recording of history, in all other cases the Muslim historians never concealed the defeats of Mamoon's armies and the many failures of his generals. While mentioning the plundering by the Zutt, they have mentioned Nasr bin Sheeth's taunt that Mamoon could not even defeat the few toads of Zutt. The historians, who

supposedly committed the crime of distorting facts to favor him, could have easily deleted the Zutt incident because after a short time, that community was totally wiped off the surface of the earth by the Romans and the incident could have remained hidden. However, this baseless lie was fabricated to extol Bapa's valor. This is the same kind of joking lie that the Hindu historians have stated about Vikrmaditya, without any shame that he went to Italy and defeated the Roman emperor Julius Caesar in Rome. This is probably a reply to Alexander's invasion of India where they harmlessly even the historical score with their fabrication. Such light talk may provide a momentary pleasure at village meetings but it is not the recording of history.

Nature and Habits

In respect to prudence, determination, tolerance, scholarship and valor Caliph Mamoon Rasheed was superior to all amongst the Banu Abbas dynasty. He used to say, "Amir Muawiya ﷺ needed Amr bin Aas and Abdul Malik needed Hajjaj but I needed no one." He had a predilection to the Shiite way he felt that the Alawiites deserved respect and the Caliphate more than all others. That was why he removed his brother Motamin and made Ali Raza his successor and had his daughter married to him. He had a mind to vacate his Caliphate and install him as Caliph in his own presence. However, after the passage of ten years and during the last period of his Caliphate he changed his mind following the betrayal and rebellion of the Alawiites. He also wanted to issue instructions that none should remember Amir Muawiya ﷺ with respect and he should be declared a wrong doer but he did not do so at the instance of the people.

He was also very fond of reading the Qur'ân. During some Ramadan, he finished the Qur'ân once everyday. When he made Ali Raza his heir-apparent, a few from among Banu Abbas said to him, "Please don't hand over the Caliphate to the Alawites." Mamoon said, "During his regime Ali bin Abi Talib ﷺ had deputed Banu Abbas to govern most of the provinces. I want to reciprocate and give power and the Caliphate to their descendants."

When Mamoon provided an opportunity to the followers of all faiths and religions to give vent to their opinions openly at *Darul Munazirah,*

the institution that he created to allow free exchange of thought, academic discussions began to take place in an unrestrained way. Hair splitting and sophistic techniques more dedicated to debate than the seeking of truth evolved. The points of debate, which had little to do with the science of the religion, produced antagonistic parties over frivolous philosophies. Mamoon was drawn into these debates and became a participant in this competition. These unrestrained religious debates resulted in the creation of unnecessary and insignificant problems. There was a debate about the creation of the Qur'ân. Mamoon was convinced by the school of thought that maintained that the Quran was created and he began to perpetrate atrocities on those who did not agree with him. The consequence of that pressure and oppression was disastrous. The scholars of the opposite points of view began to oppose him more vehemently and that generated even more rigid antagonism and prejudice to the extent that even after his death some scholars of Islam have been greatly agonized on account of this unreal and unnecessary problem.

Abu Muhammad Yazidi says that he used to teach Mamoon in his childhood. Once the servants complained to him saying, "When you go away, he beats the servants and behaves wantonly with them." Yazidi struck him with his stick seven times. Mamoon was weeping and wiping his eyes when the Prime Minister Jafar Barmuk appeared while Yazidi left. Jafar talked to Mamoon until he laughed and then left. Yazidi came back to him and said, "I was fearing that you would complain to Jafar." Mamoon said, "Leave Jafar I can not complain to my father for you had beaten me for my benefit." Yahya bin Aksam says: "One day I was sleeping in Mamoon Rasheed's room, Mamoon was also asleep. He awakened me saying, 'Please see if there is something near my feet?' I looked but found nothing but he was not satisfied. He called the servants. They lighted a lamp and saw that a snake was sitting under his bed. I said to him, 'you possess the knowledge of the unseen along with your other merits.' He said I seek refuge in Allâh! What are you saying?' The fact is that I just had a dream in which somebody warned me against the danger of a naked sword. I at once woke up and I felt that some ugly incident would take place very soon. The bed was the nearest thing. So I looked into it and the snake was found."

Mohammad bin Mansoor says: "Mamoon used to say that 'a noble man is he who bears the atrocities perpetrated against him by his superior and does not persecute him who is inferior to him.'" Sayeed bin Muslim says: "Mamoon once said, 'If the criminals come to know how much I love forgiveness, their fear will vanish and their hearts will be filled with joy.'"

Mamoon said to a criminal, "By Allah, I shall slay you." He said, "Please be tolerant for softness is half of forgiveness." Mamoon said, "Now I have sworn an oath." He said, "If you go to Allâh as a violator of an oath, it is better than to go to Him as a killer." Mamoon forgave him. Abdus Salam bin Salah says: "One day I was sleeping in Mamoon's room. The lamp was going out. He found that his servant was asleep. Mamoon left the bed, set the wick right and went back to sleep." In another incident Mamoon would say, "Often it happens that I am in the bathroom and the servants abuse and accuse me. They think that I have not heard them but I hear and forgive them and never let them know that I have heard them."

One day Mamoon was sailing in a boat on the Tigris River. There was a curtain hanging separating the compartments on the boat. On the opposite side were sitting some sailors who did not know that Mamoon was there. One of them said, "Mamoon must be thinking that I have love and honor for him in my heart but he does not understand that I have no love and honor left in my heart for a man who had his own brother killed." Mamoon began to smile and said, "Friends! Tell me how I can endear myself to this great man."

Yahya bin Aksam says, "I was sleeping in Mamoon's room. I was about to fall asleep when Mamoon wanted to cough. He stuffed his mouth with the lower part of his shirt to prevent making a disturbance for the other sleepers." He used to say, "To me the domination of an argument appears to be better than the domination of nature or power for the latter will vanish with the passing away of nature or power and the former never meets its end." He used to say, "Love of flattery is bad for a king. Worse is a judge's narrow heartedness, which precedes the comprehension of the issue concerned. Still worse is the lack of wisdom on the part of the legal scholars in the matters of religion. Worse still is the miserliness of the

rich, making fun of the elders, laziness of the youth and display of cowardice on the battlefield."

Ali bin Abdur Raheem Marwrozi says, "Mamoon used to say, 'The man is an enemy to his own self who wants the nearness of the person who likes to be away from him, honors the man who does not respect him and feels delighted at the praise of a man whom he does not know.'"

Hudba bin Khalid says, "One day I was partaking of a meal with Mamoon. When the tablecloth was removed, I began to pick up the small pieces of food that had fallen on the floor and eat them. Mamoon said, 'Are you still hungry?' I said, 'I have had my fill but a Hadith says that one who eats the fallen bits of food after the removal of the tablecloth will never be poor.' He then gave me 1000 dinars."

Once Haroon Rasheed visited Kufa after Hajj and requested the presence of the scholars of Hadith from there. All of them came except Abdullah bin Idris and Isa bin Yunus who refused to come. Haroon Rasheed sent his two sons Ameen and Mamoon. When they went to Abdullah bin Idris, he addressed Ameen and narrated a hundred Haditha to him. Mamoon was sitting and listening. When he stopped narrating, Mamoon said, "If you permit me, I can narrate all those Hadith." He granted permission and Mamoon narrated all the Hadiths quite correctly.

Ibn Idris was stunned by Mamoon's sharp memory. He said, "I was never stunned into silence by the reply of a person except once by the inhabitants of Kufa. They came and complained against the governor of Kufa. I said, "You lie that governor is very just." They said, "Undoubtedly we are liars and Amir al-Muminin is truthful. But why has our city alone been selected and reserved for his justice. Please send him to some other city so that, another city should also be benefited from his justice as our city has been benefited." I had to say under compulsion, "Well then, go. I have dismissed him."

Yahya bin Aktham states, "One night I was sleeping in Mamoon's room. I felt thirst in middle of the night. I grew restless and began to turn from one side to the other. Mamoon asked me the reason. I said, 'I am thirsty.' He left his bed, brought water and made me drink it. I said, 'Why didn't you call a servant?' He said, 'My father heard from

his father and he heard from his grandfather and he heard from Uqba bin Amir ؓ, that the Prophet ﷺ said, 'The leader of the people is their servant.'"

The most praiseworthy and remarkable thing about the acts and achievements of Caliph Mamoon Rasheed is the fact that while nominating his successor he gave proof of his good intention and great courage and was not trapped by his paternal affection as the Caliphs before him who continued the injustice of choosing their sons as their successor and thereby strengthened the curse of hereditary rule on the Islamic Caliphate.

By nominating Imam Ali Raza as his heir-apparent and depriving the dynasty of the Abbasids he acted freely, selected the best man for the job in the way adopted by Abu Bakr ؓ in making Umar bin Khattab ؓ his successor. However, Mamoon came to know very soon that the Abbasids would not accept it willingly and it would lead the Islamic world into trouble by creating disorder and riots. Imam Ali Raza's death nipped Mamoon's wishes in bud. Then he selected his own brother Abu Ishaq Motasim as his successor and deprived his own son Abbas of the throne despite the latter's ability to run the administration and the Caliphate. Since Motasim was more capable than Abbas in administrative affairs, he selected Motasim and did not prefer his son. Mamoon's predecessors had continuously committed the fault of fixing two successors in place of one. Had he followed them, he would have nominated his own son Abbas and been satisfied that his own son would be Caliph after Motasim but he disliked and rejected this act that had no Islamic precedent. He is admired for many things but for this deed, he is not appreciated as much as he deserves.

Motasim Billah

Abu Ishaq Motasim bin Haroon Rasheed was born of a slave girl named Barwah at Zabtarah in Roman territory in 180 A.H. when Caliph Haroon Rasheed himself was attacking the Roman territories. Haroon loved him most and whenever he distributed anything among his children, he used to give him the largest share. Motasim was not interested in acquiring education. He spent his childhood days in games and sports. Haroon had assigned a slave to live with him and

educate him whenever he had a chance. When the slave died Haroon said to Motasim, "Now your slave has died. Say what is your intention now?" Motasim said, "Amir al-Muminin! Yes, the slave is dead and I have gotten rid of the books." This indicates that Motasim was not fond of studying. The fact is that he had only a little formal education. Since he was brought up in the company of the royal family and scholars and had seen the educational meetings during Haroon and Mamoon's regimes, his knowledge was sufficient. Motasim was a heavily built wrestler and a brave man. He was also a good general. Ibn Abi Dawood says: "Motasim often outstretched his arm towards me and said, 'Bite it as hard as you can.' I bit and he said, 'I did not feel anything.' I bit again but in vain. He often broke the wrist of his opponents with the pressure of only two fingers."

Motasim sometimes composed poems and honored the poets. He was also infected with the problem concerning the debate about the creation of the Qur'ân like his brother Mamoon Rasheed. Just as Mamoon persecuted the scholars in connection with this problem, Mõtasim Billah Abbasi also followed suit. He mercilessly tortured Imam Ahmad bin Hambal رحمه الله in connection with this problem.

Motasim Billah was the governor of Syria and Egypt during the Caliphate of Mamoon Rasheed. When Mamoon invaded the Roman territory, Motasim exhibited such bravery that Mamoon was pleased and made him his heir apparent and deprived his own son, Abbas. The oath for the Caliphate of Motasim Billah was taken the day after the death of Mamoon at Tartoos on 19 Rajab 218 A.H. corresponding to 10 August 833 A.D.

Fadal bin Marwan was his Christian assistant. When the news of Mamoon's death reached Baghdad, Fadal bin Marwan took the oath for Motasim's Caliphate from the inhabitants of Baghdad. Having reached Baghdad, Motasim made Fadal bin Marwan his Prime Minister. When the oath for Motasim was taken, most of the military personnel wanted Abbas bin Mamoon saying that he deserved the Caliphate more than anybody else. Motasim sent for Abbas and he took the oath at Motasim's hands. After the oath, the unrest subsided by itself. The city of Towanah was built under the supervision of Abbas. Immediately after becoming Caliph, Motasim ordered

Towanah to be demolished and rendered desolate and the citizens were sent back from where they had come. After its desolation, he brought all the goods, which he could, from there to Baghdad and burned the rest.

The Revolt of Mohammad bin Qasim

Mohammad bin Qasim bin Ali bin Omar bin Ali bin Husain bin Ali bin Abi Talib lived near the mosque in Madinah and spent his time in prayer. A Khorasani visited him and coaxed him saying that he deserved the Caliphate and that he should take the oath from the people secretly. He therefore began to gather those people who came from Khorasan to perform Hajj and passed through Madinah. They would take the oath for his Caliphate.

Thus when a good number of followers gathered in Khorasan, Mohammad bin Qasim went to Jurjan with the same Khorasani who originally incited him and went into hiding there safely organizing himself. Oaths of supporters continued to be taken there secretly. The rich and the noble visited him. At last Mohammad bin Qasim revolted. The governor of Khorasan Abdullah bin Tahir sent an army to quell the riots. There were several fights on the outskirts of Talqân. Mohammad bin Qasim was defeated in every battle. Finally, he escaped alone to save his life. He was arrested in Nasa and brought to Abdullah bin Tahir who sent him to Motasim in Baghdad. He put him under the custody of Masroor Kabeer. Mohammad bin Qasim arrived in Baghdad on 15 Rabi-al-Awwal 219 A.H. and escaped unnoticed from captivity on the first night of Shawwal which corresponds to the Islamic holiday Eid al-Fitr following Ramadan in 219 A.H.

The Extermination of the Zutts

In Jumad-al-Thani 219 A.H., Caliph Motasim deputed his general Ajeef bin Ambasa to finish the battle of Zutt. He had been at war with those plunderers for seven months an at last he forced them to ask for safety and pardon by themselves in Dhul Hijjah 219 A.H. and they surrendered themselves to Ajeef. Ajeef took them numbering 17,000 including women and children to Baghdad. That included 12,000 men who were physically fit to fight. Ajeef entered Baghdad on 10

Muharram 220 A.H. Motasim himself boarded a boat and came to Shamamah. He inspected the Zutt captives and ordered that they should be settled near Zarbah close to the Roman border. They were therefore resettled there. The Romans later decided to attack the Islamic territories and led a surprise night attack in this area and massacred them not sparing a single soul. Thus, the group of Zutt met their end.

The City of Samarra

Caliph Motasim was a soldier. He turned his attention more towards the military. His predecessors, the Abbasi Caliphs, attached more importance to the Khorasanis. They had rarely relied on the Arab army. Although they faced dangers from the Khorasanis more than once, they depended more on the Khorasanis and the Iranians in comparison with the Arabs on the whole. The Arab elements continued to become weaker. Motasim Billah concentrated on the organiZuttion and improvement of the military from the beginning of his Caliphate. He purchased thousands of Turkish slaves and formed an army. He also had Turks from Farghana and Ashrosna (Turkistan) recruited.

He liked their style of fighting and their ability to bear extreme hardship. Until this time the army was composed of Arabs and the Iranians and they were always at war with the Turks along the borders of the Islamic territory. The Turks and their leaders were subjugated and had to pay taxes, then they revolted and fought against their conquerors. They were not considered reliable to be recruited into the army. Motasim however, recruited them into his army in such large numbers and appointed them to so many high posts that they were on par with the Iranian military in respect to their number. The Arab tribes continued to decrease until only the Egyptian and Yemeni tribes were left in the Caliph's army. The Caliph combined all the Arab divisions and formed a separate army and called it Magharba.

The Turk army was made up of soldiers from Samarkand, Faraghânâ and Ashrosna, which was very powerful and was named Faraghna. The Khorasani army developed an enmity with the Faraghna army. Since Caliph Motasim had organized the new Turkish army with great

care, all facilities were made available to its soldiers. Their uniforms were more beautiful, their horses were better and their salaries and allowances were more than the others. The Khorasanis began to quarrel with them in Baghdad. Observing the situation, Motasim set up a military cantonment at a distance of 90 miles from Baghdad on the Qatoon tributary of the Tigris River. He built a palace for himself, houses for the soldiers, a large market and a central mosque. Other necessary buildings were erected and he settled the Turks there and then he moved to the newly built city.

He called it *Surra man Raâ,* which came be known as Samarra in common usage. It was built in 220 A.H. and the same year it was declared the capital in place of Baghdad. In a short time, it was on par with Baghdad in respect of its beauty and population and the Turks instead of the Arabs and Khorasanis came to dominate over the capital and the Caliph. The same year Mohammad bin Ali Raza bin Musa bin Qasim bin Jafar Sadiq died and was buried in Baghdad.

The Removal of Fadal bin Marwan

The same year, 220 A.H., the Caliph received complains of corruption and dishonesty against his Prime Minister Fadal bin Marwan. He assigned auditors to take account of the expenditures. They found a discrepancy of 1,000,000 dinars. The Caliph deducted this sum from his goods and belongings and put him under surveillance in a village near Mousil. He then appointed Mohammad bin Abdul Malik bin Abban bin Hamza as his Prime Minister in place of Fadal. Mohammad bin Abdul Malik was known as Ibn Zayyat because his grand father Abban lived in a village and brought oil from there and sold it in Baghdad. Mohammad bin Abdul Malik was brought up and educated in Baghdad and achieved high qualifications. The period he was Prime Minister extended to the regimes of Motasim, Wathiq and Motawakkil. Just as Qadi Yahya bin Aksam during Haroon Rasheed's regime was not a minister, yet he was more powerful and influential than the Prime Minister and always accompanied Mamoon, similarly Qadi Yahya bin Aksam's disciple Ahmed bin Abi Dawood lived with Motasim. Though he too was not a minister, he enjoyed as much power and authority as the Prime Minister did. It is said that whatever

atrocities Mamoon and Motasim perpetrated on the scholars in connection with the debate about the created nature of the Quran were done at the insistence and instigation of these two men. However, it was Ibn Abi Dawood at Motasim's court, who supported the Arabs and it was due to him that they commanded some respect in the capital otherwise the Turks and the Iranians dominated everywhere.

Babak Khurmi and Afsheen Haider

It has already been mentioned that all the generals of Mamoon Rasheed who went to fight against Babak Khurmi were defeated. They had made the city Buz their headquarters and the people of the adjoining areas recognized his rule. All the governors and noblemen were afraid of him and entertained his men to win his pleasure. Caliph Motasim assigned Abu Sayeed Mohammad bin Yusuf to punish Babak. Abu Sayeed first had all the forts situated between Ardabil and Azerbaijan repaired which Babak had damaged or demolished. Then he gathered the necessary provisions of food and weapons and then he marched towards Babak. A division of Babak's army launched a night attack on one of the cities.

When Abu Sayeed was informed of the night attack, he took his army and set out in pursuit. He caught up with them and fought and defeated Babak's army. Many of his men were killed and captured and the goods they had looted were recovered. This was the first setback, which Babak's army received. Its impact was that those leaders who supported Babak out of fear but were actually against him began to sympathize with the Islamic forces. One of Babak's generals Asmat came to stay at the fort of Azerbaijan, Mohammad bin Bayeeth the caretaker, made arrangements for a feast, and lodged his men as usual. He treated them with honor but arrested them at night and sent him to Caliph Motasim and killed his men. Caliph Motasim made him divulge the secrets of Babak's cities and forts. He told him everything in the hope of being released. Motasim imprisoned Asmat and decided to send a more powerful and veteran general to fight with Babak and put an end to his evil for good.

Haider bin Kaoos was Motasim's greatest general. He was the son of the king of Ashrosna whose family name was Afsheen. He had

embraced Islam and his Islamic name was Haider and was known as Afsheen Haider. He was the commander in chief of the entire Faraghna or Turkish army. He had accepted Islam at Motasim's hands during Mamoon Rasheed's Caliphate and was constantly in his service. During the period of his governorship of Syria and Egypt, Motasim had tested his military services and found him to be a real veteran. After assuming power he organized the Faraghna army, he appointed Afsheen Haider, Itakh, Ashnas, Ajeez, Waseef and Bagha Kabeer all Turks, leaders of the army. Afsheen Haider was made the commander in chief

He had palaces built for all these commanders in Samarra. After assessing Babak's power and the difficult terrain of mountain passages and passes, Caliph Motasim sent Afsheen Haider to fight him. Besides divisions of Turks, Khorasani and Arab armies were also sent under his command. A number of local fighters also set out for the purpose of Jihad. After reaching there, Afsheen began a chain of battles very carefully and efficiently. Having sent him with full equipage and men, Motasim later dispatched Itakh with a fresh army as reinforcements. After a few days, he sent Bagha Kabeer with arms and necessary provisions. Afsheen received 10,000 dirhams daily in addition to all military expenditures, food and other necessities when at war and siege and 5,000 dirhams from the Caliph's treasury besides his salary when at peace during the entire period of war with Babak. The war continued for a year and a half.

Afsheen reached Ardabil and continued establishing outposts at short distances in order to facilitate food supply and communication. Then he entered the mountains, which were under Babak's occupation and fixed the army at strategic locations, setup communications and coordinated the movements of his commanders by flags or messengers and marched on by pushing Babak's army back towards the fort of Buz. He also made careful defensive arrangements against night attacks and ambushes. The climate and the severe cold of winter made the Arabs and the Iraqis more uncomfortable than the Khorasanis and the Turks.

Jafar bin Dinar Khayyat was the chief of the local fighters who had come out for Jihad. He, Bagha and Itakh fought heroically. Babak and

his generals Azeen and Tarah Khan exhibited considerable military skill. Abu Sayeed who had been at war with Babak long before Afsheen's arrival began to work under him along with his army. The long chain of battles resulted in Babak Khurmi's defeat and captivity. He was sent to Caliph Motasim at Samarra. Babak and his brother were arrested in Shawwal 222 A.H. and Afsheen was went to Samarra in Saffar 223 A.H. At the receipt of the news of victory and Babak's capture, Motasim passed orders that Afsheen should be presented at all the stages between Barzand (Azerbaijan) to Samarra with a robe of honor and a well-saddled horse and accorded a royal and grand reception. When Afsheen approached the capital Samarra, the Caliph's son Wathiq received him at the city gate.

When he appeared in the Caliph's court, he was seated on a golden chair and a crown was put on his head. A very expensive robe of honor and a sum of 2,000,000 dirhams was given to him as a reward and 1,000,000 dirhams was given to be distributed among his soldiers. Babak was slain by the order of Caliph Motasim at Samarra. His brother was sent to Baghdad where he was killed. Their dead bodies were hung up for display. Babak had maintained his influence for about 20 years. During that period, he killed 155,000 people. 7,600 Muslim men and women were rescued and released from his captivity. Afsheen arrested 17 men and 30 women from Babak's family.

The Capture of Amurya and the Battle of Rome

When Babak Khurmi felt desperate during the siege by the Islamic army he dispatched a letter to Nofil bin Michael, the Roman emperor stating: "Motasim has sent all his forces against me. Baghdad, Samarra and all the provinces are quite defenseless at this time and all the leaders of the army are at war with me. You will not get a better chance to capture these territories don't let it slip through your fingers and march on Baghdad conquering the Islamic territories." Babak felt that if the Roman emperor invaded, the Islamic army would have to be divided into two parts reducing its pressure on him. The Roman emperor read the letter and attacked with 100,000 soldiers but by that time the war with Babak had ended, and the Islamic army was poised to stop him. Nofil first launched a night attack on Zabtarah and killed

all the men who fought against him and captured their women and children. Then he turned to Maltiya and did the same thing there.

The news of the capture and ruin of Zabtarah and Maltiya reached Motasim on 29 Rabia Thani 223 A.H. The narrator also told of a Roman soldier dragging away a Hashimite woman and she was shouting, "O Motasim, O Motasim." As soon as he heard this, Motasim stood up from the throne of Caliphate saying, "Labbaik, Labbaik" (I am here, I am here). He jumped on his horse and ordered the drum of departure to be beaten. The soldiers and their leaders came and joined him. All the royal army and a group of Mujahideen (those fighting for the cause of Allah) followed him. He sent Ajeef bin Ambasa and Omar Farghani ahead with a fast moving vanguard to reach Zabtarah as soon as possible and console and boost the moral of the people there and drive away the Romans but the Romans had left by the time the two commanders arrived there.

Then Caliph Motasim arrived with his army. He wanted to know the strongest and most important city of the Romans in that area. He was told that Amurya was such a strong and fortified fort and city. It was very important also because it was the birth place of the Roman emperor Nofil. Motasim said, "Zabtarah is my birth-place. The Roman emperor has ruined it and in retaliation I will ruin his birth place Amurya." He therefore made available equipage and war material on an unprecedented scale. Then he made Ashnas the commander of the vanguard. Mohammad bin Ibrahim bin Mus'ab was made the supplier of reinforcements to him. Then he fixed Itakh on the right flank and Jafar bin Dinar Khayyat on the left flank, giving the middle part to Ajeef bin Ambasa. Having made these arrangements, he entered Roman territory and made Ajeef bin Ambasa the supreme commander of all the forces. He arrived at Saluqiya and encamped along the tributary San, which was at a distance of one day's journey from Tartoos.

Here it must be remembered that Motasim had already sent Afsheen to Armenia as governor of Armenia and Azerbaijan. Afsheen with his army entered Roman territory. A part of the Islamic army marched forward and occupied Angoora where it captured a big stock of grain, which the Muslims needed to continue the fight. The Roman emperor

wanted to confront the Islamic army at Angoora and had made all the necessary materials and food available there. However, the army stationed there and their commanding officer had a falling out and as a result, the army retreated. Meanwhile the Roman emperor himself had gone to the Armenian border to stop Afsheen's advance. After being defeated, he turned back to Angoora but the Muslims had already captured it. Being compelled he then turned to Amurya and made the necessary provisions of all war materials available there. He collected the army from all corners of his empire and became busy securing all kinds of military weapons. At Angoora Motasim encamped and waited for Afsheen, where he called upon the Caliph and joined him on the expedition.

At the end of Shaban 223 A.H., Caliph Motasim along with his army left Angoora to declare war. He fixed Afsheen on the right flank and Ashnas on the left and he remained in the middle. The Islamic army marched forward and laid siege to Amurya, and after making fortifications started moving towards the battlements. From 6 Ramadan 223 A.H. to the end of Shawwal 223 A.H., 55 days in all, they kept Amurya encircled and finally conquered it. They captured or killed the people there. Motasim continued to sell the booty for five days and what remained was consigned to flames. Then he ordered Amurya to be pulled down and leveled to the ground. The army destroyed it completely. Emperor Nofil fled and went to Constantinople and Caliph Motasim divided the captives among his generals and marched towards Tartoos.

The Death of Abbas bin Mamoon

Ajeef and Afsheen were rivals. Caliph Motasim often criticized Ajeef's activities and that amounted to his humiliation in Afsheen's eyes. Consequently, Ajeef's loyalty underwent a change and he began to hatch a conspiracy against the Caliph. On the occasion of the invasion of the Roman Empire, he said to Abbas Mamoon who was with him on the journey, "You committed a blunder mistake by taking the oath at Motasim's hands. Had you expressed your mind to be Caliph yourself, all the army chiefs were ready to lend you support." This inducement and more set Abbas thinking. Ajeef mentioned such

things so many times that Abbas decided to revolt. It was proposed that first of all the army chiefs should be converted to their views and then by killing Motasim, Afsheen and Ashnas simultaneously, they would declare Abbas's Caliphate. They acted as proposed and many soldiers were persuaded to recognize Abbas as Caliph. While returning from Amurya after its conquest, Motasim stumbled upon the conspiracy.

Motasim first imprisoned Abbas and handed him over to Afsheen. Then Masha bin Sahal, Omar Farghani and Ajeef were arrested one after another and thrown into captivity. First Masha bin Sahal was slain. Then they reached Banj and put Abbas into a sack and stitched it closed and caused him to die of suffocation. Then they reached Nasiban, had a ditch dug out and buried Farghani in it alive. Then they reached Mousil and there Ajeef was also stuffed into a sack and sewn closed leading to his suffocation and death. After entering Samarra, Motasim had all the descendants of Caliph Mamoon Rasheed rounded up and put under house arrest until they died. During this journey, Caliph Motasim picked up all the suspects and had them killed.

The Revolt of Tabristan

Mazyar bin Qarin, the ruler of Tabristan, was the subordinate and paid taxes tc the governor of Khorasan, Abdullah bin Tahir. There developed an estrangement between them. Mazyar said, "I shall send the taxes directly to the capital but not directly to Abdullah bin Tahir." Abdullah bin Tahir took it as an affront to his rule and disliked it. The quarrel continued for sometime as Mazyar continued to send the taxes directly to the capital where Abdullah bin Tahir's man continued receiving it.

During the war with Babak, Afsheen was empowered to spend money freely and Motasim continued to dispatch all types of goods and money to him. Afsheen was highly economical in spending it and the rest he used to send to his native land Ashrosna (Turkistan).

These goods meant for Azerbaijan used to pass through Khorasan. When Abdullah bin Tahir came to know that Afsheen was sending provisions, arms, and money to his motherland, he realized that something was wrong. He caught and imprisoned the men who

carried these goods, seized them and wrote to Afsheen, "Some of your soldiers were carrying such and such goods, I arrested and jailed them and distributed the goods among my soldiers because I am preparing to invade Turkistan. Though they told me that they were sent by you, their statement appears to be absolutely false because had they not been thieves and been sent by you, you would have definitely informed me." At the sight of the letter, Afsheen felt extremely ashamed and wrote back to him that they were not thieves but his men. At the receipt of the letter Abdullah bin Tahir released them but the goods he had seized were not returned.

He sent a secret report about it to Caliph Motasim although he did not pay any obvious attention to it. Afsheen wanted to establish his own government in Ashrosna and he was making preparations for it in advance. When he returned to Samarra after the war with Babak was over, he hoped that Motasim would make him the governor of Khorasan and he would have an opportunity to found his own kingdom. But Motasim made him the governor of Armenia and Azerbaijan instead and this disturbed his plan.

Immediately after that, the Roman war took place and Afsheen had to participate, Motasim himself was present and the man he made the commander-in-chief was Ajeef who considered himself to be the rival of Afsheen. What happened to Ajeef has been mentioned above.

Now Afsheen thought out a new plan, he wrote a confidential letter to Mazyar the ruler of Tabristan, and instigated him to rise against Abdullah bin Tahir. It read:

There is none to patronize and promote the Zoroastrian religion except you and me. Babak tried to support it but he met his end due to his own foolishness. He did not act upon my advice. Now there is still a golden chance at present. You simply rise in revolt. They will only send me to face you. Now I have a very powerful army. I shall conspire with you and we shall join forces. Then only the westerners, Arabs and Khorasanis will fight against us. The westerners are very few. An ordinary division of our army will be sufficient to face them. As for the Arabs, give them a morsel and then pound their heads with stones. As far as the Khorasanis are concerned, their enthusiasm is just

like boiling milk it rises and then the next moment it falls. With a small amount of determination, they will be finished quickly. If you gear up a little then the religion, which saw its rise during the regimes of the non-Arab kings, may again be established and promoted.

Mazyar was overjoyed reading the letter. He rose in revolt. He collected taxes from his subjects for a year in advance, procured the weapons of war, repaired the forts and was ready to face the most powerful army. When Abdullah bin Tahir was informed of Mazyar's revolt, he sent his own uncle Hasan bin Husain with an army towards him. When Motasim found out, he issued orders for the dispatch of armies from the capital and other places to reinforce Abdullah bin Tahir. He did not allow Afsheen to go to the conflict. Consequently, Mazyar was arrested and presented before Abdullah bin Tahir who in turn sent him to Motasim. Motasim sent him to jail. When Hasan bin Husain caught Mazyar, he seized Afsheen's letter to him. Other letters of the same nature sent by Afsheen were also recovered from him. Abdullah bin Tahir sent those letters to Caliph Motasim, who took and kept them under his custody and outwardly did not attach any importance to them. This happened in 224 A.H.

The Revolt in Kurdistan

The revolt in Tabristan had hardly been stamped out when Jafar bin Fahar, a Kurd, collected a huge number of Kurds in the adjoining areas of Mousil and rose in revolt. Although its border touched the borders of Azerbaijan and Armenia, Motasim sent Abdullah bin Sayyed bin Anas to punish Jafar and did not send Afsheen on this expedition. Abdullah bin Sayyed arrived there and marshaled his troops in battle array. The battles continued until Motasim sent another general Itakh with a strong army. Jafar bin Fahar was killed in action and his men were caught and killed. This revolt probably engineered by Afsheen ended in 225 A.H.

The Revolt in Armenia and Azerbaijan

After having made one of his relatives Mankajur his deputy and having handed the governership of Azerbaijan over to him, Afsheen settled in the capital. Mankajur somehow found a large treasure of

Babak Khurmi in a certain village. He did not inform the Caliph and kept it himself. Motasim's informant told him. When Mankajur knew of this, he decided to murder him. The poor reporter sought safety from the people of Ardabil and they tried to stop Mankajur but he was ready to kill them too. When informed, Motasim sent an order for Mankajur's removal to Afsheen and dispatched Bagha Kabeer with an army to Azerbaijan to take his place. When Mankajur heard that he was deposed and that Bagha Kabeer was coming to take charge he revolted. He left Ardabil fought and was defeated. Bagha Kabeer moved forward and captured Ardabil. Mankajur fled and took refuge in a fort in Azerbaijan. He remained there for about a month. Finally, one of his own men captured him when he was off his guard and handed him over to Bagha Kabeer. Bagha Kabeer returned to Samarra with him and brought him to Caliph Motasim who put him in jail.

The Death of Afsheen

The above-mentioned incident strengthened Caliph Motasim's suspicion against Afsheen and he became sure of his involvement in it. Afsheen also realized that the Caliph had become suspicions about him. He therefore began to think of ways how to flee the capital. First, he thought of going to Azerbaijan and Armenia and from there to his native country Ashrosna via Khirz. However, he could not execute this plan simply because Caliph Motasim had sent his deputy in Mankajur's place as Afsheen's deputy and Afsheen knew that he would not be safe in Azerbaijan.

At last, he made up his mind to host a feast for the Caliph, courtirs and chiefs of the government. He wanted to keep them busy eating and drinking for the whole day and when they went to sleep, he would slip away. He had hardly decided on his final plan when by chance he got angry with his servant who was also his confident and abused him. The servant in retaliation went to Itakh and disclosed Afsheen's intentions to him. Itakh at once took the servant with him and went to Caliph Motasim and informed him that Afsheen was preparing to escape. Motasim called him at once, had him stripped of rank and sent him to jail and did not show any concern about it. Then he wrote to the governor of Khorasan, Abdullah bin Tahir to arrest

and send Afsheen's son Hasan bin Afsheen who was the ruler of Mawaraunnahr and was living in Ashrosna. Hasan bin Afsheen often complained against the ruler of Bukhara, Nuh bin Asad. Abdullah bin Tahir wrote to Hasan bin Ashfeen, "I hand over to you the rule of Bukhara go to Bukhara, show this order of mine to Nuh bin Asad and take charge of Bukhara." Hasan bin Afsheen was overjoyed at the letter and immediately left for Bukhara. Abdullah bin Tahir had already written to the ruler of Bukhara Nuh bin Asad, "I have sent Hasan bin Afsheen to you on this pretext. Arrest him as soon as he enters Bukhara and send him to me." By this ploy, he was arrested and brought to Abdullah bin Tahir in Merv.

Abdullah bin Tahir sent him to Motasim. When Hasan bin Afsheen was brought as a captive, Motasim commissioned a committee comprised of his Prime Minister Mohammad bin Abdul Malik, Qadi Ahmad bin Abi Dawood, Ishaq bin Ibrahim and other members of the government and asked them to probe Afsheen's affairs and award him the punishment which he deserved. Though Caliph Motasim could have had him slain immediately, he took this very wise step in order to counter act any possible move in the army against him for killing Afsheen.

Motasim was perfectly aware of Afsheen's evil designs and he had come to know during the war against Babak that he was stealing and sending the stolen royal goods to his son who he had already appointed the ruler of his native land Ashrosna. Since Afsheen was at war with an enemy who had not been able to be subdued for 20 years, Motasim remained patient. The success of the expedition against Babak was no ordinary feat and to keep Afsheen deprived of reward and take him to task for his betrayal might have proved fatal to Motasim and no power on the earth could have saved him from the anger of his military. Furthermore, Afsheen was expected to undergo a real change for the better but when his letters and policy proved him a traitor, Motasim was justified in what he did.

The commission of the Prime Minister and other leaders began the hearing and investigating Afsheen's case very carefully and methodically. He was brought daily to the court and statements of witnesses and documentary proof were presented in his presence.

Mazyar who was still in jail was brought before Afsheen. Afsheen's letters were read and shown to Afsheen. Afsheen pleaded guilty. Mazyar also spoke plainly and stated the facts clearly. Then things about Afsheen's denial of Islam came under discussion, which proved Afsheen a hypocrite. He desecrated the Qur'ân, the mosques and the Imams of the mosques, he had the Zoroastrian books recited daily and kept them with him all the time, insolence against Islam and the Prophet Mohammad ﷺ while offering prayer with the Muslims and practicing all the tenets of Islam outwardly. In short, it was proved solidly, absolutely and convincingly that Afsheen was not a Muslim at heart rather he was engaged in defrauding the Muslims, bringing about the overthrow of the government and ending the Islamic government and establishing a Zoroastrian kingdom. The hearing of this case closed peacefully and the final verdict was this that Mazyar should be given 400 lashes and Afsheen was given capital punishment. Mazyar could not bear 400 lashes and he died. Afsheen was sent to the gallows and his dead body was put on public display. This took place in Shaban 226 A.H. Ishaq bin Yahya bin Mu'az took over as the Commander-in-chief in place of Afsheen.

The Death of Motasim

After ending the threat from Afsheen, Caliph Motasim Billah surveyed the borders of his occupied territories. When he was satisfied that there was no danger of any unrest or revolt, he said, "While Banu Umayyah were rulers and Caliphs, we did not get anything from their kingship and power. However, when we received the Caliphate, Banu Umayyah's kingdom and government continued in Andalus. Therefore, we should move towards the west and take Andalus from Banu Umayyah." He had his treasury, war and traveling expenses estimated and began to prepare to invade Andalus. During that period, he was informed that Abu Harb Yemeni who lived in Palestine and claimed to belong to the dynasty of Banu Umayyah, had collected a 100,000 man army and was about to revolt.

As stated, Abu Harb lived in Palestine. One day when he was out, a soldier came to his house and stayed there. The women folk forbade him to do so. The soldier beat them up and occupied the outer part of

the house meant for male guests by force. When Abu Harb came back, he attacked the soldier and killed him. Out of fear of the officials, he went to hide in the mountains of Jordan. He wore a veil over his face and began to preach to the local people. They became his devotees. He started criticizing and speaking ill of the Caliph. In this way, about 100,000 people became his disciples, collected under his banner and were ready to rebel against the Caliph. Motasim deputed Raja bin Ayyub with 1,000 soldiers to punish him. But Raja bin Ayyub was overawed by the greater number of Abu Harb's followers and hesitated in waging the battle. He decided to wait for the planting season, letting Abu Harb's followers who were mostly farmers, become busy with their agricultural activities, before attacking. During this time, Caliph Motasim Billah died on 30 Rabi-al-Awwal 227 A.H. and his trial of strength against Banu Umayyah remained unfulfilled. After his death, his son Wathiq Billah became Caliph and the people took the oath at his hands. Wathiq led Motasim's burial service and he was buried at Samarra.

The Characteristics of Motasim's Caliphate

As Caliph Motasim himself was not an educated man, the academic activities, which began during Haroon's rule and reached their pinnacle under Mamoon's regime, dwindled. Motasim was interested more in war and conquest. During his regime, territories of Rome, Khizr (the area north of the Black Sea), Mawaraunnahr, Kabul and Sistan were conquered. He fought the Roman emperor very hard and surpassed any previous successes by Muslim forces against the Romans. The killing of 30,000 and capturing an equal number of Romans, in the conquest of Amurya, made the Romans extremely terrified of Motasim. The number of kings who assembled at Motasim's door had never been seen assembling at any other Caliph's door. Motasim was also fond of constructing buildings. The daily expenses of his kitchen were 1,000 dinars.

He purchased many Turk slaves and increased their number. He made a few select Turk slaves his commanders and generals. During his regime, the Turks progressed rapidly, became cultured and brave and began to exhibit valor. By increasing the Turk armies and letting them

progress he wanted to break the power of the Khorasanis who had earlier reduced and ruined the Arab power. These same Turks later on would be responsible for the ruin of the Abbasi Caliphate. Motasim committed an error in making a third nation powerful. He should have helped the Arabs to be a match for the Khorasanis. However, since his ancestors from the very beginning of their rule regarded the Arabs as their enemies and relied more on the Khorasanis and distrusted the Arabs he dared not disturb this age-old family tradition.

Motasim had heard about the Khorasani's rebellions and conspiracies and knew how his forefathers had faced their intrigues repeatedly. He also knew that his family's old rivals, the Alawiites, commanded respect and popularity among the Khorasanis and the Arabs and used their support against him. Therefore, Motasim made a third nation powerful, which had not been influenced by the Alawiites. This third nation, the Turks, had not yet grown intimate and attached to Islam due to their ignorance and barbarism. Though the Turks had been made subservient and subdued for some time, Islam was not preached to them as it should have been. Another reason was that only Turk chiefs ruled over the Turk territories of Mawaraunnahr (present day Uzbekistan) and they paid taxes to the Islamic governments.

When these Turk converts made sudden progress and saw that they were themselves a powerful Islamic force they started dreaming about putting an end to the Abbasid Caliphate as is evident from Afsheen's case.

Although Caliph Motasim was uneducated, he was wise. He recruited the Turks into the armed forces by empowering them yet he retained the ability to neutralize the dangers in this strategy. Therefore, they were not able to harm the Islamic government as long as he lived. Had his successors been as capable as he was or had he ruled for a longer period, the flaws that developed later on might have been corrected.

Truly, these are only speculations after the fact and not the most fundamental factors in the condition of the Caliphate. The real and the grossest error was the Muslims had accorded recognition to the reign of succession in the Islamic Caliphate and the son was entitled to

succeed his father as Caliph. This sinful practice has always inflicted great harm on Islamic rule and the Muslims. Forgetting the tradition of Abu Bakr ﷺ and Omar bin Khattab ﷺ led them to see these unfortunate days. انا لله وانا اليه راجعون

It is from Motasim's Caliphate that the Turks political life cycle starts.

Motasim may also be called the Caliph with a connection to the number 8. He was the 8th child of Caliph Haroon Rasheed. He was born in 180 A.H. or according to another tradition in 178 A.H. In both these years, the digit 8 is present. He sat on the throne in 218 A.H. Motasim was the 8th Caliph of the Abbasids. He lived for 48 years. He had 8 sons and 8 daughters. His birth constellation was Scorpio, the eighth sign of the zodiac. He was Caliph for 8 years, 8 months and 8 days. He had 8 palaces constructed. He won 8 major battles. 8 kings were brought to his court. He had 8 formidable enemies killed, like Afsheen, Ajeef, Abbas, Babak, and Mazyar. He left 800,000 dinars, 800,000 dirhams, 8 thousand horses, 8 thousand slaves and 8 thousand slave-girls as his legacy. He died on the 8th day in the month of Rabia Awwal.

Like Mamoon Rasheed, he was also obsessed with the question of the Quran's creation and most of the scholars were hurt due to his preoccupation with this obscure philosophical point. Had he not suffered from this shortcoming he would have been called the greatest Caliph of the Abbasid dynasty. During his regime, the glory of the Abbasid Caliphate reached its zenith following which signs of decline began to be visible.

Wathiq Billah

The kunya of Wathiq Billah bin Motasim Billah bin Haroon Rasheed bin Mahdi bin Mansoor Abbasi was Abu Jafar or Abul Qasim. His real name was Haroon. He was born of Qaratees, a slave girl, on the way to Makkah on 20 Shaban 196 A.H. His father made him his heir-apparent. He sat on the throne after his death. He was very handsome and fair complexioned. His beard was thick and shapely. His fair complexion was combined with paleness. There was a visible black mole in the white of his eyes. He was a great poet and literary expert. He was as efficient in Arabic literature as Mamoon to a certain extent

superior to him. But he was inferior to him in philosophy, practical skills and wisdom. He had seen academic symposia and seminars during Mamoon's regime. He had a taste for knowledge and he was called Mamoon junior or Mamoon the second.

Wathiq had committed to memory so many verses that none among the Abbasid Caliphs could match him in this respect. He was fond of eating and drinking like his father. He was a voracious eater. He used to give away big prizes and remunerations to poets and literary men. He honored men of letters and thought it essential to treat them respectfully. However, he inherited the craze about the issue of the Quran and the created or uncreated word of Allah from his father and he was so over ambitious in this respect that he killed great scholars with his own hands thinking it to be a virtuous act.

In the last phase of his life, a remarkable thing happened which led him to reduce or totally stop his activities about the Quran and its creation. Abu Abdur Rahman Abdullah bin Muhammad Azdi who was Imam Abu Dawood and Nasai's teacher was brought to the court as a captive for his disbelief in the issue of the Quran and its creation. He put a question to Qadi Ahmad bin Abi Dawood who had been enjoying a status equivalent to that of the Prime Minister in the court since Motasim's time and believed in the issue of the Quran and its creation: "Please tell me whether the Prophet ﷺ knew or did not know that the Qur'ân is a creation."

Qadi Ahmad said: "Yes. He ﷺ knew it." Abu Abdur Rahman said: "Did the Prophet ﷺ give any instructions to the people regarding the belief of the Qur'ân to be a creation?" Qadi Ahmad said: "The Prophet ﷺ did not say anything about it." Then Abu Abdur Rahman said, "This information the Prophet ﷺ did not teach the people and did not force them to believe in despite his knowledge of it, so then why don't you take the people's reticence as sufficient and why do you force them to accept it?" Wathiq was startled hearing this, stood up, left the court and went to his chamber in the palace and lay down on his bed. He kept repeating, "We are adopting stern measures regarding an issue about which the Prophet ﷺ kept silent." He then ordered Abu Abdur Rahman to be released and sent him to his native country comfortably with 300 red dinars as a reward.

Abu Harb and the Natives of Damascus

While discussing Caliph Motasim, it has been stated above that Motasim had sent Raja bin Ayyub to punish Abu Harb Yemeni. After waiting for a few days, he started a series of battles with Abu Harb. In the meantime, Motasim Billah died and Wathiq Billah succeeded to the throne. As soon as the natives of Damascus heard about his death, they rebelled. They besieged their governor within the Governor's headquarters and were collecting and arraying soldiers and had gathered a big army.

As soon as Wathiq heard the news, he ordered Raja bin Ayyub to control Damascus first. At that time, he was at war with Abu Harb at Ramla. In order to comply with this order, he left a very small army behind and taking the rest of the army with him proceeded towards Damascus. The natives of Damascus fought a bloody battle with him in which 1,500 natives of Damascus and 300 of Raja's soldiers were killed. After having been defeated, the natives of Damascus begged for security and peace and the rebellion ended. After Damascus Raja went towards Ramla, defeated Abu Harb and took him captive. Abu Harb lost 20,000 men in this battle.

The Rise and Fall of Ashnas

Following his succession to the throne Wathiq Billah made the Turk slave, Ashnas his deputy with total executive powers over all the Islamic territories. Prime Minister Mohammad bin Abdul Malik bin Zayyat who had been at this post since Motasim's times continued to enjoy this status even during Wathiq's regime. The post, which was given to Ashnas, was called Deputy of the Dynasty it was created by Wathiq Billah for the first time.

The Deputy of the Dynasty used all powers of the Caliph and was of higher rank than the Prime Minister. No other Caliph invested anybody with so much power before this time. Though the Turks had suffered a loss following Afsheen's death, his forces, platoons and cavalries still survived and enjoyed honor as usual. When Ashnas came into full power over the entire Islamic world following Wathiq Billah's

succession to the throne, it marks the establishment of Turk rule in the world of Islam. However, Ashnas did not enjoy this power long and his powers were limited very soon. However, this precedent would prove to be responsible for the downfall and ruin of the Abbasid Caliphate.

Wathiq Billah was fond of academic symposiums he used to sit with the scholars, the members of the government and listened to academic debates and ancient traditions. Most of the scholars were Arabs and they narrated the events of Haroon Rasheed's times whenever they had a chance. They narrated to Wathiq Billah stories of the Barmuk's academic tastes and their generosity along with their power and influence and then details of their conspiracies against the dynasty of the Caliph and all the events that led to their ruin in a proper and effective manner. Consequently, his eyes opened a bit and he began to put the Turks and Khorasani chiefs under surveillance. Most of them were found to be involved in misappropriation and Wathiq Billah started the process of collecting fines from them. It was in this connection that Ashnas's powers were restricted. He died in 230 A.H.

The End of Arab Dignity

Until this point, the Abbasid dynasty had been reducing the leadership roles and positions of honor of the Arabs and the non-Arabs had been continuously improving their positions. Because of being the cradle of Islam, Arabia commanded a special respect and because the Arabs were the first servants of Islam, there was a special reverence for them. The dynasty of the Caliph itself came from an Arab family. That was why the non-Arabs never wished to humiliate the Arabs nor did the Caliphs send Khorasani and Turk armies to the Hijaz and Yemen to punish the Arab tribes. Whenever there arose any need for making arrangements for maintaining the administration of the Arab provinces, Arab, Iraqi or Syrian soldiers were sent.

The consequence of this special reverence was that though the Arabs were weakened, every heart harbored honor for them. No one questioned the dignity of the Arabs. During Caliph Wathiq's regime the Arabs lost this special acknowledgement. The details in brief are that there lived a good number of people belonging to the tribe of Banu Sulaim in the adjoining regions of Madinah. They attacked Banu Kanana and looted their goods.

Such incidents of lootings and killings began among the Arabs simply because they were dismissed from serving in the conquering armies and the Abbasid Caliphs had gradually eliminated them from the military. In this situation, the fighting instincts of the Arabs began to be channeled into looting, plundering and robbing.

When the ruler of Madinah, Mohammad bin Saleh, heard of Banu Sulaim's excesses he sent an army to punish and discipline them. The army suffered a crushing defeat at their hands leading to the spread of anarchy in all the regions lying between Makkah and Madinah and bringing to an abrupt halt the movement of caravans. When Caliph Wathiq Billah received the news, he sent his Turk commander Bagha Kabeer with an army to the Hijaz. He reached Madinah in Shaban 230 A.H. and confrontations with Banu Sulaim took place. He defeated the Banu Sulaim. He arrested 1,000 of them, imprisoned them in Madinah and killed many of them.

Bagha Kabeer along with his Turk army stayed in Madinah for about four months and continued to humiliate, subdue and terrify the Arab tribes in various ways. After the Hajj, Bagha Kabeer turned to Banu Hilal, punished them like he had punished Banu Sulaim and arrested 300 men. Then he turned to Banu Murrah. He went to Fadak and encamped there for 40 days and captured many men of Banu Fazarah and Banu Murrah and imprisoned them in Madinah. Then he called the chiefs and headmen of Banu Ghaffar, Thalbah and Ashja and took from them the oath of allegiance. Then he arrested 3,000 men of Banu Kilab released 2,000 of them and imprisoned 1,000 of them. Then he went to Yamamah, killed 50 men of Banu Numer and imprisoned 40.

The inhabitants of Yamamah began to fight against Bagha Kabeer he killed 1,500 of them in several encounters and skirmishes. The flame of fighting had hardly dimmed when Wathiq Billah sent another Turk commander with a fresh army to reinforce him. Bagha Kabeer then ordered a general massacre all over Yamamah. When they fled, he pursued them until Yemen and killed thousands of them. In short, after badly mauling and humiliating the Arab tribes he arrested 2,000 Arab noble men and brought them to Baghdad.

After arriving in Baghdad, he wrote to Mohammad bin Saleh to bring

all the captives he had put in jail in Madinah to Baghdad. He gathered all the prisoners he had captured on the expedition and brought all of them to Baghdad where they were put in jail. In this way, Bagha Kabeer had the Arabs killed mercilessly and humiliated and subdued in various ways by Turks over a two-year period.

Abdullah bin Tahir, the ruler of Khorasan, died in 230 A.H. Caliph Wathiq Billah retained Tahir's son as the ruler of Khorasan, Kerman, Tabristan and Rayy in accordance with Abdullah bin Tahir's will.

Ahmad bin Nasr's Revolt and Death

Ahmad bin Nasr bin Malik bin Haitham Khazai's grand father Malik bin Khazai was one of the deputies of the propagation of the Abbasids cause. Ahmed bin Nasr used to live in the company of the scholars of Hadith and was counted among them. He was opposed to the issue of the Quran's creation that was why a large group of people took the oath at his hands against the Caliphate of the Abbasids. He revolted in Baghdad on Wednesday night 3 Shaban 231 A.H. and beat the war drums. The Baghdad Police swung into action and arrested him very tactfully.

Ahmad bin Nasr and his men were sent to Wathiq Billah as captives. Wathiq killed Nasr with his own hands. He cut of his head and sent his body to Baghdad. The body was hung on the gate of Baghdad and his head on the clock tower of Baghdad. A special guard was deputed with instructions that he should not let the face be pointed towards the Qiblah (direction of prayer). A sign was hung from his ear with the words: "This is Ahmad bin Nasr bin Malik's head whom the Caliph invited to accept the faith of Qur'ân's creation but he declined. Then Allâh quickly invited him to the fire of Hell." Ahmad bin Nasr's murder took place earlier than Abu Abdur Rahman Abdullah bin Mohammad Azdi's experience with the Caliph, which has been mentioned above.

The Exchange Prisoners of War with the Romans

The chain of battles with the Romans had been going on continuously. The Muslims continued to defeat the Romans and at times, they

reached Constantinople. However, the Roman Empire could not be destroyed. During the period of the rightly guided Caliphs, the Iranian empire was totally annihilated but the Roman Empire survived. Although Syria, Palestine, and Egypt were taken from the Romans and no stone was left unturned by the Muslims to capture Constantinople and enter Europe, civil wars among the Muslims started and Constantinople and Europe were spared from being overrun by the hooves of the Muslims' horses. The series of these internal struggles continued in such a way that they did not appear to have an end and none of the Caliphs had a chance and the time necessary to concentrate all their power on Europe nor was any of them able to stop the rebellions and uprisings in the Islamic territories.

In short, the internal bickering of the Muslims saved the Roman Emperor in Constantinople and the other European countries. The skirmishes between the Muslims and the Christians along the borders continued. Sometimes a Caliph invaded the Romans and returned to the capital after threatening and punishing them but it was never possible for him to be away from his capital for an extended period of time. Even during Wathiq Billah's regime skirmishes with the Romans went on. During Caliph Haroon Rasheed's time, the exchange of the Christian and Muslim prisoners took place twice. The exchange had taken place on the bank of the river Lams and on 10 Muharram 231 A.H. during Wathiq Billah's regime it took place there for a third time. The procedure adopted was as follows: Two bridges across the river were constructed in parallel. On one bridge, the Christian prisoners crossed over and on the other bridge the Muslim prisoners crossed from the other side. This was done to insure that the number of Muslims released equaled the number of Christians released. Wathiq Billah sent Khaqan on his behalf to the riverbank along with the Christian prisoners. When an equal number of prisoners were exchanged and all the Muslim prisoners numbering 4,600 were released, there still remained many Roman prisoners in the Muslims custody.

Saying, "In this exchange we should have the upper hand and this is a type of obligation on the Romans from us," Khaqan then set the remaining Roman prisoners free.

The death of Wathiq Billah

Wathiq Billah came to suffer from dropsy. His whole body swelled up. He was made to sit on a hot oven. This improved his condition. The next day the oven was heated a bit more and he sat for a longer period, which caused fever. They took him out and put him on a litter for a tour. When it was put down, they found him dead. Immediately members of the government Qadi Ahmad bin Dawood, Muhammad bin Abdul Malik Prime Minister Itakh, Waseef and Umar bin Farah assembled at the Caliph's palace and decided to enthrone Mohammad bin Wathiq Billah, a young boy of 9 years. At that moment Waseef addressed them saying, "Don't you fear Allâh making such a young boy Caliph?"

Hearing these words, they realized their mistake. They stopped and began to discuss who was the most deserving man. At last, Wathiq Billah's brother Jafar bin Motasim was called made to put on the royal robe and sit on the throne of the Caliphate. He was given the title Motawakkil Alallâh, Motawakkil Alallâh took the oath for Caliphate from all, led the funeral prayer and ordered the burial.

Wathiq Billah was buried in Hadi palace. He ruled for 5 years and 9 months. He died on Tuesday 24 Thul Hijjah 232 A.H. at the age of 36. He was very firm and forbearing. However, he committed excesses regarding the issue of the Qur'ân's creation. He was cured of this craze at the end of his life.

Note: Caliph Wathiq's body was left alone after death and everyone was busy taking the oath from Motawakkil Alallâh's hands while an animal came ate his eyes out of his head.

Motawakkil Alallâh

Motawakkil Alallâh bin Motasim Billah bin Haroon Rasheed's real name was Jafar. His kunya was Abul Fadl. He was born of a slave-girl named Shuja. He ascended the throne after Wathiq's death on 24 Thul Hijjah 232 A.H. Immediately after becoming Caliph he disbursed salaries for 8 months to the army and made his son Muntasir the ruler of Hijaz, Yemen and Taif.

Mohammad bin Abdul Malik's Deposition and Death

Mohammad bin Abdul Malik Zayyat had been Prime Minister since Motasim's times. Even during Wathiq Billah's regime, he continued in that post. During Motawakkil Alallâh's Caliphate, he remained Prime Minister and then he was deposed and punished.

The following are the details: During his Caliphate, Wathiq Billah was displeased with his brother Motawakkil Alallâh. Motawakkil Alallâh went to Prime Minister Mohammad bin Abdul Malik and requested him to recommend him to the Amir al-Muminin and improve his standing with him. Due to his long term of office, the Prime Minister he had grown a bit arrogant, ill tempered and unbalanced. He paid little attention to Motawakkil Alallâh and treated him discourteously and said to him "Mend your ways and the Amir al-Muminin will automatically be pleased with you and no recommendation is needed." After that, he complained to Wathiq Billah against him saying, "He came to me for a recommendation to you. When I saw his hair growing like a woman, I did not talk to him." Wathiq called Motawakkil Alallâh to the court, had his hair cut and turned him out of the court. The engineer of this humiliation was Mohammad bin Abdul Malik, Motawakkil Alallâh after two months of his assuming power, ordered Itakh to arrest Mohammad bin Abdul Malik at home and send the message to all the occupied countries that all his property and goods wherever they were should be confiscated. In compliance with the order, Itakh imprisoned him, had his goods brought to Baghdad and deposited them in the royal treasury. Mohammad bin Abdul Malik could not stand the rigors of captivity and died on 15 Rabi-al-Awwal 233 A.H. in that state. Omar bin Farah was also arrested and imprisoned like him in Ramadan 233 A.H. but was later released on payment of 1,100,000 dirhams.

Itakh's arrest and death

Itakh was a Turk slave. In his early years, he lived with Salam bin Abras and served as a cook and that is why he was known as Itakh Tabbakh (the cook). Finding him wise, well-mannered, strong-bodied and handsome Caliph Motasim purchased him from Salam Abras in

199 A.H. As he was discerning and clever, he kept rising in rank. During Motasim's regime, his respect and power increased many fold. Those from the royal family accused of a crime were generally imprisoned in his house and put under his surveillance. Ajeef, Mamoon Rasheed's descendants, Mohammad bin Abdul Malik and Omar bin Farah were kept as prisoners and killed under his charge. He was also in charge of defense, surveillance and delegations. He left for Hajj in Dhul Qadah 234 A.H. After his departure, Motawakkil appointed his servant Waseef to the post of surveillance. When he returned from Hajj and reached near Baghdad, Ishaq bin Ibrahim at the insistence of Caliph Motawakkil invited him to Baghdad and then imprisoned him along with his two sons, Mansoor and Mozaffar. Itakh died in captivity and his two sons remained in prison until the end of Motawakkil's Caliphate. When Muntasir ascended the throne, he released them.

The Oath for Succession

In 235 A.H., Mohammad bin Bayee bin Jalees revolted in Azerbaijan however, it was soon crushed by Bagha Kabeer. The same year Caliph Motawakkil took the oath from the people for the succession of his sons Mohammad, Talha and Ibrahim and declared that first Mohammad would be the Caliph followed by Talha. He gave titles of Muntasir and Motaz to Mohammad and Talha respectively. The western countries were given to Mohammad and the eastern countries to Motaz as landed estates. Later on, they were made successors to the throne and Syria was given to them as a landed estate.

The same year, Caliph Motawakkil changed the uniforms of the army and woolen coats were ordered to be used by tying them with a cord instead of the belt used formerly. The Dhimmis were restrained from constructing new places of worship. Instructions were issued in all the territories that no one should approach any government officials for financial help. The Christian Dhimmis were ordered not to hang the cross at their conferences. The same year Hasan bin Sahal and Ishaq bin Ibrahim bin Hasan bin Mus'ab, the nephew of Tahir bin Husain who had been the Baghdad Chief of Police since Mamoon Rasheed's regime died. Motawakkil made Mohammad bin Ishaq the Chief of Police. He gave him the governorship of the province of Iran. It should be kept in mind that the Province of Iran was separate from Khorasan.

The governership of Khorasan along with that of Tabristan was under the control of Tahir bin Abdullah Tahir bin Husain. The same year Caliph Motawakkil issued the decree that all the Christians should wear a scarf. The necktie is probably the memorial of this. In 236 A.H., he restrained the people from visiting the grave of Imam Husain ﷺ and the constructions around it were demolished. The same year Obaidullah bin Yahya bin Khaqan was given the post of the Prime Minister.

Revolt in Armenia

The province of Armenia was governed by Yusuf bin Mohammad. Buqra bin Aswat, a prelate and the head of the prelates visited the governor's headquarters and begged Yusuf bin Mohammad for security. Yusuf arrested him along with his sons and sent them to Caliph Motawakkil. This caused great resentment among the prelates of Armenia against Yusuf. Buqrat bin Aswat's son-in-law Musa bin Zurara assembled them and sought their opinions. All swore that they would kill Yusuf bin Mohammad. Then under Musa bin Zurara's command, the Christians revolted. Yusuf bin Mohammad came out to fight. The rebels killed him and his men in Ramadan 237 A.H. Hearing this news, Motawakkil sent Bagha Kabeer to Armenia. Bagha Kabeer passed through Mousil and Jazirah, encamped at Arzan and conquered it. He killed 30,000 of Musa bin Zurara's men and also captured a large number. After that in 238 A.H., he picked up the rebellious prelates, punished them and sent them to Baghdad.

Qadi Ahmad bin Abi Dawood's Deposition and Death

Qadi Ahmad bin Abi Dawood commanded greater influence and power than the Prime Minister during Wathiq Billah's regime. The status quo was maintained during the initial period of Motawakkil. Caliph Motawakkil became displeased with Qadi Ahmad bin Dawood in 237 A.H. and ordered the confiscation of his goods, property and estates. Qadi Ahmad's son Abul Waleed sold his goods and property for 160,000 dirhams and presented the same to the Caliph. Motawakkil deposed and jailed Qadi Ahmad and gave the post of Chief Justice to Yahya bin Aktham.

Qadi Ahmad suffered from paralysis at that time. Qadi Yahya bin

Aktham was also dismissed by Motawakkil in 240 A.H. and Ahmad bin Abi Dawood died the same year 237 A.H. 20 days after his son Abul Waleed's death. The same year the Christians in Hims took up arms, removed their ruler and captured the city. Caliph Motawakkil ordered the armies of Damascus and Ramla to move on Hims. These armies quelled the rebellion of the Christians and they exiled many of them. The same year Motawakkil dismissed Qadi Abu Bakr bin Mohammad bin Abul Laith of Egypt and had him lashed. He appointed Imam Malik's disciple Harith bin Miskeen as Chief Justice of Egypt. Then the Caliph made Mohammad bin Abdullah bin Tahir bin Husain bin Mus'ab Chief of the Baghdad Police while his brother Tahir bin Abdullah bin Tahir was made the governor of Khorasan.

The Roman Invasion

In 238 A.H. the governor of Egypt Ambasa bin Ishaq, called the army stationed along the coast of Dimyat to Egypt for some engagement. Finding the place unprotected, the Romans with a fleet of 100 ships looted Dimyat completely. They burned down the Central Mosque, looted the city's goods and put captives on their ships and sailed to Tunis. They repeated the same there also. Ali bin Yahya Armini invaded the Roman Empire with the help of the army of Saifah and captured many Christians. In 241 A.H., the Roman empress Nadurah wanted to convert the Muslim captives to Christianity. Those who refused were killed. Many converted to Christianity out of fear of death. Then the Queen requested Motawakkil to exchange the prisoners. Motawakkil sent his servant Saif with the Qadi of Baghdad Jafar bin Abdul Wahid to accompany the Christian prisoners. The exchange of the Muslim and Christian prisoners took place at the river Lams.

Invasion on the Roman Empire

After the above exchange of prisoners the Romans again committed a breach of treaty. They led a surprise attack and took away many Muslims as captives. The Muslim commanders chased the Romans but returned disappointed.

Caliph Motawakkil sent Ali bin Yahya along with the army of Saifa to declare Jihad on the Roman Empire. The Caliph left the capital and

went to Damascus. He encamped there and was busy sending armies against the Romans and making the expedition a success. All members of the government accompanied the Caliph to Damascus. All the royal offices were also shifted there because the Caliph was inclined to stay there permanently.

Hardly two months had passed since the Caliph's arrival in Damascus when an epidemic broke out and he had to return to the capital. Before leaving, he sent a big army under Bagha Kabeer's command to attack the Roman Empire. Bagha Kabeer entered Roman territory and ordered a general massacre. He conquered many forts and did not hesitate killing and capturing the Romans.

When the Romans surrendered and begged for amnesty, Bagha Kabeer pulled back at the Caliph's instance. The Romans violated the agreement again in 245 A.H. and they looted some Muslim cities. Ali bin Yahya attacked the Romans in retaliation, and looted them significantly. In 246 A.H., the Romans again harassed the Muslims. They looted the border territories and desolated them. This time Caliph Motawakkil deputed land and navy forces to lead a multi-pronged attack on the Roman territories. This caused a major upheaval there. The Romans again begged for amnesty and expressed their will for reconciliation. The Muslims conceded to it willingly and again prisoners were exchanged at the Lams River. This time, in 246 A.H., 2,300 Muslim prisoners were recovered.

The Building of the City of Jafaria

In 245 A.H., Motawakkil had a new city named Jafaria built at the cost of 200,000 dinars not including a big palace in the center of the city called Luloo (pearl). It was taller than all the royal palaces. Some called it Jafaria, some Motawakkilia and yet some Makhoorah. Jafar bin Khayyat died the same year. In this year, Motawakkil had Najah bin Maslama beaten to death. He was a very influential man. He was the executive of the office of Motawakkil's official proclamations. The charge of bribery was proved against him and he suffered this severe punishment.

The Murder of Motawakkil

As has been mentioned above, Motawakkil had made his son Muntasir heir apparent. Muntasir was greatly influenced by the Shiites and believed in the creation of the Quran as did Wathiq and Motasim before him. But Motawakkil was a strict follower of Sunnah, a great adviser of the scholars of the Sunnah and a formidable critic on the issue of the Qur'ân's creation. He always remained engaged in putting an end to this problem with great courage. This difference of belief between the father and the son led to an estrangement. Motawakkil made up his mind to make his second son Motaz his heir-apparent. As Muntasir and Motaz were born of two different women, there already existed a rivalry between them. When Caliph Motawakkil preferred Motaz to Muntasir, the latter turned inimical to his father.

A few days before this Caliph Motawakkil had become angry with his Turk commanders Bagha Kabeer, Waseef Kabeer, Waseef Sagheer and Dawajan Ashrosani for some of their activities and seized their estates, the Turks were displeased with him. Though Bagha Kabeer was sent to the Roman territories, his son Musa bin Bagha was assigned to protect the royal palace.

When Bagha Kabeer found that Muntasir agreed to his views, he organized a group including his four sons and a few Turks and assigned them the task of murdering Motawakkil. One night when Muntasir and the other courtiers left the court and the Caliph remained with Fatah bin Khaqan and four other companions, the killers entered the royal palace by the door facing the Tigris River and attacked the Caliph. Fatah bin Khaqan was also killed with him. Leaving the two dead bodies, the killers with their blood-stained swords reached Muntasir the same night and congratulated him on becoming the Caliph. Muntasir immediately went to the royal palace and took the oath from the people. Waseef and other Turk chiefs came and took the oath. When this news reached the minister Obaidullah bin Yahya bin Khaqan, he rushed to Motaz but Muntasir had already called Motaz to him and taken the oath from him. When the minister Obaidullah called on Motaz, 10,000 people including Azdi, Armeni and non-Arabs assembled there. They said to

him in one voice, "If you permit us, we shall kill Muntasir and his men." Obaidullah stopped them. The next morning Muntasir ordered Motawakkil and Fatah to be buried. This happened on 4 Shawwal 247 A.H. Caliph Motawakkil was murdered after being Caliphate for 14 years 10 months and 3 days. He was 40.

Motawakkil's Habits and Nature and a Few Important Incidents

Immediately after assuming power, Caliph Motawakkil Alallah showed his interest and inclination towards the revival of the Sunnah. In 234 A.H., he invited all the scholars of Hadith to the capital Samarra and accorded them great honor. Before this during Wathiq and Motasim's regimes, they could not deliver lectures on Hadith in public and could not narrate Hadith regarding the vision of Allâh. Motawakkil decreed them to teach Hadith at mosques freely and narrate Hadith about the attributes and vision of Allah. This pleased the Muslims and endeared him to them. Lessons on Hadiths began to be taught at the mosques. He put an end to the practice of grave worship. This made the Shiites his enemies because the rites performed at the grave of Imam Husain were stopped at once.

In 240 A.H., the inhabitants of Khalat heard such a loud sound from the sky that many people died from its impact. Hailstones, the size of chicken eggs, fell in Iraq and 13 villages sank into the earth. In 243 A.H., a severe tremor was felt in North Africa, Khorasan, Tabristan and Isfahan. Many mountains cracked and large numbers of people fell into the earth. Stones weighing 5 kg. fell on an Egyptian village. In Ramadan 243 A.H., the people of Halab (Aleppo) saw and heard a bird uttering, "O people fear Allâh" followed by "Allâh!" "Allâh" 40 times. Then it flew away. The next day the same thing happened. They informed the people in the capital and 500 people witnessed it. In 245 A.H., earthquakes took place in the whole world; many cities and forts fell to the ground; a mountain in Antakia fell into the ocean; the water in the springs of Makkah disappeared. Motawakkil spent 1,000,000 dinars to bring water from Arafat. Terrible sounds from the sky were heard.

Motawakkil was very generous. He gave more awards to the poets than any other Caliph had ever given. It was during his regime that Dhun Nun Misri appeared. When the Egyptian governor called on Thul Nun Misri and enquired about his faith, he was satisfied and wrote accordingly to Motawakkil. Motawakkil called him to the capital and was very pleased with him. He respected him much. After Motawakkil's murder somebody saw him in a dream and asked, "What has Allâh done with you?" Motawakkil said, "Allâh forgave me for whatever little I could do for the revival of the Sunnah." When he ascended the throne, the people thought about a suitable title for him. There was no agreement on it but when Motawakkil narrated his dream, all of them liked the title Motawakkil Alallah.'

Once Motawakkil called the scholars to his palace including Ahmad bin Madal. When all the scholars had arrived, Motawakkil also came, seeing him approaching all the scholars stood up to show respect except Ahmad bin Madal who remained sitting. Motawakkil said to his minister Obaidullah "Has this gentlemen not taken the oath?" Obaidullah said, "He has taken the oath but his eyesight is poor." Ahmed bin Madal at once said, "There is no defect in my eyes but I want to protect you from Allâh's punishment for a Hadith says: 'Whosoever expects that people should stand up respect him he should make his accommodation in Hell.'" Hearing this Motawakkil moved near Ahmad bin Madal.

Yazid Mahlabi says: One day Motawakkil said to me, "The Caliphs were strict with their subjects in order to keep them in awe. But I treat my subjects kindly so that they may obey me by recognizing my Caliphate." Amr bin Sheban says: I saw Motawakkil in a dream two months after he was murdered. I said to him, "What did Allâh do with you? Motawakkil said, 'Allâh forgave me for what I did for the revival of the Sunnah.' Then I said to him, 'What will happen to your killers?' He said, 'I have been awaiting my son Muhammad (Muntasir). When he comes I shall complain to Allâh against him.'" Caliph Motawakkil Alallah followed the Shafii school of thought and he was the first among the Caliphs to embrace this school of jurisprudence.

Mustansir Billah

Mustansir Billah bin Motawakkil Alallah bin Motasim Billah bin Haroon Rasheed's real name was Mohammad and his kunya was Abu Jafar or Abu Abdullah. He was born of a Roman African slave at Samarra in 223 A.H. After having his father Motawakkil killed, he sat on the throne on 4 Shawwal 247 A.H. He deposed both his brothers Motaz and Muayyad, who had been made heirs apparent by his father Motawakkil.

The Turks had been dominating the Caliph's court and their power was increasing day by day. They had the upper hand in all affairs. Seeing the Turks were on the ascendant and they might be harmful to him, he geared up to curtail and reduce their powers and influence.

During his six-month Caliphate, he served the Shiites considerably. He allowed them to pay visits to Imam Husain's grave and granted all type of freedom to the Alawiites. Immediately after taking over the Caliphate, he made Ahmad bin Khaseeb the prime minister and made Bagha Kabeer the commander-in-chief. It was Bagha Kabeer and the other Turks who coaxed him to remove his brothers from succession. When he wanted to reduce their power, they were scared of him because he was wise and brave and they were sure he would succeed in his aim. Therefore, they gave his physician Ibn Taifoor 30,000 dinars as a bribe to use a poisoned scalpel while letting his blood in connection with curing a disease this led to his death.

After being Caliph less than 6 months, he died on 5 Rabi-al-Awwal 248 A.H. At the point of death he said, "O my mother! I have lost both this world and the hereafter. I have killed my father and now I am going after him."

Mustayeen Billah

Mustayeen Billah bin Motasim bin Haroon Rasheed's real name was Ahmad and his kunya was Abul Abbas. He was handsome and fair complexioned. His face was pock marked and he stammered. He was born of a slave-girl named Makhariq in 221 A.H. When Muntasir died the members of the government assembled to decide on who should

be chosen Caliph. Motawakkil's sons Motaz and Moayyad were present but the Turks were wary of them because they were responsible for their removal from succession. Motasim Billah's son Ahmad was enthroned and the title Mustayeen Billah was chosen for him. He was very noble, very eloquent and a literary scholar. He sat on the throne on 6 Rabia Akhir 248 A.H.

When Mustayeen Billah was being taken to the royal palace for enthronement Mohammad bin Abdullah bin Tahir and the masses protested, revolted and presented Motaz's claim to the Caliphate. The Turks fought with them and many were killed and many escaped. While the fight was going on the Turks were taking the oath for Mustayeen Billah's Caliphate. When the uproar subsided, awards and posts began to be distributed. The message was sent to Mohammad bin Abdullah bin Tahir to come and take the oath, which he did. After the completion of the oath news arrived that Tahir bin Abdullah bin Tahir, the governor of Khorasan, passed away. Caliph Mustayeen Billah appointed Mohammad bin Tahir bin Abdullah as governor there. His uncle Talha and his son Mansoor were made rulers of Nishapur, and Sarkhas and Khwarzam respectively. Then his uncle Sulaiman bin Abdullah and his cousin Abbas were sent as rulers to Tabristan and Jurjan and Talqan respectively.

In 248 A.H., Abdullah bin Yahya bin Khaqan sought permission to perform Hajj. The Caliph permitted him but immediately after his departure he assigned a commander named Abdullah bin Yahya to arrest and exile him. He caught and exiled him to Riqqah accordingly. During the same period, the Turks wanted to murder Motaz and Moayyad. Ahmad bin Khaseeb stopped the Caliph from committing this illegal act. Immediately after sitting on the throne as Caliph, Mustayeen made a Turk chief Atamish his prime minister and Ahmad bin Khaseeb his deputy. The Caliph put Motaz and Moayyad under house arrest. After a short time Ahmad bin Khaseeb was also deposed and put under surveillance. Besides becoming prime minister, Atamish was also made the ruler of Egypt and the western territories. Bagha Sagheer was made the governor of Halwan and Masabzan. Similarly, Ashnas was appointed commander in chief and put in charge of all government staff. In short, all the important posts were given to the Turks.

In 249 A.H., the Romans launched an attack on the Islamic territories. Two reputed chiefs Omar bin Abdullah and Yahya bin Yahya besides many other Muslims were martyred in the encounter.

The Baghdad people were extremely shocked about the martyrdom of these two leaders and they all started complaining about the Turks that after getting power they not only killed the Caliphs and humiliated the noblemen but also neglected to declare Jihad against the infidels. That was why the two servants of Islam met their martyrdom and the Romans felt encouraged to attack the Muslims.

These and other issues led to the rise of unrest in Baghdad and the people began to make preparations for Jihad. In other words the common people were not waiting for the military leaders and the armed forces to address the problem of the Romans they themselves formed an army for the Jihad. The Muslims from all around began to come and join the Jihad and the wealthy Muslims contributed the money necessary and a huge army left Baghdad to fight in the holy war against the Romans. Mustayeen and the members of his government remained in Samarra as spectators and did not intervene. The Muslims who came out for Jihad reached Samarra and created trouble there. They broke open the jail and set the prisoners free. After that, the Turk chiefs Bagha, Waseef and Atamish faced these Muslims fighters with their armies. A large number of people were killed and their enthusiasm dissipated. Because Atamish had a greater hold on power and was able to utilize the royal treasury, Bagha and Waseef had enmity for him.

After Atamish, they had Abdullah bin Mohammad bin Ali made prime minister. After a short time there developed bad blood between Bagha Sagheer and Abdullah bin Mohammad bin Ali. Abdullah left Samarra out of fear of Bagha Sagheer. The Caliph appointed Mohammad bin Fadal Jurjani as the prime minister. Caliph Mustayeen was totally under the control of the Turks. Samarra was populated mostly by Turks and the Caliph was unable to get out of their control. In this situation Yahya bin Omar bin Yahya bin Husain bin Zaid Shaheed, whose kunya was Abul Husain, revolted in Kufa. Kufa was ruled over by Ayyub bin Husain bin Musa bin Sulaiman bin Ali on behalf of Mohammad bin Abdullah bin Tahir. Abul Husain forced Ayyub out of Kufa, looted the royal treasury and occupied Kufa.

Abul Husain then left Kufa and marched towards Wasit. Mohammad bin Abdullah bin Tahir sent Husain bin Ismail bin Ibrahim bin Husain bin Mus'ab to defeat him. The confrontation took place midway to Wasit. Abul Husain defeated Husain bin Ismail and returned to Kufa. The inhabitants of Baghdad also were ready to help Husain bin Ismail, who rallied his forces and attacked Abul Husain Yahya bin Omar. Yahya came out of Kufa and fought. After a fierce battle, Abul Husain was killed and his head was severed and sent to Caliph Mustayeen at Samarra. He put it into a box and kept it in the arsenal. Abul Husain Yahya lost his life on 15 Rajab 250 A.H.

As reward for his victory over Abul Husain, Caliph Mustayeen granted estates to Mohammad bin Abdullah bin Tahir in Tabristan. One of the estates was near the border of Delam. When Mohammad bin Abdullah's ruler went to take possession, a man named Rustam opposed him. The inhabitants of Delam sided with Rustam and his two sons Mohammad and Jafar. At that time, Mohammad bin Ibrahim Alawi was present in Tabristan.

Mohammad and Jafar called on him and said, "Please stake your claim to the caliphate. We shall help you." He said, "Go to Rayy and put this request to Hasan bin Zaid bin Mohammad bin Ismail bin Hasan bin Zaid bin Hasan Sibt. He is my chief and leader." Mohammad and Jafar went to their father and briefed him about the meeting. He sent a man to Rayy. Hasan bin Zaid came to Tabristan. The people from Delam and Darban began to come and take the oath. A huge crowd collected and Hasan bin Zaid captured Tabristan, which was followed by Rayy.

Receiving this news, Mustayeen sent an army to defend Hamadan. It suffered defeat. Then Musa bin Bagha Kabeer was sent from the capital with an army. He took Tabristan from Hasan bin Zaid's control but Delam still remained under Hasan's control. Musa returned to Rayy. During those days, Caliph Mustayeen appointed Daleel bin Yaqub a Christian as his minister. After a short time, a Turk named Baghar developed a grievance against Daleel Christian. Bagha Sagheer and Waseef declared Baghar guilty in the matter. The Caliph jailed him. The Turks created an uproar and Bagha Sagheer had Baghar killed. This, far from quelling the uproar, aggravated it and

the entire city of Samarra took up arms. The flags of the insurgents were visible on all sides. Seeing the danger Caliph Mustayeen, Bagha Waseef, Shahik and Ahmad bin Saleh bin Shiraz left Samarra and went to Baghdad and lodged at Mohammad bin Abdullah bin Tahir's house in Baghdad in Muharram 251 A.H. The royal offices and the whole staff followed the Caliph and went to Baghdad.

The Turks felt ashamed after the Caliph had left for Baghdad. Six Turks from Samarra called on him and entreated him saying, "Please come to Samarra. We are ashamed of our impertinent acts. We beg to be excused." Caliph Mustayeen reminded them of their disloyalties and impertinences and he refused to go to Samarra. The Turks returned to Samarra, took Motaz bin Motawakkil out of the jail and took the oath for his rule. Abu Ahmad bin Haroon Rasheed was also present there. When he was asked to take the oath, he said, "As I have taken the oath for Mustayeen and Motaz has accepted his dismissal from succession, I shall not take the oath."

Motaz left Abu Ahmad alone and did not insist on his taking the oath. Bagha Kabeer's sons Musa and Abdullah also took the oath for Motaz. Thus all those who preferred Motaz, came to Motaz at Samarra and those who preferred Mustayeen left Samarra and went to Baghdad.

The rulers and governors of the provinces also followed suit. Some joined the one and some the other. There were two Caliphs, one in Samarra and the other in Baghdad. The dynasty of Tahir and the Khorasanis were more on Mustayeen's side while all Turks and some other chiefs joined Motaz. The Caliphs continued fighting for 11 months. Both entered into correspondence with the governors of the provinces and tried to win their sympathy. This war was not confined to Samarra and Baghdad but spread to other provinces. However, the concentration was greater around Baghdad because the other areas were waiting to see the results from the capital.

Finally, in Thul Qadah 251 A.H. Mohammad bin Abdullah bin Tahir, the commander of Mustayeen's army in Baghdad, launched such a

fierce attack on the Turks who were besieging Baghdad, that they were defeated and fled away. Bagha and Waseef were with Mustayeen in Baghdad. They also accompanied Mohammad bin Abdullah bin Tahir with their small army of Turks consisting of men loyal to them and were part of Mustayeen's army.

When Bagha and Waseef saw the Turks defeated and fleeing from the Khorasanis and Iraqis, their national and racial prejudice received a jolt. They separated and joined the runaway army. The Turks became encouraged with their arrival, organized and ordered their armies to return and lay siege to Baghdad again.

In Baghdad, the civilians spread the rumor that Mohammad bin Abdullah bin Tahir was deliberately putting Caliph Mustayeen into trouble which led to the loss of his enthusiasm for the struggle.

On 6 Muharram 252 A.H., .Mustayeen Billah wrote to Motaz Billah recognizing his Caliphate and renouncing his own. Caliph Motaz then entered Baghdad, put the deposed Caliph under surveillance and sent him to Wasit. Mustayeen lived there under the custody of one of Motaz's commanders for 9 months then he came back to Samarra and was slain at Caliph Motaz's suggestion.

Motaz Billah

Motaz Billah bin Motawakkil Alallah bin Motasim Billah bin Haroon Rasheed was born of a Roman salve girl named Fatahyah at Samarra in 232 A.H. He was made Caliph in Samarra in Muharram 251 A.H. After being at war with Mustayeen Billah for one year, he succeeded in forcing him to abdicate. He was very handsome. Ashnas the Turk died the same year he was enthroned. He had left 50,000 dinars, which were seized by Motaz Billah to run his administration. When Motaz Billah took the throne, he was 19. He made Ahmad bin Israil his minister and allowed Mohammad bin Abdullah bin Tahir to continue as the chief of the Baghdad Police. Mohammad bin Abdullah bin Tahir was the governor of Khorasan his deputy lived in Khorasan and he himself lived in Baghdad. It was the Turks who had enthroned Motaz and so he was under their influence. The Khorasanis and Iraqis were in the army, which was stationed in Baghdad and Mohammad

bin Abdullah used to pay their salaries.

Motaz Billah stopped their salaries and allowances. In Rajab 252 A.H., he deposed his brother Moayyad from the succession, sent him to jail and had him killed. In Ramadan 252 A.H., the army revolted because of not receiving their salaries and started to fight with Mohammad bin Abdullah bin Tahir. Mohammad bin Abdullah quelled the rebellion with great difficulty. The same year saw a riot break out between the Turks and the Arabs starting a civil war. The inhabitants of Baghdad sided with the Arabs but the Turks succeeded fraudulently in killing and exiling the Arabs and their leaders.

The same year Caliph Motaz Billah appointed Husain bin Abi Shorab to the post of Chief Justice. The respect for the institution of the Caliphate had disappeared, the governors of different provinces began to consider themselves independent and the Khawarij and Alawiites began to revolt. Musawir bin Abdullah bin Musawir Bijli Khwarji captured Mousil and declared his independence and all the forces sent to fight him by the Caliph were defeated and chased away.

In 253 A.H., the Turks demanded their generals Waseef, Bagha and Simataweel, to pay four months salaries in advance. They told them that the treasury was empty and payment was not possible. The Turks grew restless and the generals informed Motaz Billah. Motaz Billah himself was helpless. The Turks caught Waseef and killed him. At that time, there was a rivalry between Babakyal and Bagha Sagheer. The Caliph showed greater favor for Babakyal. Bagha made up his mind to put the Caliph to death but Motaz Billah somehow found out and Babakyal's men did away with Bagha Sagheer.

Death of Mohammad bin Abdullah bin Tahir

Mohammad bin Abdullah bin Tahir, the governor of Khorasan died in Baghdad in 253 A.H. Before his death, his will made his son Obaidullah his deputy and the governor of Khorasan. Obaidullah's brother Tahir bin Mohammad bin Abdullah bin Tahir opposed him. They fell out regarding who should lead the funeral prayer. In light of the will, Obaidullah was declared to be his father's deputy. Later

Caliph Motaz Billah made another brother Sulaiman bin Abdullah bin Tahir the deputy of Mohammad bin Abdullah bin Tahir and he made Baghdad his headquarters and began to discharge his duties and manage the expeditions.

Ahmad bin Tuloon

Among the Turkish generals, Babakyal like Bagha, Waseef and Simataweel was a famous and popular leader. The same year Motaz Billah deputed Babakyal as the governor of Egypt. Babakyal deputed on his own behalf Ahmad bin Tuloon as the governor of Egypt.

Tuloon was a Turk who was captured in the battle of Farghana. He was brought up in the family of the Caliph and was counted as one of the royal slaves. His son Ahmad was brought up in the capital and was well versed in administrative affairs. When Babakyal became the governor of Egypt, he was considering that who he should assign as the governor of Egypt on his behalf. His advisors named Tuloon. He agreed and sent Tuloon to Egypt where he took over and managed the affairs there. Later, Caliph Mohtadi made the Turk Yarkooj the governor of Egypt who retained Ahmad bin Tuloon as his deputy in Egypt.

In this way Ahmad bin Tuloon gained a firm hold on Egypt as a ruler and his descendants ruled it by succession and minted their own coins there. In short, Egypt should be considered excluded from the Abbasid Caliphate from 253 A.H. or at least that the Tuloon government was founded in Egypt in 253 A.H.

Yaqub bin Laith Saffar

Both Yaqub bin Laith and his brother Amr bin Laith owned shops making copper and brass utensils in Sajistan. There were revolts in several places following the weakening of the Caliphate and the Khwarij also revolted. The Alawiites supporters also came out against the Abbasids. One of them named Saleh bin Nasr Kanani took up arms. A group of the wealthy, noblemen and common masses collected around him. Yaqub bin Laith also joined them. Saleh fought and somehow captured Sajistan and forced the members of the Tahir dynasty out of Sajistan. Saleh died after this victory. Dirham bin Hasan followed as his successor. However, the governor of Khorasan

captured and sent him to Baghdad. Saleh's group chose Yaqub bin Laith as its Amir. Yaqub, by virtue of his prudence and valor, completed the capture of Sajistan and expelled Mohammad bin Abdullah bin Tahir's governor of Herat, Mohammad bin Aus Ambari and took over Herat. He then began to conquer the territories of Khorasan.

Meanwhile the governor of Iran, Ali bin Husain bin Shibil, wanted to conquer Kerman. Yaqub bin Laith also wanted control over Kerman. Yaqub bin Laith defeated and chased away Ali bin Husain's commanders and finally invaded and conquered Shiraz, the capital of Iran in 255 A.H. At once he went back to Sajistan and sent an application to the Caliph's court that read, "Great unrest was prevalent in this region. The people here have made me their Amir. I am obedient and loyal to Amir Al-Muminin." Gradually he removed the families of Tahir from Khorasan, occupied it and established his own permanent government. Tahir bin Husain's descendants had ruled over Khorasan continuously but they were always connected with the Caliph's court and one member of this family was always appointed to the administration of the Baghdad Police department.

None of the Abbasids wanted to take Khorasan from the Tahir family because they had always regarded themselves as the servants and subordinates of the Abbasid Caliphs so they continued to receive title to the governorship from them and in return, the Tahir family would pay the fixed taxes to the Caliph. However, the government which Yaqub bin Laith setup was different. It would become known as the Saffariah State and its details follow later on in the narrative.

Motaz Billah: Deposition and Death

Caliph Motaz was completely under the control of the Turk generals and whatever they wanted he would do for them. The treasury had been drained because the generals had usurped it. The soldiers demanded the Caliph to pay their salaries. The Caliph was helpless. Finally, the Turks demanded payment or else they would kill Saleh bin Waseef who they considered responsible for manipulating the Caliph.

Saleh bin Waseef was a Turk general and the Caliph was afraid of him. Seeing the problem Motaz went to his Roman mother Fatahyah for some money to solve the problem. She had large sums of money

but she refused to part with any on the pretext of impending poverty. The Turks, in coalition with Saleh bin Waseef, Mohammad bin Bagha Sagheer and Babakyal, armed themselves fully and went to the door of the Caliph's palace and called Motaz. Caliph Motaz sent word, "I have taken medicine. I am too ill and weak to come out." Hearing this the Turks made a forced entry into the palace and brought out the Caliph dragging him by the legs. They beat him up, abused him and made him stand bareheaded in the sun in the courtyard. Then everybody who passed by slapped him in the face. When his humiliation went beyond limits, he was asked to abdicate. He refused. Then the chief judge Husain bin Abi Shorab and members of the government were called to witness the dismissal of the Caliph. All of them put their signatures on it and Motaz was thrown into a dungeon without food and water leading ultimately to his death. This occurred in Rajab 255 A.H. He died on 8 Shaban 255 A.H.

They brought Motaz's cousin Mohammad bin Wathiq from Baghdad and put him on the throne and bestowed on him the title of Mohtadi Billah. When Motaz's mother saw her son's arrest and humiliation, she escaped through a tunnel and went into hiding somewhere in Samarra. When Mohtadi become Caliph, she received amnesty from Saleh bin Waseef, the Caliph's deputy, and appeared in Ramadan 255 A.H. When Saleh initiated inquiries about her wealth it came to light that she was in possession of 10,300,000 dinars and gold and jewels worth more than that although Motaz had asked for only 50,000 dinars, a sum which would have been sufficient to put an end to the unrest in the army. Saleh seized all her wealth and goods and said, "This unlucky woman had her son killed for 50,000 dinars although she had millions of dinars in her possession." Then he sent her to Makkah. She lived there until Motamid succeeded to the throne. Then she went to Samarra where she died in 264 A.H.

Mohtadi Billah

Mohtadi Billah bin Wathiq Billah bin Motasim Billah bin Haroon Rasheed's real name was Mohammad and his kunya was Abu Ishaq. He was born during his grandfather Motasim Billah's period of Caliphate in 218 A.H. He became Caliph on 29 Rajab 255 A.H. at the

age of 37. He was light brown in complexion, lean and thin, handsome, pious and devout, just and brave. He struggled considerably to uphold the divine commandments. Right from his accession to his death, he continuously observed the fast but he did not have any supporters. He came at such a bad time that it was difficult to restore the old Islamic honor and glory. Hashim bin Qasim says: During the month of Ramadan I was sitting near Mohtadi. It was evening. When I stood up to leave, he asked me to sit down. Then we broke the fast together and performed our prayer. When Mohtadi ordered supper, it was brought in a small willow basket. It contained thin loaves of bread, a pinch of salt in a cup, vinegar in another and olive oil in a third cup. He invited me to eat. I began to eat and thought that more food would follow so I ate slowly. Mohtadi looked at me and said, "Don't you observe the fast?" I said, "Yes" Then he said, "Will you not observe it tomorrow?" I said, "It is the month of Ramadan. Why shouldn't I observe it?" He said, "Then eat well and don't expect that more food will be coming for there is nothing here except this." I was taken by surprise and said, Amir al Muminin! "What is this? Allâh has given you all the delicacies, conveniences and comforts of life." He said, "Yes, that is true. However, when I reflected, I found that Omar bin Abdul Aziz among Banu Umayyah was reduced to a skeleton due to his under- eating and preoccupation with providing all facilities to his subjects. Then I turned my attention to my family and I was highly ashamed to find that we, the Banu Hashim, are quite unlike them. That is why I have adopted the way you see." He had put a strict ban on sports and entertainment, declared singing and playing musical instruments unlawful and prohibited the royal staff from being tyrannical to the people. In matters of administrative work, he was strict. He attended the court daily and handled the cases in open court. He used to do the accounting by having the accountants sit in front of him.

As has been recorded earlier, the Turks also made Mohtadi Billah Caliph. After enthroning him Saleh bin Wasif, the most influential among the Turks who dominated him most arrested and killed Ahmad bin Israil, Zaid bin Motaz Billah and Abu Nuh and confiscated their money and property. Then he arrested Hasan bin Mukhallad and seized his goods. When Caliph Mohtadi Billah came to know about

these incidents, he was extremely shocked and said, "Was their arrest for an ordinary crime that they were also killed?" Following that the Caliph turned all the slave-girls and singers out of Samarra. He ordered all pets to be killed and the dogs to be set free. He made Sulaiman bin Wahab his minister. But Saleh ibn Waseef, by virtue of his intelligence and careful planning, brought him under his control and began to rule himself. Musa bin Bagha was not present at the time of Motaz's deposition and Mohtadi's accession. He had been in Rayy. When he heard that Saleh had deposed Motaz and enthroned Mohtadi, he announced his intention of avenging Motaz's blood and marched to the capital. After he arrived, he sent a request to the Caliph for permission to come to him. Saleh went into hiding when he heard of Musa's arrival.

The Caliph permitted Musa to call on him. Soon after his arrival, he captured the Caliph. He then had him mounted on a mule and wanted to take him to the prison. Mohtadi said, "Musa! Fear Allâh, what is it that you want?" Musa said, "My intention is good. Please swear that you will not side with Saleh." The Caliph swore. Musa took the oath at his hands immediately. Then Musa began to search for Saleh. The Caliph tried to reconcile between Musa and Saleh. Consequently, Musa and his men suspected that the Caliph knew where Saleh was and that it was he who was concealing him. The Turks met at Musa bin Bagha's house for council, and thought of killing or deposing Caliph Mohtadi. The Caliph came to know about this meeting and sent for all of them to appear in his court. He himself came to the court armed and with a face that reflected great anger. He said to the Turks, "I have come to know about your council. Do not take me like other Caliphs. As long as I hold the sword in my hand, I will kill most of you. I have left my will and I am ready to kill and be killed. Remember that enmity with me will prove fatal to you. I declare on oath that I do not know where Saleh is." They were silent when they heard this and their conspiracy subsided. Then Musa proclaimed a 10,000 dinars reward for the capture of Saleh.

By chance, Saleh was located and Musa had him killed, then had his head put on a spear and taken throughout the city. Mohtadi disapproved of it but he could not do anything against the Turk's power. He was quite helpless. Finally, he wrote a letter to the Turk

chief named Babakyal asking him to kill Musa. Babakyal showed the letter to Musa. Musa rushed with his army to the Caliph's palace. The people of the western territories and Farghana defended the Caliph and a number of encounters took place.

Meanwhile Babakyal was put in Mohtadi's prison as a captive. Caliph Mohtadi had him killed and his head thrown over to the Turks side. This excited them even more and the Turks who were in the Caliph's army became angry at Babakyal's murder and went over to Musa's army. During this period the Turks had besieged the Caliph, the subjects of Baghdad, Samarra and other places that had been praying for Caliph Mohtadi as they were very pleased with his justice and generosity and thought of him as a righteous Caliph. However, the consequences were quite adverse. The Caliph was defeated. The Turks arrested him and had his testicles crushed until he died.

This tragedy occurred on 14 Rajab 256 A.H. Caliph Mohtadi ran his Caliphate for 15 days short of a year. He was 38 when he lost his life. After that, the Turks took Abul Abbas Ahmad bin Motawakkil out of captivity (he was in captivity at Josaq) and put him on the throne. They took the oath for him and chose Motamid Alallah as his title.

Motamid Alallah

Motamid Alallah bin Motawakkil Alallah bin Motasim Billah bin Haroon Rasheed was born of a Roman slave girl named Fatyan. Caliph Motamid made Obaidullah bin Yahya bin Khaqan his minister. Obaidullah fell off his horse and died in 263A.H. Then Mohammad bin Mukhallad was made the minister.

The Revolt of the Alawiites

In 256 A.H. Ibrahim bin Mohammad bin Yahya bin Abdullah bin Mohammad bin Hanafia bin Ali bin Abi Talib alias Ibn Sufi and Ali bin Zaid Alawi revolted against the Abbasid Caliphate in Egypt and Kufa respectively. Ibn Sufi suffered defeat in several battles and fled from Egypt and went to Makkah where the governor of Makkah arrested him and sent him to Ahmad bin Tuloon in Egypt. He imprisoned him and later released him. After his release, he went to

Madinah where he died. Ali bin Zaid revolted in Kufa and expelled the governor and took it over. Caliph Motamid sent a commander named Shah bin Michael to Kufa but he was defeated by Ali bin Zaid. Then the Caliph sent another commander named Kajoor who defeated Ali bin Zaid. In 256 A.H. he re-attacked Ali bin Zaid which resulted in his defeat and arrest. Kajoor went to the capital with him. Husain bin Zaid Alawi captured Rayy and Musa bin Bagha set out to fight against him.

A man named Ali posing as an Alawiite previously drew the people's attention to himself in Bahrain and then went to Ahsa. There he posed as an Alawiite but with a different lineage. As the Alawiites were revolting in different places, he had a strong craving for power and kept drawing people's attention to himself by posing as an Alawiite but his lineage continued to be questioned everywhere proving that he was not an Alawiite. At last, in coalition with a few slaves in Baghdad he went to Basra and announced to the slaves that whoever came over to him would be freed. It attracted many of them and they rallied around him. When the masters of the slaves came to him and wanted to talk about them, he had them arrested and later Ali released them.

The number of slaves continued multiplying under Ali's flag and he with fiery speeches coaxed and induced them to conquer territory with the power of their swords. Then he looted Qadsiya and its adjoining areas and returned to Basra. The people of Basra fought but were defeated. Following that, they fought with him several times but were defeated each time.

The slave army captured Basra. The Caliph deputed the Turk Abu Bilal with a 4,000 man army under his command to confront them. The confrontation took place near the river Riyan. The slaves defeated and chased them away. They captured not only Basra but also, Ahwaz and other places. The Turk leaders brought armies from the Caliph's court repeatedly but always returned defeated. Finally, it was Sayeed bin Saleh who crushed them and expelled them from Basra. However, on 15 Shawwal 257 A.H. they recaptured Basra and burnt it to the ground. The beautiful buildings of Basra were reduced to ashes and rubble.

Assessing the situation Caliph Motamid sent Mohammad Maroof alias Molid with a large army. The slaves came out of Basra and fought with him at the Maqul River. They put Molid's army to rout,

looted their goods and killed the fleeing soldiers. Then they returned to the Maqul River. Then the Caliph deputed Mansoor bin Jafar Khayyat to tackle the problem. They came to fight under the command of their chief Ali bin Aban. There was a fierce battle. Swords dazzled until noon finally, Mansoor bin Jafar was defeated and killed.

Hearing the news, Caliph Motamid Billah recalled his brother Abu Ahmad Muwaffaq, whom he had deputed as the governor of Makkah, gave him the governorship of Egypt, Qansareen and Awasim and ordered him to fight against the slaves. Then he gave another army to Mufleh and sent him to fight them also. These two armies marched to face the slave army.

In the battle that followed, Mufleh was killed and his men began to flee. This caused anxiety and disintegration among Muwaffaq's men. At last, Muwaffaq dodged the enemy and saved his army, reorganized them, came to the Abu Khaseeb River and fought with the slaves, defeated them and captured many of them he also freed many of his men from their captivity and returned to Samarra. That defeat did not crush them completely. They rallied again and started looting, killing and plundering. They continued on their looting and killing spree in Basra and Iraq until 270 A.H.

Yaqub bin Laith's Governorship

In 256 A.H., the very first year of Motamid's accession Mohammad bin Wasil bin Ibrahim Tamimi, an Iraqi Arab living in Iran for many years, conspired with some Kurds and killed the governor of Iran, Harith bin Seema and captured it. When Yaqub bin Laith Saffar found out, he invaded Iran. Muwaffaq thought it wise to save Iran from going under Yaqub Saffar's control so he had the letters of governorship for Takharistan and Balkh in Yaqub's name written by Motamid and sent to Yaqub bin Laith with the message: "Give up the thought of Iran and establish your government in Balkh and Takharistan." Yaqub bin Laith liked the idea and he made proper arrangements for Balkh and Takharistan, reached Kabul and arrested Ratbeel. Then he dispatched gifts to the Caliph.

He visited Sajistan and began to take control of the cities of Herat and Khorasan. In 259 A.H., he captured Khorasan and expelled all the

members of the Tahir family. Caliph Motamid wrote him a threatening letter saying, "Be content with the cities and the governorship of that which has been given to you. Don't capture Khorasan." But Yaqub did not pay any heed to this warning. In 260 A.H., Hasan bin Zaid Alawi took an army from Delam and invaded Yaqub. In a fierce battle Hasan bin Zaid suffered defeat and returned to Delam and Yaqub conquered Sarya and Amul then he turned to Sajistan.

The Rebellion in Mousil

Motamid deputed the Turk commander Satgeen as the governor of Mousil. The Turks started perpetrating atrocities on the inhabitants of Mousil. As a consequence of this abuse, they made Yahya bin Sulaiman their leader, beat the Turks and expelled them.

The Caliph was informed of the rebellion. Turk armies were sent. Bloody battles were waged but the result was disastrous. The Caliph's army of Turks lost and Sulaiman bin Yahya's government was established in Mousil. This happened in 260-61 A.H.

Ibn Mufleh, Ibn Wasil, Ibn Laith Saffar

When Yaqub bin Laith invaded Iran to snatch it from Mohammad bin Wasil in 256 A.H. the Caliph bestowed on him the governorship of Balkh and Takharistan and sent him back. Then he sent Abdur Rahman bin Mufleh with an army to win the province of Iran from Mohammad bin Wasil. Abdur Rahman and Mohammad began to fight.

The Caliph deputed the Turk commander Tashtamar to reinforce Abdur Rahman bin Mufleh. Tashtamar was killed and in 262 A.H. Mohammad bin Wasil captured Abdur Rahman bin Mufleh. Caliph Motamid began to correspond with Mohammad bin Wasil and initiated a move to liberate Abdur Rahman bin Mufleh. Mohammad bin Wasil did not reply to his letters but killed Abdur Rahman bin Mufleh and began to prepare to invade the city of Wasit where Musa bin Bagha was stationed with his army. When Mohammad bin Wasil proceeded towards Wasit, Ibrahim bin Seema blocked his way.

From the opposite side Abu Saj who was made governor of Iran by the Caliph sent his son-in-law Abdur Rahman to fight against

Muhammad bin Wasil and conquer Iran. Abu Saj was engaged in dealing with the slaves who had made more trouble in Basra and the surrounding area. When Abu Saj's son-in-law Abdur Rahman set out with the army, he came across the slaves' leader Ali bin Aban on the way. Ali bin Aban defeated and killed Abdur Rahman. Mohammad bin Wasil and his army were ready to confront Ibrahim Seema at Ahwaz. In the meantime, news arrived that Yaqub bin Laith Saffar invaded Faras, so Muhammad Wasil Tamimi, ended the confrontation with Ibrahim Seema and returned to Iran. Finally, Saffar and Mohammad bin Wasil fought. Ibn Wasil lost and escaped and Yaqub Saffar captured Iran. Khorasan had already come under his rule and in 261 A.H., he brought all of Iran under his control.

The Birth of the Government of the Samaniites

The details about the Samani dynasty will follow later on. However, in order to remind the readers and to maintain the sequence of events it is pertinent to say something about its origin here.

Asad bin Saman was a member of a reputed and respectable family in Khorasan. He had four sons: Noah, Ahmad, Yahya and Ilyas. During the period when Mamoon Rasheed was staying in Merv, these four brothers called on him. On the suggestion of his Prime Minister Fadal bin Sahal, he appointed them to important posts. When Mamoon Rasheed proceeded to Baghdad after making Ghassan bin Abbad his deputy and the governor of Khorasan, the latter deputed Noah, Ahmad, Yahya, and Ilyas as the rulers of Samarkand, Farghana, Shash and Ashrosna, and Herat respectively.

When Mamoon Rasheed sent his famous general Tahir bin Husain as the governor of Khorasan, he also maintained the status quo by retaining them in their posts. However, when Noah bin Asad died Tahir annexed the regions of Samarkand to Yahya and Ahmad's territories. After a short time, Ilyas died, this was during Tahir's governorship, Tahir made Ilyas's son, Abu Ishaq Muhammad, the ruler of Herat. Ahmad bin Asad had seven sons: Nasr, Yaqub, Yahya, Ismail, Abul Ashas, Abu Khanam, Hameed and Asad. When Ahmad bin Asad passed away, his elder son Nasr succeeded him as the Governor of Samarkand.

Nasr continued to be given the governorship of this province until the Tahir family was dethroned from Khorasan and Yaqub bin Laith Saffar captured it. In 261 A.H., Caliph Motamid Alallah sent the letter of governorship of Samarkand to Nasr directly. The Governor of this province used to receive the letter of Governorship from the Governor of Khorasan. In view of losing control over Khorasan and Yaqub Saffar gaining control over it, the Caliph thought it best that he should keep his leadership in Mawaraunnahr. Therefore, the letter was sent from the Caliph's court with the instruction that he should protect Samarkand from Yaqub Saffar. Nasr bestowed the state of Bukhara on his brother Ismail and he himself continued to rule over Samarkand. In 275 A.H., they developed resentment against each other, which escalated into a military confrontation. Ismail won and Nasr came to Ismail in chains. Ismail ran to him and kissed his feet, made him sit on the throne and promised to obey him. They reconciled and both the brothers began to govern under the name of Ismail. This same Ismail founded the government of the Samanids, which will be dealt with later on in the narrative.

The Oath for the Heir Apparent

In Shawwal 261 A.H., Caliph Motamid held open court and made the proclamation before all the courtiers that his son Jafar would be the heir apparent and after him his brother Ahmad Mowaffaq. However, in case Jafar did not reach the age of discretion, then Mowaffaq would be the Caliph first to be followed by Jafar.

Everyone took an oath on this proclamation. Jafar was given the title Mufawwad ilallah, and made the Governor of Africa, Egypt, Syria, Mousil, Jazirah and Armenia. Musa bin Bagha was made his deputy. Abul Wajid was entitled as Nasir li deenillah Al-Mowaffaq and made the Governor of the Eastern countries, Baghdad, Kufa, the route to Makkah, Yemen, Kaskar, Ahwaz, Iran, Isfahan, Rayy, Zanjan and Sindh. Two different flags were made for them. After this oath, Caliph Motamid assigned the task of punishing the rebel slaves to his brother Mowaffaq.

The Battle of Saffar

Mowaffaq had hardly set out towards the rebellious slaves when the Caliph received news that Yaqub Saffar after capturing and consolidating Khorasan was marching towards the capital with his army. The Caliph's brother Mowaffaq postponed his expedition against the rebels and returned to the capital. The Caliph himself left the capital and stayed at Zafranya and sent his brother Mowaffaq to fight with Saffar. The right flank was controlled by Musa bin Bagha while the left one was commanded by Masroor Balkhi. Mowaffaq was in the middle. They fought a very fierce battle from dawn to dusk. Sometimes Saffar's army retreated and sometimes Mowaffaq's army fell back. The battle remained indecisive. Meanwhile the Caliph sent another army to aid Mowaffaq. The arrival of this fresh army spelled defeat for Yaqub bin Laith's army. Yaqub and his soldiers fled. Mowaffaq and his army looted their camp. After being defeated Saffar moved towards Khazistan and stayed at Jandisabor. Mowaffaq could not follow Saffar and went to Wasit. He fell ill and returned to Baghdad.

While Mowaffaq and Saffar were at war, Muhammad bin Wasil who had fled after loosing Iran to Saffar found an opportunity and rebelled, the field of opposition was empty and he recaptured Iran.

When Saffar went to Jundisabor after his defeat, the slaves sent a letter to Saffar, goading him to fight against the Caliph and assuring him of their help. In reply to the letter Saffar quoted following Verses of Qur'ân:

> "Say O Unbelievers ....to you your religion and to me my religion." (109:1-6)

And sent an army under the command of Omar bin Sirsi to fight against Muhammad bin Wasil. Omar bin Sirsi expelled Wasil from Iran and captured it. After fighting with Yaqub Saffar, Motamid sent Musa bin Bagha to crush the rebellious slaves. Saffar sent a commander to Ahwaz. It was at Ahwaz that the three armies, the Caliph's, Saffar's and the slaves' clashed with one another. No one supported the other. Yaqub Saffar left Jundisabor and went to Sajistan after deputing Aziz bin Sirri in Nishapur and his brother Omar bin Laith in Herat. These events took place in 261 A.H.

The Conquest of Wasit

After capturing Jundisabor and deputing his administrator, Yaqub Saffar had gone to Sajistan. A commander had been sent to Ahwaz. Finally, the slaves recognized Saffar's conquest of Ahwaz, made peace with Saffar and turned to Wasit. In Wasit, a Turk commander was in charge by the order of the Caliph. The Caliph's soldiers could not stand against the slaves and they defeated him and conquered Wasit. This occurred in 263 A.H.

Ahmad bin Tuloon's occupation of Syria

In 264 A.H., a Turk named Majoor ruled over Syria. His son succeeded him after his death. Upon receipt of this news Ahmad bin Tuloon left his son Abbas as his deputy in Egypt and he went to Damascus. Majoor's son laid down his arms and Tuloon's men captured Damascus and all their territories in 264 A.H. He stayed in Syria for two years and after making satisfactory arrangements, he went back to Egypt in 266 A.H. From this point, Ahmad bin Tuloon's territory included Egypt and Syria.

Yaqub bin Laith Saffar's Death

Yaqub bin Laith Saffar had gained much power. Ahmad bin Abdullah Khajistani, Sayeed bin Tahir, Ali bin Yahya Kharji, Hasan bin Zaid Alawi, Rafe bin Harisimah had all made their claims to being the ruler of Khorasan, Tabristan and Iran. They had been at war with one another with no clear victor. Outwardly it seemed Yaqub bin Laith Saffar was more able, braver and more powerful and he possessed a larger territory. When Motamid realized that Syria had gone out of his control, a greater part of Iraq was under the slaves occupation and the eastern province of Khorasan and Iran had been lost, he thought it wise that the letter of Governorship of provinces like Khorasan should be given to Yaqub bin Laith from the Caliph's court. By making him legitimate, the Caliph felt that he could win his allegiance and these territories would have a proper administration. The negotiations to arrange this had already started when Yaqub bin Laith Saffar died of colic. The Caliph had sent the documents of Governorship of Iran to

Yaqub Saffar but it reached him when he was dying. After his death, his brother Amr bin Laith Saffar succeeded to the throne. He sent a declaration of his obedience and allegiance to the Caliph. The Caliph was overjoyed and bestowed on him the Governorship of Khorasan, Isfahan, Sindh and Sajistan in addition to making him the Chief of Police of Baghdad and Samarra. He also sent him a royal robe. This appointment letter and the royal robe led to the recognition of his government willingly by the masses and added to his power.

Extermination of the Rebel Slaves by Mowaffaq and Motazid

The rebellion of the slaves and the repeated failure of the Caliph's armies against the slaves was not something ordinary. The slaves had been defeating the Caliph's armies and famous generals for 10 years and had destroyed the peace in the Iraqi cities. Each slave had forcibly kept 10 to 15 Alawi and Hashmi women. Their leaders named Bahbood and Khabbees used to verbally abuse the righteous Caliphs, the family of the Prophet (ﷺ) and his wives from their pulpits. Bahbood claimed to be omniscient and a Prophet. These slaves had killed thousands of Muslims. Their continuous victories had left the people's hearts filled with terror and they put an end to the Turk's pride of valor.

The Turk's trembled at their names. Ultimately, Caliph Motamid's brother Mowaffaq assigned his son Abul Abbas who later became Caliph with the title Motazid Billah, the expedition to fight the slaves in Rabia Thani 266 A.H. After a very fierce battle near Wasit, he defeated them. This was the first significant setback they received from the Caliph's army. After this Mowaffaq joined his son and both of them began to defeat them regularly over the next four years. The slaves' leader Khabbees was killed on 1 Saffar 270 A.H. and their reign of terror was ended. When news reached Baghdad that the slave leader was killed and the evil ended, there was a great celebration in the city. While father and son, Mowaffaq and Motazid were at war with the slaves the Khwarij had revolted in Mousil.

Masawar Khwarji, as has already been stated, had been killed in 263 A.H. His followers and disciples formed different groups and began

to fight with each other until 276 A.H. No effort was made by the Caliph's court to restore peace in the region, which lets us know the condition of things in the occupied territories.

Anarchy in Khorasan

When Yaqub Saffar died, Caliph Motamid appointed his brother Amr bin Laith as Governor. However, the supporters of the Tahir dynasty were still present in Khorasan. Two of them, Abu Talha and Rafe bin Harisimah, formed groups in the name of Husain bin Tahir and established their own government. They expelled Amr bin Laith's administrators from the cities of the territory then they quarreled with each other. In the ensuing battles they used to seek help from the ruler of Bukhara, Ismail bin Ahmad bin Asad bin Samani.

Ismail Samani sometimes would help one and sometimes the other and sometimes he would help their common enemy Amr bin Laith Saffar. In brief, there was great tension in these territories. During this time, Mowaffaq deputed Muhammad bin Tahir as Governor of Khorasan. In 271 A.H. Caliph Motamid, who had given Amr bin Laith Saffar the Governorship of Khorasan, deposed Amr Saffar. Muhammad bin Tahir stayed in Baghdad. He deputed Rafe bin Harisimah as the governor of Khorasan and his deputy. This did not make any difference or put an end to the unrest and anarchy in Khorasan and its adjoining provinces.

Ahmad bin Tuloon's Death

Ahmad bin Tuloon, who has already been dealt with in detail, had Egypt and Syria under his occupation. Caliph Motamid was a Caliph in name only and his brother Mowaffaq by virtue of his wisdom and valor dominated all affairs of the Caliphate. Motamid entered into correspondence with Ahmad bin Tuloon and wanted him to go to Egypt on his behalf. This happened in 269 A.H. while Mowaffaq was engaged in war with the rebel slaves. Mowaffaq tried to make Motamid understand with the help of other leaders that supporting Ahmad bin Tuloon was not to their benefit and asked him to desist, because of this Mowaffaq became angry with Ahmad Tuloon.

Ahmad Tuloon became sick in Antakia and died and his son Khumarwaih succeeded him as the Governor of Syria and Egypt. When Mowaffaq became free from the slave rebellion in 270 A.H., he sent Ishaq bin Kandaj and Muhammad bin Abu Saj to capture Syria. These two commanders began to conquer city after city. Khumarwaih sent an army to face them. These two commanders hesitated in starting the battle and were on the defensive. In view of this, Mowaffaq sent his son Abul Abbas Motazid to Syria. Motazid pushed the Egyptian army back, conquered Damascus and continued to move ahead. Khumarwaih came to fight and Abul Abbas Motazid suffered a defeat and returned to Damascus. The inhabitants of Damascus did not open the gate of city for him. Helplessly, he went to Tartoos. Khumarwaih came to Damascus and the circulation of his coins and the Friday sermon in his name began. The inhabitants of Tartoos revolted and expelled Abul Abbas Motazid and began to read Khumarwaih's name in the Friday sermon. Abul Abbas distressed and a failure went back to Baghdad.

Situation in Tabristan: Alawi, Rafe and Saffar

It has been stated above that Hasan bin Zaid Alawi had established his government with the assistance of the inhabitants of Delam. Hasan bin Zaid died in Rajab 270 A.H. Then his brother Mohammad bin Zaid assumed power in Tabristan. In 272 A.H., a Turk administrator of Qazween invaded Tabristan with an army of 4,000 men. Muhammad bin Zaid faced him with 8,000 soldiers but was defeated and took refuge in Jurjan. However, immediately after the departure of the victorious army he re-captured Tabristan. In 275 A.H. Rafe bin Harisimah attacked Jurjan. Muhammad bin Zaid fought and after a prolonged battle lost control over Tabristan. Finally, in 283 A.H., Rafe bin Harisimah was killed while fighting with Amr bin Laith, Muhammad bin Zaid reoccupied Jurjan but Amr bin Laith Saffar dethroned him.

In 288 A.H., Ismail Samani caught Amr bin Laith Saffar and sent him to Baghdad, Muhammad bin Zaid revolted in Delam again and captured Tabristan. Then Ismail Samani sent Muhammad bin Haroon to Tabristan. Muhammad bin Zaid was killed in the encounter and his son Zaid bin Muhammad was caught and sent to jail in Bukhara.

Amr bin Laith Saffar

Amr bin Laith Saffar had been given the Governorship of Khorasan, Sajistan and other territories by the Caliph's court as has been recorded above and Iran was also under his control. In 271 A.H., a letter of his dismissal was issued from the Caliph's court and the administrator of Isfahan, Ahmad bin Abdul Aziz bin Abi Walf, was instructed to fight Amr bin Laith and liberate the Province of Iran. They clashed and Amr bin Laith was defeated but he retained his hold on the Province Iran.

Ultimately in 274 A.H., Mowaffaq himself invaded Iran, he took the Province of Iran from Amr bin Laith and returned to Baghdad. Amr bin Laith went to Kerman and Sajistan and began to rule over Sajistan and Khorasan successfully. Then he sent gifts to the Caliph's court and enhanced his influence and in 278 A.H., he received the governorship of the territory of Mawaraunnahr, Bukhara, Samarkand etc., from the Caliph's court. Ismail bin Ahmad Samani had been ruling over Mawaraunnahr successfully. With the receipt of the governorship of Mawaraunnahr Amr bin Laith became busy collecting soldiers, arms and equipment. When Ismail bin Ahmed Samani found out, he wrote to Amr bin Laith: "I have been lying here out of the way in this border area. You have a larger country. Let me lie here and don't try to remove me." Amr bin Laith did not pay any heed to the letter and attacked him. Ismail Samani fought Amr bin Laith who was captured and sent to jail in Samarkand. In 288 A.H., Ahmed sent him to the Caliph in Baghdad. He remained there until Caliph Motazid's death. When Muktafi Billah came to power, he had him killed.

Conditions in Makkah and Madinah

In Madinah, Muhammad bin Hasan bin Jafar bin Musa Kazim and his brother Ali bin Hasan began to fight against each other. Fear of the government was non-existent. Civil wars were raging everywhere. These two brothers also created an upheaval in Madinah. Many men on both sides were killed. In 277 A.H., for one month Friday congregational prayers could not be held in Madinah. The same conditions existed in Makkah also. Yusuf bin Abu Saj was the

Governor of Makkah. Ahmad bin Muhammad Tai was awarded the letter of governorship from the Caliph's court in his place.

Ahmad Tai sent his slave Badr as the leader of the pilgrimage on his behalf. Yusuf fought against him. The confrontation took place in front of the Holy Mosque around the Ka'bah. Yusuf arrested Badr. Badr's soldiers and the pilgrims launched a joint attack, arrested Yusuf, sent him to Baghdad and freed Badr. The situation everywhere was deteriorating.

Mowaffaq's Death

Caliph Motamid Billah was a nominal Caliph. His brother Mowaffaq, by virtue of his valor and wisdom, dominated over all state affairs. He was the virtual Caliph though he was not the legal Caliph. As mentioned above, Mowaffaq was also the heir apparent. Prior to his rule, the Turk chiefs had been ruling and dominating the Caliph's court. Mowaffaq maneuvered and succeeded in breaking their power. Since he had defeated the rebel slaves, his and his son's popularity increased considerably among the Muslims. The Turk chiefs had been unable to defeat the slaves and they didn't dare to oppose him.

However, since the entire administration had totally collapsed anarchy continued to spread. The power that had held the dynasty together was now dissipated and the territories were asserting their independence and autonomy, which could not be suppressed. Yet, Mowaffaq's presence in the capital was a great source of strength and no one had the heart to challenge his leadership or expunge his name from the Friday sermon.

When Mowaffaq returned from Isfahan, he came down with the gout. He was treated by physicians but in vain. He died on 22 Saffar 278 A.H. and was buried at RaSaffah. Though Caliph Motamid was living, he was only a figurehead. Following Mowaffaq's death, the members of the government and generals of the army unanimously selected Mowaffaq's son Abul Abbas Motazid as the heir apparent and Caliph Motamid made an announcement of his succession and placed him in his father's position. Since Motazid was a very experienced and brave man, he came to dominate over all the state administration like his father and Caliph Motamid remained ineffectual.

Qaramata

In 278 A.H., a man in Kufa named Hamdan, popularly known as Qaramata, introduced a new religion. He was an extranist Shiite. He believed that the Imams were only seven in number: 1. Imam Husain (RA) 2. Ali Zianul Abedeen (RA), 3. Baqar bin Ali (RA) 4. Jafar Sadiq (RA) 5. Ismail bin Jafar 6. Muhammad bin Ismail 7. Obaidullah bin Muhammad. He called himself the deputy of Obaidullah bin Muhammad although Muhammad bin Ismail did not have a son named Obaidullah. He regarded Muhammad bin Al-Hanafia bin Ali bin Abi Talib as a prophet and added the following words to the call to prayer: "I bear witness that Muhammad bin Hanafia is a Messenger." He declared the Holy Mosque in Jerusalem as the direction for Prayer, which was made only two times a day, before sunrise and after sunset. He maintained that some verses were revealed to Muhammad bin Al-Hanafia. Monday instead of Friday was considered the holy day of the week and he did not do any work on that day. He believed that only a few days of fasting a year was compulsory. He declared date juice unlawful while wine was made lawful. He said bathing after coition was unnecessary, (this of course is in direct contravention of Islamic law.) He made certain animals legal to be eaten while others were forbidden and declared unlawful. Whoever opposed him was declared worthy of death. He chose for his title Qaim Bil-Haq.

He talked to the chiefs of the slaves Khabbees and Bahbood about his new religion and wanted to convert them to his views but they did not attach any importance to him. Eight years after their defeat he began to propagate his beliefs in Kufa and many people began to accept them. Becoming aware of his activities the Governor of Kufa had him arrested and put in jail.

The guards of the jail were derelict in their duties and he escaped. His followers publicized the event as if he had special powers. Gradually people from a far began to talk about this religion and join it.

There are a group of people who trade guidance for falsehood and are infatuated with the blind despite their ability to see and worship that

which is senseless despite their having intelligence. These people are found throughout history until our present time and they were the type of people who rushed to embrace Qaramata's new religion.

Succession of Motazid

As mentioned above after Mowaffaq's death, Motazid was made the heir apparent and he was to be the Caliph after Jafar bin Motamid. Jafar bin Motamid was first in succession to the throne and Motazid was second after him. His father Mowaffaq was also the second in succession behind Jafar but in 279 A.H. Motamid, being impressed by Motazid's power and ability gave priority to him as heir apparent over his own son Jafar and had the certificates authorizing his succession issued to the Governors in the provinces.

The Roman War

The Romans have not been mentioned during the discussion of this turbid period of Motamid's Caliphate. In 257 A.H. Saqalabi, a relative of the king of Constantinople, Michael bin Rafael, killed him and usurped the throne. In 259 A.H., the Romans invaded Maltiya but were defeated. In 263 A.H., they captured the fort of Karkarah, adjacent to Tartoos, from the Muslims. In 264 A.H., Abdullah Rasheed bin Kaoos invaded Roman territory with 40,000 Syrian border troops. In the initial stage he was successful but later was captured and sent to Constantinople.

In 265 A.H., the Romans led an attack on Ain Ofa, 400 Muslim were martyred and 400 were captured. The same year the Roman emperor freed Abdullah bin Rasheed and sent him with a few volumes of the Qur'an to Ahmad bin Tuloon as gifts. In 266 A.H., the war ships of the Muslims and the Romans clashed with each other at a place adjacent to the Island of Saqliya. The Muslims lost and the Romans captured several of their boats. The remaining ships took shelter on the coast of Saqliya.

Ahmad bin Tuloon's Syrian deputy launched a successful attack on Rome and captured a large amount of spoils of war. In 270 A.H., the Romans numbering 100,000 attacked Qalmiya, situated at a distance

of 6 miles from Tartoos. The Governor of Tartoos, Mazyar, launched a night attack on the Romans and 70,000 of them were killed. The Chief Prelate was captured and their Great Cross also came into the Muslim's possession. In 273 A.H., the governor of Tartoos, Mazyar, attacked the Romans and returned victorious. In 278 A.H., Mazyar and Ahmad Jofi jointly invaded the Roman Empire. During the battle, Mazyar was hit on the head by a stone from a catapult. He stopped the fight and started to return to the capital but died on way. The Muslims buried him at Tartoos. Although there was a great upheaval in the Islamic world and civil wars had broken out all over, the Romans failed to score any major success against the Muslims.

Motamid's Death

Caliph Motamid Alallah bin Motawakkil Alallah died on 20 Rajab 270 A.H. and was buried at Samarra, the capital of the Abbasid Caliph since Motasim Billah bin Haroon Rasheed shifted there. Motamid left Samarra and chose to live in Baghdad, which then became the capital. It was due to this change of capital that the Turk chiefs who dominated over the Caliph and his court lost their power suddenly. This shifting of the capital was the idea of Motamid's wise brother Mowaffaq.

During Motamid's regime, the powers of the government and its wealth had declined. The members of the government as described, dissented, hated and opposed one another openly. All the occupied territories were in a shambles and there were riots and anarchy everywhere. The people had lost the fear of the Caliph's authority. Whoever found an opportunity usurped the territory he could. The governors of the provinces stopped sending taxes. There was total lawlessness all over. Whoever captured a territory would introduce his own law.

Atrocities began to be perpetrated upon the people and the governors subjected them to all sorts of harassments with impunity.

Banu Saman established their government in Mawaraunnahr, Banu Saffar in Sajistan, Kerman, Khorasan and Persia. Hasan bin Zaid in Tabrisian and Jurjan, the rebel slaves in Basra, uballa and Wasit, the Khwarij in Mousil and Jazirah, Ahmad bin Tuloon in Egypt and Syria

and Ibn Aghlab in North Africa. Besides these, there were other minor chiefs who were busy fighting trying to capture smaller territories and states. The only symbol of the Caliph that remained was that they mentioned his name in the Friday sermon but none of his orders were complied with. Mowaffaq spent all his energy and life in fighting riots and disturbances but except for the extermination of the rebel slaves, he failed to achieve any other significant success.

It was at that time that the criminals like Qaramata made their advances. Similarly during the same period Obaidullah bin Obaid who descended from the Egyptian kings and the Shiites of Yemen, claimed to be the Mahdi (a future Muslim leader that was spoken of by the Prophet ﷺ). He took the majority of the members of the Banu Kenana tribe and went to the western territories where in stages, he found an independent government in Egypt and the rest of North Africa. During the same period, the well-known Islamic scholars and Muhaddith like Imam Bukhari, Imam Muslim, Abu Daud, Tirmidhi and Ibn Majah died. In short, 23 years of Motamid's caliphate passed in this state of disintegration, distress and disappointment.

Comment

Nearly 150 years have passed since the Caliphate of Banu Abbas ended. The Abbasid caliphate began with 100 years of grandeur and progress. The signs of decline started appearing with the death of Motasim Billah in 272 A.H. Inauspicious days befell the caliphate and for 20 years, the negative impact continued until Motawakkil Alallah's murder. During this period it was expected that the Abbasid caliphate would bring back its 100 years of lost glory and power but with Motawakkil Alallah's murder in 247 A.H. their abilities suddenly became paralyzed leaving no chance for restoration. We have studied the 22-year period of aging. The caliphate survived for several hundred years more in this debilitated form. Many different centers of Islamic rule were established. The caliphate of Baghdad or the Abbasid Caliphate retained its glory but little and it was not to be a serious power again.

With the given circumstances if the remainder of the Abbasid Caliphate is dealt with in the same detail as we have dealt with it up to this point in history, the readers' interest in history will evaporate

and they will feel unnecessarily and mentally burdened. Brevity has been maintained and in the rest of the narrative, our concentration will be on the important events. At this point in the narrative many new lineages and new dynasties of rulers are emerging and to record them parallel to each other is difficult. However, their beginnings and how they came to assume power in relation to their connection to the Abbasids is important and will be referred to in their proper places.

The greatest mistake of Banu Umayyah was that it provided the way to ruin by introducing hereditary succession and got the Muslims habituated to this evil practice. Similarly, the fault of Banu Abbas is no less than that of Banu Umayyah. They effaced every object of Banu Umayyah and demolished and leveled to the ground all their memorials. However, they fully protected the evil practice of hereditary succession and hastened the Muslim's ruin.

The second major error they committed was that right from their very beginning they opposed the Arabs and sympathized with the new Muslims from Iran who were still subject to the prejudices of their culture. From the first Caliph Saffah to Mamoon Rasheed each caliph except Mahdi reduced the power of the Arabs and goaded and pushed ahead those still enamored with the Zoroastrian religion with the result that the Abbasids were unable to expand beyond the circle of victories set by Banu Umayyah and gradually that area of their authority continued to shrink.

Only a few of the former Zoroastrians grasped the real glory and morality of Islam. The other descendents of the Zoroastrians created many problems and hardships for the Abbasid caliphs but the wise and farsighted of them succeed in overcoming these problems.

Motasim Billah organized the Turks of Mawaraunnahr as a new group in the balance of power. Their national and racial heritage was different than the Khorasanis. His plan would have proved effective if he had not made the Turks more powerful than the Khorasanis and had made the Arabs equal to them in power. However, the Arab's relation with the Abbasids continued to be diminished. Motasim Billah's shifting of the capital to the Turkish village Samarra proved a great boon to the progress of the Turks. He preferred them probably because they were free from the influence of the Alawiites. The

Abbasids, who were Arabs, hated the Arabs simply because the Alawiites were Arabs. These Alawiites influence on the Zoroastrian Iranians whom the Banu Abbas used and counted on was great. This continuously led to conflicts and deception. Distancing himself from these two groups, Motasim selected a third group historically free these machinations. However, the Turks unlike the Iranians were not cultured or well versed in statecraft. They needed a strong and alert hand to control them and use them to their best advantage.

Had there been even a few leaders with the heart and faith of Haroon and Mamoon, the glory of the caliphate of the Abbasids would have gone higher. Motasim was wise enough to make Samarra the capital but coupled with the weakness of his successors and the diminished Arabic element, created many problems, which his successors could not remedy. The Turks were nomadic fighters without vision. They could neither establish their own government nor did they turn to the Alawiites to establish a dynasty. The Alawiites had removed themselves from open contention for the Caliphate after becoming tired and frustrated with their failures. There was no clear apprehension of any real danger to the caliphate of the Abbasids from them.

After Motasim when commotion and turmoil erupted in the land, the Alawiites had a far-reaching impact on all the provinces and all the governors and administrators throughout the Islamic territories and they became busy establishing their own separate and independent governments.

The examples of Andalusia, Morocco and North Africa were clearly known by all. With the failure of the heart, the circulation of blood to all the organs of the body stopped. Observing the independence and lawlessness of the Governors and administrators the Alawiites, Khwarij, rebel slaves, Qaramatins and others geared up to take a chance to establish their own governments. The conditions deteriorated to such an extent that even a Mansoor or Haroon could probably not have succeeded. Motawakkil's murder was the blackest and the most inauspicious incident of the Abbasid caliphate. Had Mowaffaq succeeded Motawakkil, he might have possibly controlled the situation but he did not get a chance to work as the caliph and his son, Motazid who was ambitions and brave like his father, received the caliphate when the disease of anarchy had become quite incurable.

Chapter 5

The Caliphate of the Abbasids

(Third Phase)

Motazid Billah

The real name of Motazid Billah bin Mawaffiq Billah bin Motawakkil Alallah bin Motasim Billah bin Haroon Rasheed was Ahmad. His kunya was Abul Abbas. He was born of a slave girl named Sawab in Rabia Awwal 243 A.H. and after his uncle Motamid Billah he came to the throne in Rajab 279 A.H. He was a handsome and wise man. He did not evade strictness and bloodshed if needed. He was careful and discerning. He was inimical to astrologers and storytellers. Philosophy had been in vogue since Mamoon's times. Motazid banned the publication of books on philosophy and debate in order to avoid religious strife and conflict that the society had become prone to. He reduced the taxes on his subjects. He loved justice and protected the people from being subjected to injustice and tyranny.

The building of Dar An-Nadwah in Makkah had survived until this time. Motazid had it demolished and built a mosque near the Haram. The majority of the people who were originally Zoroastrian introduced celebrating their old holidays and performed certain rites concerning the

lighting of their religious fires in Baghdad. Motazid strictly banned it. He set up an office of religious affairs and gave money to the poor religious ascetics. The people prayed for him. He married the daughter of the Governor of Egypt Khumarwaih bin Ahmad Tuloon.

Once Motazid sent word to Qadi Abu Hazim. "You have managed to recover a certain persons money from another party. That same party owes something to me. Please have it returned to me." The Qadi sent the following reply, "If you present a witness you will also have a decree in your favor." Motazid's witnesses refused to stand witness on his behalf finally the Qadi declared his case void and Motazid the Caliph could not get back his money. He had come to the throne at a very critical and bad time in the Abbasid dynasty. He tried his best to improve the degenerating condition of the Abbasids. Some signs of improvement began to be visible but his successors didn't have the ability to maintain the pace of progress.

Shortly after he came to the throne, Nasr bin Ahmad Samani died and he was succeeded by his brother Ismail bin Ahmad Samani as the governor of Mawaraunnahr. Two groups of the Khwarij were at war in the region of Mousil. The leader of one group Abu Jauzah was brought to Baghdad in 280 A.H. as a captive. Motazid tortured him to death. The leader of the other group Haroon Shari remained rebellious. In 280 A.H., Motazid invaded Jazirah, punished and disciplined the tribe of Bani Shaiban and returned to Baghdad with a large quantity of spoils of war.

Motazid appointed his slave Badr as Chief of Police and Obaidullah bin Sulaiman bin Wahab his minister in 281 A.H. Motazid caught Hamdan bin Hamdoon who had captured the fort of Mardeen and established a friendship with Haroon Shari. The Caliph then had the fort leveled to the ground.

In 281 A.H., Caliph Motazid deputed his son Ali, known as Muktafi, to rule over Rayy, Qazween, Zanjan, Qom and Jadan. In Rabia Awwal 283 A.H., Caliph Motazid arrived near to Mousil and succeeded in destroying the Khwarij. He arrested and jailed Haroon and returned to Baghdad. He made a public display of Haroon and had him killed. In 285 A.H., he invaded Azerbaijan, conquered the fort of Amad, arrested Ahmad bin Isa bin Sheikh and went back to Baghdad in Rabia Awwal 286 A.H.

Qaramata's Revolt

In 281 A.H., one of Qaramat's followers, Yahya bin Mahdi, arrived at Qateef near Dammam and Bahrain and lodged at Ali bin Moalla bin Hamdan's house and said, "I have been sent by the Mahdi the leader of our time. He is about to revolt very soon."

Ali was a Shiite. He collected all the Shiites and read to them the Mahdi's letter brought by Yahya. They very sincerely promised to revolt at the appearance of Mahdi. Then Yahya disappeared for a few days and when he returned, he presented another letter written by the Mahdi instructing everyone to pay 36 dinars each to Yahya. The Shiites at once complied. Yahya again came after a few days with a third letter from the Mahdi instructing them to contribute one fifth of their money to Yahya.

In 286 A.H., Abu Sayeed Janani went to Bahrain and openly invited the people to accept Qaramata's religion. Those who had already accepted it secretly began to assemble under its flag openly. Abu Sayeed took all of them to Qateef where he prepared and fully armed them and set out for Basra. When Motazid was informed of all these incidents, he wrote to the governor of Basra, Ahmad bin Muhammad bin Yahya Wasqi, "Have a wall constructed around the city." It was completed at the cost of 14,000 dinars.

When Abu Sayeed reached the vicinity of Basra, Abbas bin Omar Ghanwi arrived from the capital Baghdad with 2,000 men to defend Basra. They fought and Abu Sayeed captured Abbas and the men with him, his men were thrown into a fire and burnt to ashes. This occurred in Shaban 287 A.H.

Abu Sayeed Qaramati left Basra after this victory and went to Hajr. He gave amnesty to the civilians and captured it and then went to Basra. The people of Basra were extremely terrified. The Governor of the city Ahmad bin Muhammad Wasqi consoled and pacified them. Abu Sayeed released Abbas from captivity, left Basra and went to Bahrain. In 288 A.H., a man named Abul Qasim Yahya, known as Zikrwaih bin Mehrwaih, went to Kufa. The tribe of Qalees bin Zamzam bin Adi became inclined to the religion of Qaramata. Slowly

the number of its followers began to multiply.

A chief named Shibl attacked them. The fight saw the arrest of a commander of Qaramata, Abul Fawaris. The remainder fled to Damascus. Shibl sent Abul Fawaris to caliph Motazid in Baghdad who had him killed. Qaramata went to Damascus to try to win the people over to him. At the time, the governor of Egypt was Tafaj. He fought with Qaramata several times and each time the Qaramata was victorious. This happened in 289 A.H. The remaining details about Qaramata will follow later in the narrative.

In 286 A.H., Caliph Motazid bestowed on his son Ali, whose future title was Muktafi, the governorship of Jazirah and Awasim. He recalled Hasan bin Amr Nasrani and made him his minister.

In 288 A.H., Tahir bin Muhammad bin Amr bin Laith Saffar collected an army and wanted to capture Iran but Ismail Samani warned him saying, "If you have a mind to attack this province, I shall come." Tahir stopped. However, Caliph Motazid's slave Badr conquered Iran.

After the minister Obaidullah bin Sulaiman bin Wahab's death, Caliph Motazid made his son Abul Qasim the Prime Minister. During Caliph Motazid regime the Muslims invaded Rome in 285 A.H. and 287 A.H. Sometimes the Romans were victorious and sometimes the Muslims.

Death of Motazid Billah

In 289 A.H., Caliph Motazid died of overindulgence in sex. He suffered from a number of diseases. While the doctor was feeling his pulse, Motazid kicked him so hard that the doctor was knocked down and died. Motazid breathed his last at the same moment.

Motazid was survived by 4 sons and 11 daughters. Motazid died at the end of Rabia Awwal 289 A.H.

Muktafi Billah

The first name of Muktafi Billah bin Motazid Billah bin Mawaffiq Billah bin Motawakkil Alallah bin Motasim Billah bin Haroon Rasheed was Ali and his kunya was Abu Muhammad. He was born of a Turk slave girl the named Jeejak. There have been only two Caliphs

bearing the name Ali, one Ali (ﷺ) and the other Muktafi Billah. Motazid Billah had made him his heir-apparent.

When Motazid died, Muktafi was in Riqqah and Badr the slave was in Iran. Prime Minister Qasim bin Obaidullah took the oath from the people in the name of Muktafi and sent the information to him in Riqqah. Muktafi entered Baghdad on 7 Jumad Awwal and gave Prime Minister Qasim seven royal robes. Muktafi was just, even tempered and handsome, minister Qasim bin Obaidullah did not want any of Muktafi's sons to be Caliph Motazid's he wanted somebody else from the Abbasids to follow Muktafi.

Badr objected and his opposition made the minister give up the idea. When Muktafi came to the throne, he thought that if Badr informed the Caliph of his intention, the Caliph would turn against him. He made a plan to misguide the Caliph before Badr's arrival. He called all the leaders who were with Badr in Iran. When Badr left Iran and came to Wasit, the minister sent an army to Wasit. Badr wanted to present himself to the Caliph and prove his innocence. The minister made the Caliph extremely angry with Badr and consequently he was killed before he entered Baghdad.

Badr was very wise, brave and was a good manager. His murder was unjust like the murder of Harsima bin Ayun that took place during the early period of Mamoon Rasheed's caliphate. Muhammad Haroon, a rebel chief of Ismail Samani, captured Rayy and Caliph Muktafi sent an army, which was routed by Muhammad bin Haroon. Then Caliph Muktafi Billah gave authority over Rayy to Ismail Samani and he captured Rayy. Muhammad Haroon was defeated and fled he was later captured and Ismail Samani put him in jail where he died in Shaban 290 A.H.

Qaramata's Attack on Syria

It has been stated above that Qaramata and his followers had captured Bahrain. Then they surfaced in Kufa but they were defeated there. Qaramata then went to Damascus and repeatedly defeated the governor of Damascus named Tafaj and then besieged the city. Qaramata's tyranny in Damascus forced Muktafi Billah to leave

Baghdad and go to Riqqah this occurred in 290 A.H. Commander Muhammad bin Sulaiman was given an army and sent to Damascus to punish Qaramata. Muhammad bin Sulaiman fought with Qaramata valiantly. The commander of Qaramata Abul Qasim Yahya known as Zakarrya was caught on 6 Muharram 291 A.H. Many of Qaramata's men were killed and captured and the rest fled. Zakarrya was brought as a captive to Muktafi in Riqqah who had him killed.

After Zakarrya's capture, his brother Husain collected the Qaramata and created unrest. He was also killed. Husain Qaramati called himself Amir al-Muminin Mahdi. His cousin Isa chose Mudassir as his title and gave the impression that the Quranic verse Mudassir referred to his name. In short, in 291 A.H., all of them were killed one by one and thus this evil in Syria was put to an end. However, Qaramata went to Yemen and created trouble there.

The End of Bani Tuloon in Egypt

When Muktafi was free from the war with Qaramata, he left Riqqah and went to Baghdad. The greater part of Syria was included in the jurisdiction of Haroon bin Khomarwaih bin Ahmad bin Tuloon. Neither the Caliph nor Muhammad bin Sulaiman had a mind to fight with him. The movement of the Caliph and dispatching his forces were not only for the sake of protecting his government but also for supporting the king of Egypt, Haroon. Muhammad bin Sulaiman was originally a working leader of the Tuloon dynasty but due to some grievance, he went over to the Caliph's side. On the way to Baghdad, he received a letter from Badr Hamami who was a slave of Haroon bin Khomarwaih.

Badr Hamami had written: "At this time the sultanate of Bani Tuloon is in a shambles. It has become weak and is disintegrating. If you come here with your forces and invade Egypt, I am ready to help you with my men."

Muhammad Sulaiman went to Baghdad with the letter and gave it to Caliph Muktafi. He gave Muhammad bin Sulaiman an army and sent him to Egypt. Muhammad Sulaiman reached there and began a chain of battles.

Badr Hamami sided with Muhammad Sulaiman. Haroon bin Khomarwaih was killed and Muhammad Sulaiman conquered Egypt. All the members of Tuloon dynasty were arrested and sent to Baghdad. This occurred in Safar in 292 A.H. Isa Naushri was made governor by the Caliph and sent to Egypt. Muhammad bin Sulaiman handed over the authority to him and returned to Baghdad. Meanwhile one of the chiefs friendly to Bani Tuloon, general Ibrahim Khilji dethroned Isa Naushri, and captured Egypt. An army was sent from Baghdad, which suffered defeat at first but later Ibrahim was defeated and arrested and sent to jail in Baghdad. The same year the Caliph gave Mozaffar bin Hajj the Governorship of Yemen and sent him there to quell the uproar created by Qaramata.

Bani Hamdan

In 292 A.H., Caliph Muktafi gave the governorship of Mousil to Abul Hija Abdullah bin Hamdan bin Hamdoon Adwi Taghlibe. He arrived in Mousil in Muharram 293 A.H. Soon after his arrival, the Kurds revolted. Abul Hija left Egypt with an army to confront them but was defeated. He went to Mousil and asked the Caliph for reinforcements. The army was sent and in Rabia Awwal 294 A.H. Abul Hija attacked the Kurds. They were terrified and took refuge in the Saleeq Mountains. The siege and fighting continued for a long period. Eventually, the Kurdish leader Muhammad bin Hilal begged for amnesty, which was granted. Abul Hija established his superiority over the entire province and all the Kurds became obedient, he then revolted against the caliph. The caliph at this time was Muqtadir, who sent his servant Munis against him. He arrested Abul Hija and brought him to Baghdad. He was excused and began to live in Baghdad. Abul Hija and his brother Husain along with their other relatives were then arrested and sent to jail. They were released in 305 A.H.

Invasions by the Turks and the Romans

In 291 A.H., the Romans with an army of 100,000 invaded the Islamic territories but they did not succeed. The border commanders put them to rout. In 293 A.H., a new group of invaders appeared, that is the Turks who lived in the northern mountains and forests of Mawaraunnahr. It was the first major attack from this side. The

number of these barbaric invaders was staggering.

Ismail Samani, the governor of Mawaraunnahr acted with courage and perseverance, collected all his forces and taught the invaders a good lesson. Thousands were killed and arrested and the remainder escaped. The same year the Romans begged the Muslims for amnesty and prisoners were exchanged as before. However, soon after this reconciliation they led a night attack on the city of Quras. Thousands of Muslims were killed and captured being caught off-guard. They burnt down the central mosque and returned to Roman territory. The same year Ismail Samani captured some parts of Delam and the territories of the Turks by force. In 294 A.H., the Muslims invaded the Roman territories from Tartoos and captured many Romans including a Prelate who willingly embraced Islam.

The Death of Muktafi Billah

After ruling for six years and six months Muktafi Billah breathed his last in Baghdad on Jamad Awwal 295 A.H. and was buried in Muhammad bin Tahir's house. He had made his brother Jafar his heir-apparent before he died. He left 15 million dinars in the treasury at the time of his death. Jafar bin Motazid was 13. After coming to the throne, he called himself Muqtadir Billah.

Muqtadir Billah

The real name of Muqtadir Billah bin Motazid Billah was Jafar and his kunya was Abul Fadl. He was born of a Roman slave girl Ghuraib. When Muktafi Billah consulted the people on his heir to the throne just before his death, they assured him that his brother Muqtadir Billah had come of age of puberty and only then did he make him his heir-apparent. Before this, no Caliph of such a young age had come to the throne. After his accession, the people began to talk about his abdication. As Prime Minister, Abbas bin Hasan's powers were great and he had been authorized to use the treasury, this caused the members of the government to be apprehensive. The Prime Minister was also not pleased at a boy assuming power. He therefore persuaded Abu Abdullah Muhammad bin Motaz to accept the caliphate. While they were preparing for Muqtadir's abdication and Muhammad

Motaz's accession, Abu Abdullah Muhammad bin Motaz died. Then arrangements were made to put Abul Husain bin Motawakkil on the throne but he also died. Due to his and Abu Abdullah Muhammad bin Motaz's deaths, Caliph Muqtadir's position was firmly established.

After sometime, they started gossiping again and the members of the government wanted to persuade Abdullah bin Motaz to accept the caliphate. He agreed to it provided there should be no bloodshed and all the members of the government also agreed to it. However, Prime Minister Abbas bin Hasan did not agree to it. On 20 Rabia Awwal 296 A.H. while the Prime Minister was going to his garden, he was suddenly attacked and killed. The next day the deposition of Muqtadir was announced and the oath for Abdullah bin Motaz took place. At that time, Caliph Muqtadir was playing polo. Having heard about his deposition, he went to his palace and closed the doors.

Soon after coming to the throne Abdullah bin Motaz chose Al-Murtaza Billah as his title and wrote to Muqtadir, "You will be safe if you leave the capital and give up the desire for the caliphate." Muqtadir replied: "I gladly agree to what you say but give me time until this evening."

At night, the servant Munis consulted other servants on how to create a disturbance. When Husain bin Hamdan came to the palace door in the morning, they showered arrows on him. They continued doing this until the evening. At night, others began to join Muqtadir's group. As a consequence, the new Caliph, Abdullah bin Motaz, along with some of his supporters had to go into hiding. Muqtadir then appointed Abul Hasan bin Forat as Prime Minister. Abdullah bin Mutaz was arrested and killed.

The same year in Rabia Thani 296 A.H., the oath for Obaidullah Mahdi took place in Africa and thus the Obadiah (Fatimid) dynasty was founded and the Aghlab dynasty came to an end in North Africa.

The Origin of the Obadiah (Fatimid) Dynasty

The first ruler Obaidullah Mahdi claimed to be the son of Muhammad bin Jafar bin Muhammad bin Ismail bin Jafar Sadiq. The Abbasids questioned his lineage. He in fact was originally a Zoroastrian and some have called him a Christian.

The well-known judge, Qadi Abu Bakr Baqillani, has refuted Obaidullah Mahdi's claim to be from the Prophet's family or to being of a high lineage. During Caliph Qahir Billah's regime when the question of his lineage was under consideration, renowned scholars clearly denounced Obaidullah Mahdi's claim to be an Alawiite. These scholars include Abul Abbas Abyuzah, Abu Hamid Asfaraini and Abu Jafar Nasfi Qudoori. Among the Alawiites Murtada Ibn Bathawi and Ibn Azraq have also called him a fraud in his claim. He was a Shiite however, the scholars of the Shiites have rebutted his claim to be an Alawi. Furthermore, Abu Abdullah Ibn Noman has also called him a liar in his claim to be an Alawi. The chief of the historians Sheikh Jalaluddin Suyuti has very emphatically proved him to be false in his claim to be of a well-known family. He has proved him to be of Zoroastrian heritage.

However, a very great scholar of history, Ibn Khaldoon has attempted to prove him to be an Alawiite. In both his introduction to history and in his history book Ibn Khaldoon has given recognition to his claim of noble lineage. However, the arguments he has offered in this respect are very weak and in view of his status as a greet historian, are very unusual. He writes, "A great dynasty was established in Obaidullah's family. Had he not been an Alawi, the people would not have recognized his leadership and given away their heads under his flag."

Offering such arguments as proof of someone's noble birth is certainly not scientific and the reality is that he has not given even a single proof in this respect. As he himself was a West Acrican, naturally he does not like a western ruler to be discredited. Similarly, he exerts much effort to prove the sultanate of Idrisids of Morocco to be Alawi. He tries his level best to prove Idris II to be son of Idris I and unnecessarily brings into discussion the chastity of a Berber woman. The misunderstanding may possibly be a sin against the Imam in question.

With the beginning of Abbasid caliphate the Alwis antagonistic activities began against the administration. The Alwis rose again and again and every time they met with failure. Abdullah bin Saba, the Jew had sown the seed of discord among the people and conspiracies against the administration.Their nefarious plan was aided and abetted by the Magi, Jews, Berbers etc. who were carrying out their activities

in the garb of neo-Muslims. And when Abbasid dynasty showed signs of weakness some Jews and Magis tried to present themselves as Alwis to benefit from the flowing situation. Since Berber territories were far distant from Baghdad, the centre of power due advantage could be taken of their inherent nature. Thus, a person named Muhammad Habib who lived at Salmia in Homs towards the end of the third century Hajara came on the scene as one descending from Imam J'afar Sadiq's elder son Isma'il. He tried to cash in on his relation with the Imam. Right from his time Imam J'afar Sadiq's influence had spread throghout Yemen, Africa and Morocco. He used all his means, devices and force to turn the people to expect the arrival of Imam Mahdi in immediate future who were to be from among theAlwi Fatimi. Habib sent one of his confidants Rustam bin Hasan bin Hosab to Yemen to convince people of the arrival of Imam Mahdi in near future. He performed his duty with utmost care and tact.

Following this a man named Abu Abdullah Hasan bin Muhammad bin Zakariya, a Shi'ite by faith, and a staunch support of the Alwis came to Habib. He found him promising and sent him, after necessary instructions, to keep company with Rustam bin Hasan for a few days and learn from him the art of preaching and then go to Berber territories to perform his duty. Muhammad Habib had also told Abu Abdullah that his son, Ubaidullah was Imam Mahdi and that he was being sent as one inviting people towards him. Abu Abdullah arrived in Yemen, took lesson in preaching and reached Makkah in Hajj season.

There he sought out the caravan of the Hajjis from Katama and became friendly with them. Observing how pious he was they revered and served him.

When they set out towards Africa after the Hajj, he accompanied them. They took it as an auspicious sign. Reaching Katama, they had a house built for him on Mount Ankajan, which they called Fajjul Akhyar. Abu Abdullah drowned himself in prayer and many visitors came to him eagerly. He told them that the Mahdi was about to appear and that he was instructed by him to stay in Katama and he had told him that his supporters would be from there. Gradually Abu Abdullah's government and leadership became established in Katama.

When the news reached Ibrahim bin Ahmad bin Aghlab, the Governor of North Africa, at the capital Qairwan, he wrote to the ruler of Melah to give him a report about Abu Abdullah. He wrote back that he was an ascetic and instructed the people to perform their prayers and observe fast. Ibrahim was silent after hearing this. After a few days Abu Abdullah armed and fortified his group and invaded Melah city, expelled the governor and captured it. Ibrahim bin Aghlab then gave an army to his son Ahwal and sent him to Melah. Abu Abdullah suffered defeat and fled to Katama and took refuge on Mount Ankajan. Ahwal left for Qairwan.

Meanwhile the ruler of North Africa, Ibrahim bin Ahmad died. His son Abul Abbas then succeeded to the throne. Abu Abdullah founded and populated a city named Darul Hajarah. Ahwal went to mount Ankajan to punish him. Meanwhile Abul Abbas died and his son Zeyadatullah came to the throne.

Zeyadatullah recalled Ahwal and killed him on some false pretext. Abu Abdullah continued to increase his power. He sent a delegation of people from Katama to Obaidullah Mahdi in Homs where he was staying. He briefed him about his victories and asked him to come to North Africa.

Some spies informed Caliph Muktafi Billah of the arrival of the delegation carrying the said message. He at once issued a warrant for the arrest of Obaidullah and wrote to the Egyptian governor Isa Naushri (then Governor of Egypt after the downfall of the Tuloons) to arrest him. [This has also been taken by Ibn Khaldoon as a proof of Obaidullah being a Sayed (from the Prophet's family), indicating that if he had not been of the Prophet's family, the caliph would not have given orders for his arrest. This is another very weak proof, any government would arrest those who desired to over throw their rule and it is not evidence as to the heritage of any conspirator.] The rulers of the Aghlab dynasty recognized the leadership of the Abbasid caliphate and read the name of the Abbasid Caliph in the Friday sermons. They bordered Egypt so how could Muktafi stand the creation of any major disturbance in North Africa with out responding?

Obaidullah left Homs with his son and his supporters. He disguised himself as a merchant and joined a commercial caravan. He was

caught in Egypt but Naushri released him based on incomplete information. He passed through Egypt and entered North Africa. Zeyadatullah's spies were after him but he managed to conceal himself from them until he reached Sijilmassa. The administrator of the place caught him and jailed him along with his son. Zeyadatullah was drowned in debauchery and neglected state administration and consequently Abu Abdullah the Shiite's power continued to increase and nothing was done to deter him. When Zeyadatullah saw that Abu Abdullah the Shiite had captured the major parts of North Africa and continued to do so, he collected a huge army and sent it to punish him.

Abu Abdullah could not stand the pressure of such a huge army and climbed up the peak of a high mountain. He remained besieged there for six months. In the seventh month, he led a successful night attack on the North African army and put it to rout and then began to conquer city after city. Zeyadatullah then sent another commander to fight against him but he was defeated. Then in 295 A.H. after making special arrangements, he sent his armies and Generals to discipline Abu Abdullah however, he had already established his power. For a year the chain of battles continued. Sometimes Abu Abdullah was defeated and sometimes he defeated the African army. During this period, Abu Abdullah's group kept multiplying and people kept on joining him while Zeyadatullah's army was becoming smaller. One city after another continued to come under Abu Abdullah's control until Zeyadatullah's army commanders started joining him. Urwah bin Yusuf and Hasan bin Abi Khazir joined him and were appointed to important posts. In Rajab 296 A.H., Abu Abdullah captured the capital Qairwan and put Zeyadatullah to rout and let the people of Katama stay in the royal palaces. Then he invaded Sijilmassa, defeated the Governor Yasa' bin Madar, captured and killed him. He then took Obaidullah Mahdi out of the jail and put him on a horse and went to the army camp declaring to all, "This is your leader", referring to the Mahdi. He then left and came to the city of Rafadah. Abu Abdullah and all others took the oath for Obaidullah and called him Al-Mahdi Amir al-Muminin. This oath took place in the last ten days of Rabia Thani 296 A.H. and it marks the beginning of the Obadiah dynasty (Fatimids).

Soon after coming to the throne, Obaidullah Mahdi sent his missionaries to every corner of the territory. Those who refused to accept his religion were killed. He gave feudal estates and important posts to the people of Katama. He sent Hasan bin Abi Khazir to Sicily as its ruler. He reached there on 10 Thul Hijjah 297 A.H. and made all the subjects of the island hate him because of his tyranny.

He began to appoint governors and administrators in the whole of North Africa. In 299 A.H., the people of Sicily sent a letter to Obaidullah Mahdi complaining against Hasan bin Ahmad bin Abi Khazir. He sent Ali bin Omar as Governor in his place. The civilians were displeased with him too. They deposed him and chose Ahmad bin Mohib as their leader. Ahmad bin Mohib induced the people to obey the Abbasid Caliph Muqtadir Billah. He expunged Mahdi's name from the Friday sermon and entered Muqtadir's name in its place and sent a war fleet to the North African coast.

Obaidullah Mahdi sent a war fleet under Husain bin Ali bin Khazir's command to defend the coast. The fleets clashed and Ibn Khazir had killed and Obaidullah Mahdi's fleet was destroyed by the ships from Sicily.

When the news reached Baghdad, Caliph Muqtadir dispatched black robes and flags to Ahmad bin Mohib and for one year the name of the Abbasid Caliph was read in the Friday sermon in Sicily. Obaidullah Mahdi prepared a powerful war fleet and sent it to Sicily, which broke Ahmad bin Mohib's power. The people of Sicily arrested him and sent him along with his men to Obaidullah Mahdi and he begged for forgiveness. Obaidullah Mahdi ordered Ahmad bin Mohib and his men to be taken to Ibn Khazir grave and killed. This occurred in 300 A.H.

The Oath for the Heir to the Throne

In 301 A.H., Muqtadir declared as heir to the throne his 4-year-old son Abul Abbas first with his title Qahir Billah. He then made him Governor of Egypt and the Western territories and sent him to Egypt under tutelage of his servant Munis.

The same year Hasan bin Ali bin Husain bin Ali bin Omer bin Ali bin Husain bin Ali bin Abi Talib who was known as Atroosh, captured the

province of Tabristan. Atroosh worked hard inviting the people of Tabristan and Delam to Islam, the people of these regions embraced Islam by virtue of his sermons and this increased his power until he was able to captured Tabristan.

Atroosh was a Shiite by religion and those who became Muslims due to his efforts took it as their faith. The administrators of Khorasan invaded Tabristan and killed Atroosh in 304 A.H.

In 302 A.H., Obaidullah Mahdi sent his General Khafasha Katami to invade Alexandria. Munis who had already reached Egypt fought against him. After several fierce battles, Mahdi's army retreated and fled back to their territory losing 7,000 men.

In 307 A.H., Obaidullah Mahdi gave a big army to his son Abul Qasim and sent him to launch an attack on Egypt. In suffered defeat at the hands of Munis he returned after many of their commanders were captured.

The same year the Roman king made peace with Muqtadir Billah and in order to strengthen the ties of friendship sent his ambassadors to Baghdad for whose reception grand arrangements were made. In 308 A.H., Obaidullah's army captured a part of Egypt.

Qaramata's Upheaval in Iraq

A group of Qaramata's followers had taken possession of Bahrain as has been stated above. One night in 311 A.H., Qaramata's commander Abu Tahir Sulaiman bin Abi Sayeed Janani, supported by 1,700 men, invaded Basra. By putting ladders against the walls of the city they climbed over them killed the guards, opened the city gate and began a general massacre.

When the Governor of Basra, Subuk Muflihi, got the news, he came out to face him but was killed by Qaramata. Abu Tahir captured Basra, stayed there for 17 days, looted cash and goods, captured women and children and left for Hajar on the 18th day. Caliph Muqtadir heard about this disaster, gave the letter of Governorship to Muhammad bin Abdullah Farooqi and sent him there. Muhammad bin Abdullah reached there after Abu Tahir had left.

In 312 A.H., Abu Tahir took an army and looted the caravans of the pilgrims returning from Makkah and captured Abul Hija bin Hamdani and Muqtadir Billah's maternal uncle Ahmad bin Badr who were with those caravans.

He released them after a few days and demanded the city of Ahwaz. When Caliph Muqtadir refused, Abu Tahir re-started looting the caravans. He sent an army, which was defeated by Abu Tahir. He chased them up to Kufa and after capturing it, stayed there for six days and returned to Hajar with a huge quantity of cash and goods.

No one dared to perform Hajj for fear of Qaramata in 313 A.H. In 314 A.H., Caliph Muqtadir recalled Yusuf bin Abu Saj from Azerbaijan and made him the ruler of the eastern countries and asked him to fight against Abu Tahir and the Qaramata. There was no confrontation that year. In Ramadan 315 A.H., Abu Tahir along with his army went to Kufa. Yusuf left Wasit to save Kufa but Abu Tahir reached Kufa a day earlier and captured it. Yusuf came and started a battle. His army was defeated by Abu Tahir and retreated. Yusuf was wounded and captured. Abu Tahir deputed a physician for his treatment.

When the news reached Baghdad, Caliph sent Munis. Abu Tahir had left for Ain Tamr before Munis reached there. Abu Tahir left Kufa, captured Ambar and put the army to rout. Finally, Nasr Hajib left Baghdad, joined Munis and with 40,000 soldiers attacked the Qaramata but they were defeated. Abu Tahir killed Yusuf who was in captivity.

This defeat sent shock waves throughout Baghdad. The people began to leave for safer places. In the beginning, Abu Tahir left Ambar, looted Rahba and for one day and one night, he declared the killings of the people of Rahba as lawful.

The inhabitants of Qarqisya watched the horrible sight of the massacre and begged for amnesty, which was granted by Abu Tahir. He then sent military units to various areas to launch night attacks. After three days of continued fighting, he conquered Riqqah and was firmly established in the province of Jazirah. Armies left Baghdad to fight with him but in vain.

In 316 A.H., Qaramata went to Hajar. Then after a few days, they caused terror in Sawad, Wasit and Ain Tamr. Caliph Muqtadir

deputed Haroon bin Ghuraib, Safi Basri and Ibn Qais to punish them. Qaramata's groups were vanquished and they fled and peace was restored there.

Roman Tyranny

In 314 A.H., the Romans conquered Lamtiyah. In 315 A.H., they captured Dimyat, plundered the city and had the horn sounded in the central mosque (the horn being and insult). The same year the inhabitants of Delam invaded Rayy and Gibal and killed thousands of men, the Romans captured Khalat, removed the place for giving the sermon from the grand mosque and put a cross in its place and made it into a Church.

Deposition and Restoration of Muqtadir

In 317 A.H., Munis alias Muzaffar deposed Muqtadir. Muqtadir wanted to appoint Haroon bin Ghuraib Hajib in place of Munis. When Munis found out, he took an army and most of the members of the government and invaded the palace, arrested Muqtadir and installed as caliph Muhammad bin Muqtadir with the title Qahir Billah. Everyone took the oath for his Caliphate and the Governors were duly informed by letter.

The next day the army created a scene because of a delay in their reward money. They went to Munis's house in search of Muqtadir, bringing him out they put him on their shoulders and took him to the palace and brought Qahir Billah to him under arrest. Seeing him Muqtadir said, "Don't be afraid. You were not at fault." The people were pacified. Then Governors were again informed that Muqtadir Billah was the Caliph as before. Muqtadir pleased them by bestowing on them gifts and honor.

Qaramata's Atrocities in Makkah

Qaramata's rule in Bahrain was firmly established. Their commander was Abu Tahir. They read the name of Obaidullah Mahdi, the ruler of Africa, in their Friday sermon and recognized him as their caliph. In 318 A.H., Abu Tahir went to Makkah with his army during the season

of Hajj. Mansoor Delami was sent as leader of the pilgrimage from Baghdad. He reached Makkah safely on 8 Thul Hijjah. Abu Tahir arrived on 9 Thul Hijjah and immediately after his arrival began to slay the Hujjaj and loot their belongings.

He did not hesitate in killing people even inside the holy sanctuary of the Ka'bah and threw the dead bodies in the well of Zamzam, removed the Black Stone from the wall of the Ka'bah and broke its door.

Muhammad bin Rabi bin Sulaiman says: "I was present in Makkah during the disaster. I saw a man climb on the roof of the Ka'bah to pull down the arch. I said, O Allah! I cannot stand the sight. That man's feet slipped he fell down and died instantly." Abu Tahir looted the people of Makkah for 11 days, loaded the black stone on a camel and started for Hajr (the capital of Bahrain). 40 camels one after another died carrying the black stone between Makkah and Hajr. It remained under Qaramata's possession for 22 years. He was offered 50,000 dinars for it but he would not part with it.

At the end of Motiullah's caliphate, the black stone was taken back from him and set in the Ka'bah again. On the return journey, only a single camel carried it from Hajr to Makkah. When these atrocities and desecrations were narrated to the ruler of North Africa, Obaidullah he wrote a denunciatory letter to Abu Tahir and insisted the return the goods to the Makkans. Abu Tahir returned part of the goods but he did not return the black stone. It was not put back in its place until 339 A.H.

Murder of Muqtadir Billah

Munis captured Mousil in Safar 320 A.H and put to rout Sayeed and Dawood the sons of Abdullah bin Hamdan and their nephew Nasiruddaulah Husain bin Abdullah bin Hamdan who were sent to defend Mousil. Then the armies of Baghdad, Syria and Egypt joined Munis because the soldiers were pleased with his generous gifts.

Nasiruddaulah bin Abdullah bin Hamdan joined Munis and stayed with him in Mousil. Nine days after the conquest of Mousil, Munis invaded Baghdad. Intense dissention arose between him and the ministers of the government.

After being defeated Sayeed bin Abdullah went to Baghdad. At the

receipt of the news of Munis's attack, armies under the commands of chiefs like Sayeed bin Abdullah bin Hamdan, Abu Bakr Muhammad bin Yaqut and others were sent. When Munis's army approached, the defending soldiers ran back to Baghdad. Without an army, the commanders also went back to Baghdad. Munis reached Baghdad and stayed at one of the city's gates known as Shamasyah. Both sides built fortifications and the battle began. Muqtadir came out and stood on a hillock and the army was fighting in front of him.

The Baghdad army suffered defeat. The Caliph's companions said to him. "Please don't stand in this place. Let us go back." He started to go but was surrounded by a group of Berbers who had joined Munis's army. One of the Berbers shot an arrow that hit Muqtadir. He fell off the horse and the same Berber rushed forward and chopped off his head. He was stripped naked and his body was left there and his head was taken to Munis on the point of a spear. This took place on Tuesday 27 Shawwal 320 A.H.

Munis put Abu Mansoor Muhammad bin Motazid on the throne and chose for him the title Qahir Billah. Ali bin Maqlah was made the minister and Ali bin Baleeq was appointed Hajib. Muqtadir's mother was arrested and forced to part with her money then she was beaten to death. In this way, money was collected from the people by force.

Qahir Billah

Qahir Billah bin Motazid Billah bin Mawaffiq Billah bin Motawakkil was born of a slave-girl named Fitnah. His name was Muhammad and his kunya was Abu Mansoor.

After the murder of Caliph Muqtadir, his son Abdul Wahid along with Haroon bin Ghuraib, Muhammad bin Yaqut and Ibrahim bin Raiq had gone to Madain. He came to Ahwaz via Wasit and Sus. Qahir Billah gave an army to Ali bin Baleeq and sent it to arrest Abdul Wahid and his men.

Consequently, through the efforts of the army commanders and through correspondence Abdul Wahid and his men begged Munis and Qahir Billah for amnesty, which was readily granted and they all went to Baghdad.

The Caliph made Muhammad bin Yaqut his companion which was disliked by the minister Ali bin Maqla. He misguided Munis by telling his that Muhammad bin Yaqut had been trying to ruin him. Munis ordered Baleeq and his son Ali bin Baleeq that caliph to be kept under constant surveillance. Even women visiting the Caliph's palace were body-searched and basically no one was allowed to enter the palace. When the caliph realized that he was under surveillance and rendered powerless, he started conspiring with some army chiefs against Munis.

Munis and his supporters began to make preparations to depose the Caliph and make Abu Ahmad bin Muktafi the caliph. Qahir Billah succeeded in his attempts. Ali bin Baleeq and Munis were arrested and killed. Muhammad bin Yaqut and Abu Jafar Muhammad bin Qasim bin Obaidullah were appointed Hajib and minister respectively. This happened in Shaban 321 A.H.

During the same period, they started looking for Ahmad bin Muktafi who had gone into hiding. He was eventually arrested and buried alive in a wall. The houses of the dead were razed to the ground and their belongings confiscated. After ruling for three and a half months as minister, Abu Jafar was censured and jailed. He died after 18 days in captivity.

The Origin of the Buwayhid Dynasty

As the members of the Buwayhid dynasty are going to be mentioned repeatedly in connection with the Abbasid caliphs, it is pertinent to record the early history of this dynasty. Mention of Atroosh, Hasan bin Ali Zainul Abedeen has already been made. Following Muhammad bin Zaid Alawi's death, Atroosh went to Delam and preached Islam to the people there and continued this missionary work continuously for 13 years in Delam, Tabristan and Egypt and he induced many of them to embrace Islam.

During that time, the ruler of Delam was Hassan. He tried to stop the growing influence of Atroosh but to no avail. Atroosh had mosques built and had the people act upon the Islamic tenets and started collecting taxes. Finally, he formed a body of the converts and armed them. They invaded Qazween and Saloos the border cities, invited the people to Islam and admitted them into the Islamic fold.

The state of Tabristan was a part of the Samani territory. The Samani ruler of Tabristan began to oppress the people. Atroosh goaded the people of Delam to launch an offensive against Tabristan. In 301 A.H., Atroosh formed an army of the Delam people and attacked Tabristan and put to rout the ruler Muhammad bin Ibrahim bin Salook and captured Tabristan.

After Atroosh, his son-in-law Hasan bin Qasim and his descendants captured and ruled over Tabristan, Jurjan, Saryah Amud and Usturabad. Their army commanders were all from Delam. Among them was Lail bin Noman whom Hasan bin Qasim had appointed the ruler of Jurjan. Lail bin Noman was killed while fighting with the Samanis in 309 A.H. After that, the Samanis led several offensives against Bani Atroosh. Those attacks were repulsed by Surkhab, a Delami general, who lost his life in the battle. Surkhab's uncle Makan Ibn Kane Delami ruled over Usturabad on behalf of Bani Atroosh.

Makan collected round him his compatriots from Delam and formed and army and brought Jurjan under his control. One of the Delamis who helped him was the famous chief Asfar bin Shairwaih Delami. Makan set up an independent government and annexed major parts of Tabristan. He got angry with Shairwaih on some issues and expelled him. He then went to Bakr bin Muhammad bin Yasi in Nishapur who was the ruler there on behalf of the Samanis.

Bakr bin Muhammad gave Asfar an army and sent him to conquer Jurjan. Makan lived in Tabristan and his brother Abul Hasan bin Kani was made the ruler there. Abu Ali bin Atroosh was also there and he had no territory to rule over. One day Abu Ali had a deadly opportunity and killed Abul Hasan and the Delami army, which was stationed at Jurjan, took the oath for Abu Ali. Abu Ali then deputed Ali bin Khursheed Delami as ruler of Jurjan.

At this time, Asfar with an army from the Samanis reached near to Jurjan. Ali bin Khursheed wrote to Asfar: "Instead of invading us why don't you join us and attack Makan who is in Tabristan? Asfar sought Bakr bin Muhammad's permission and he agreed.

When Makan bin Kani found out, he took an army from Tabristan and marched to Jurjan. Ali bin Khursheed and Asfar put up a joint

resistance and put him to rout and captured Tabristan. Shortly after that both Ali bin Khursheed and Abu Ali bin Atroosh died and Asfar ruled over Tabristan without facing any resistance. Makan took this opportunity and attacked Asfar and gained control over Ṭabristan. Asfar went to Bakr bin Muhammad in Jurjan.

When Bakr bin Muhammad died in 315 A.H., the Samani ruler deputed Asfar to administrate Jurjan. Among Asfar's commanders was Mardawih whom he gave an army and sent him to invade Tabristan. Makan arrayed his forces but lost the battle and Mardawih captured Tabristan. Makan fled and went to Atroosh's son-in-law, Hasan bin Qasim in Rayy.

Having gained control over Tabristan and Jurjan, Asfar introduced in the Friday sermon the name of the ruler of Khorasan and Mawaraunnahr, Nasr bin Ahmad bin Saman. Then he went to Rayy and liberated it. Makan became a landless and went to the mountains of Tabristan. Asfar's rule over the provinces of Rayy, Qazween, Zanjan, Abharqam and Karkh was firmly established and he governed this vast territory very successfully. Asfar decided to be an independent ruler so he revolted against the Samani King and declared his independence.

Hearing this Caliph Muqtadir gave an army to Haroon bin Ghuraib and sent him to take these territories from Asfar but Haroon was defeated. Then Nasr bin Ahmad Samani left Bukhara with an army to punish Asfar. Asfar begged to be excused and promised to pay the taxes. Nasr granted his petition for amnesty and allowed him to retain the Province of Rayy while Nasr returned to Bukhara.

Mardawih, one of Asfar's commanders persuaded other commanders to join him and rebel. He killed Asfar, annexed Hamadan and Isfahan and began to rule over that territory. He called Makan bin Kani and deputed him to govern Tabristan and Jurjan. Then he deposed Makan. Makan went to Delam, collected a group of fighters and invaded Tabristan but was defeated by Mardawih and he fled to Nishapur.

In 319 A.H., Mardawih decided to secure the recognition of his conquered territories from the Abbasid Caliph. He therefore sent an application to the Caliph's court to grant him the letter of

governorship of the territories he held in exchange for the payment of two hundred thousand dinars annually. The Caliph granted the application and sent the letter of authorization and gave him another landed estate on his own accord. In 320 A.H., Mardawih called his brother Dashmagir from Gilan.. In Dashmagir's territory Abu Shuja Buwayh's three sons were in charge of the boats in that area and it is because of them that these details are being given.

Abu Shuja Buwayh Delami was a very poor fisherman. He eked out his living by catching fish. One night he dreamed that he squatted down to urinate and a flame came out of his penis, which spread and lit the whole world. He interpreted that his descendents would be kings of the area covered by the light. Then three sons were born to him Ali, Hasan and Ahmad. Because these three brothers made much progress later on and chose for their titles Imaduddaulah, Ruknuddaulah and Muizzuddaulah and became respectable rulers, some linked their lineage to the King of Iran, Yazd Jurd and some called them the descendents of Bahram Gaur. People generally try to attach wealth and kingship to nobility of birth and sycophants generally prove most useful in connecting power to an impressive family tree.

The act of the three sons of Buwayh the fisherman acquiring wealth and becoming rulers and then linking their lineage to the Iranian kings is not unusual but their real origins are as stated.

When Makan bin Kani recruited the inhabitants of Delam into his army, Buwayh's three sons were amongst them. When Makan met with failure, most of his men went over to Mardawih. Mardawih granted them great honor and appointed them to higher posts than they really deserved, Buwayh's three sons also benefited from this. By virtue of their service, alertness and skill they endeared themselves to him, Mardawih deputed Ali bin Buwayh to rule over Karkh. His younger brothers Hasan and Ahmad also went with him. At that time, Rayy was ruled over by Mardawih's brother Dashmagir. Dashmagir had made Husain bin Muhammad known as Umaid his minister. When Ali bin Buwayh arrived in Rayy, he called on Umaid and presented him with a mule. Then he went to Karkh and began to rule.

When Mardawih was informed of the meeting between Ali bin

Buwayh and Umaid and the presentation of the mule, a doubt crossed his mind thinking that the chiefs coming from Makan, who were given good posts and made rulers of cities, might conspire against him and become a problem. Therefore, he wrote to his brother Dashmagir to arrest all those who came from Makan and who were assigned to govern the cities there. Some were arrested but Ali bin Buwayh who had occupied Karkh was not arrested for fear of possible riots.

Ali bin Buwayh captured several forts in the vicinity of Karkh and whatever money and goods he collected in booty he distributed among his soldiers. This endeared him to them. Respect for him and his influence began to rise. In 321 A.H., Mardawih released all those who were under house arrest in Rayy. All of them went to Ali bin Buwayh in Karkh and he honored them.

During the same period a Delami chief, Sherzad, along with a group visited Ali bin Buwayh and induced him to invade Isfahan. When Mardawih found out that all the Delamis had gathered around Ali bin Buwayh, he wrote to send him all the chiefs who had been released. Ali bin Buwayh refused to comply with the order and began to make preparations to invade Isfahan in coalition with Sherzad. Isfahan was being ruled over by Mozaffar bin Yaqut and Abu Ali bin Rustam. Both of them were angry with the Caliph and had rebelled against him.

Ali bin Buwayh invaded Isfahan and put Mozaffar bin Yaqut to rout. Abu Ali bin Rustam died and Ali bin Buwayh gained control over Isfahan. This news plunged Mardawih into a deep anxiety because by then Ali bin Buwayh's power had grown considerably. He sent his brother Dashmagir with an army to Isfahan to punish and discipline Ali bin Buwayh. After receiving this information, Ali left Isfahan and captured Jurjan. This occurred in Thul Hijjah 321 A.H.

Dashmagir captured Isfahan but then handed over Isfahan to Mozaffar bin Yaqut to govern it. Ali bin Buwayh sent his brother Hasan to Gazroon to collect the taxes. He came across Muzaffar bin Yaqut's army on way and defeated it. He collected the taxes and returned to his brother.

Ali bin Buwayh set out towards Astakhar. Ibn Yaqut chased him with a big army and challenged him to fight. They fought and Ali bin

Buwayh's brother Ahmad showed extraordinary valor. Muzaffar bin Yaqut lost and retreated to Wasit. Ali bin Buwayh came to Shiraz and captured it and the whole of Iran came under his control. The soldiers whose number had now considerably increased demanded their salaries. Ali did not have enough money to meet their requirements. In a pensive mood, he lay down on the roof of a house. A snake fell off the roof. He ordered the house to be pulled down. When they started demolishing it, boxes full of gold were found. He distributed all the gold among his soldiers. He sent for a tailor to have some new clothes made. The guards brought a tailor who thought he was being arrested. Immediately he said, "I have nothing except a few boxes that I am holding for someone and I have not opened them and do not know their contents." Those boxes were brought and they were found to contain gold coins. Ali bin Buwayh confiscated them too. All this wealth had been left by Muzaffar bin Yaqut who could not carry it with him. By luck during the same period, he discovered the accumulated treasure of the kings of the Saffar Dynasty, which totaled five hundred thousand red dinars.

During the same period, one day he was riding on horseback and the horse's legs sank into the ground. He had the horse's legs dug out and a treasure was found there. In this way, he accumulated a huge treasury and began to rule over Iran very successfully and continued increasing his power rivaling Mardawih and he became a source of great danger for him.

Over Throw of Qahir

Qahir Billah was a killer, hasty, a chronic drunk and a man of mercurial nature. He had clamped a total ban on drinking and selling of wine. After ruling for one and a half years he was arrested by military rioters on 6 Jumad Thani 322 A.H., they put Abul Abbas Muhammad bin Muqtadir on the throne and gave him the title of Radi Billah. Immediately after assuming power, Radi Billah had Qahir Billah blinded.

According to Ali bin Muhammad Khorasani, one day Qahir Billah came to me with a spear in his hand and asked me to describe to him the habits and nature of every Caliph of the Abbasids. I said, "Saffah

was quick to spill blood and his governors followed in his footsteps. He was a brave and believed in collecting taxes. Mansoor was the first to sow the seed of dissention between the Banu Abbas and the family of Abi Talib and did not let them remain as one. He was the first to have made the astrologers his companions. Suryani and non-Arabic books like geometry, Kalilah Dimnah and books in Greek were translated for him. Mahdi was very generous and a just man and whatever his father had seized from the people, he returned it to them. He had the apostates killed and rebuilt mosques on the three holy sites in Makkah, Madinah and Jerusalem. Hadi was a tyrant and proud and his governors followed suit. Haroon Rasheed fought the Romans and performed Hajj, he had rest houses and water tanks constructed on the way to Madinah, populated Tartoos, Masisah and Marash and he pleased the people. He was the first among the caliphs who played polo, chess and enjoyed shooting. Ameen was generous and tolerant but was drowned in pleasures. Mamoon was overwhelmed by astrology and philosophy. He was generous and wise. Motasim was the same and was fond of horseback riding and imitating the non-Arab kings. He fought in battles and had many conquests to his credit. Wathiq followed his father's life style. Motawakkil went against Mamoon, Motaism and Wathiq. He was against their beliefs and ordered the opposing scholars to be given the opportunity to speak on these subjects and the people were generally pleased with him." Qahir continued to ask about the other Caliphs and I kept telling him about them. He was very pleased to hear their history.

Radi Billah

The name of Radi Billah bin Muqtadir Billah was Muhammad and his kunya was Abul Abbas. He was born of a Roman slave girl named Zaloom. He was enthroned on Jumad Thani 322 A.H. following the deposition of Qahir. He was brought from the jail and put on the throne. He appointed Ali bin Maqlah as his Prime Minister. He arrested Muhammad bin Yaqut and imprisoned him. His father, Yaqut was in Wasit at that time. He arrayed his forces and went to fight against Ali bin Buwayh but lost. The same year Obaidullah Mahdi, the ruler of North Africa, died after ruling for 25 years. He was succeeded by his son Abul Qasim with the title Biamrillah.

Murder of Mardawih

As stated above, Mardawih captured the province of Rayy, Isfahan, and Ahwaz and obtained the documents authorizing him from the Caliph's court. He then claimed to be an independent ruler and made a throne of gold, the chairs of the generals and commanders were made of silver, he wore a crown and called himself emperor. He made preparations to invade Iraq and Baghdad and said that he would rebuild the palaces of the Persian emperors and would reestablish the Zoroastrian kingdom after wiping out the Arabs. This controversial talk displeased some of his commanders and he was murdered near Isfahan in 323 A.H.

Condition of the Provinces

Caliph Radi Billah's government was confined to Baghdad and its vicinity only. Independent rulers, who had acquired documents authorizing their rule on the promise of paying taxes, had gone back on their promises. Basra was under the domination of Muhammad Raiq and Khuzistan and Ahwaz were under Abu Abdullah Buraidi. Iran was ruled over by Ali bin Buwayh with the title Imaduddaulah while Kerman was controlled by Abu Ali bin Ilyas. Hasan bin Buwayh with the title Ruknuddaulah and Mardawih's brother Dashmagir were at war with each other in Rayy, Isfahan and the mountain provinces. Mousil, Deyar Bakr Deyar Egypt Deyar Rabiyah were under the rule of Muhammad bin Tafaj and some parts of Mawaraunnahr were under the Bani Saman rulers. Abu Tahir Qaramati governed Bahrain and Yamamah and the Delam commanders had captured Tabristan while independent states in Andalus, Morocco and North Africa had existed for many years.

In the very first year of Radi Billah's enthronement Imaduddaulah Ali bin Buwayh applied for the documents of authorization for the province of Iran, the caliph sent the document, a royal robe with a flag and the title of Imaduddaulah. He conferred the titles of Ruknuddaulah and Muizzuddaulah to his brothers Hasan and Ahmad respectively. After Mardawih's death, his army was divided

into two parts one part went to Imaduddaulah in Iran while the other remained under one of his former commanders named Yahkum.

Yahkum arrived in the Caliph's court and enhanced his influence and was able by manipulation to dominate over all the leaders who kept the caliph's court under their control. He received the title of Amirul Omara, and imposed himself on the caliph and his court and began to act like the ruler. Dashmagir Mardawih's brother left Isfahan to Ruknuddaulah bin Buwayh and captured Azerbaijan. Ruknuddaulah bin Buwayh and Muizzuddaulah bin Buwayh captured Isfahan and Ahwaz respectively. Muhammad bin Raiq snatched Syria from Muhammad bin Tafaj leaving only Egypt for him. During Radi's regime, the caliphate was only a figurehead. During the last period, Yahkum completely dominated the caliph and his court and no one dared to oppose him. He himself lived in Wasit and his head clerk worked as the Prime Minister in the Caliph's court in Baghdad.

Death of Radi Billah

Having ruled for about seven years Caliph Radi Billah died of dropsy in Rabia Awwal 329 A.H. Hearing this news Yahkum gave instructions to his head clerk and in accordance with his orders Ibrahim bin Motazid Billah with the title Muttaqi lillah was enthroned as caliph on 29 Rabia Awwal 329 A.H.

During Radi Billah's regime, Muhammad bin Ali-Shalmaghani known as Ibn Al-Arrafa appeared and claimed to be divine. Many became his disciples but in the very first year of Radi's caliphate, he was caught and killed along with his followers who would not recant his claims. The same year Qaramata looted and plundered Baghdad and Makkah to such an extent that the inhabitants of Baghdad did not perform Hajj and none of them dared go to Hajj until 327 A.H.

In 327 A.H., Abu Tahir Qaramati levied a five dinar tax per camel on the Hujjas. That was the first time pilgrims had to pay a tax for Hajj. The inhabitants of Baghdad paid the tax and performed their Hajj comfortably. Radi was the last caliph who read the Friday sermon himself, all the caliphs after him assigned this job to others.

Muttaqi lillah

Muttaqilillah bin Motazid Billah bin Mawaffiq bin Motawakkil was born of a slave girl named, Zahrah. He came to the throne when he was 34. On 26 Rajab 329 A.H., Yahkum was killed by Kurds in the neighborhood of Wasit. He kept the title Amirul Omara' for 2 years and 8 months. Following his death goods worth 1,100,000 dinars were seized and deposited in the Caliph's treasury. In Shaban 329 A.H. Abu Obadiah Buraidi took an army from Basra and went to Baghdad. The Caliph ordered him to go back and when he did not obey, the Caliph sent an army. The army was put to rout and Buraidi entered Baghdad and demanded 500,000 dinars from the Caliph with the message that if he did not concede to his demand, he would be deposed and put to death. The Caliph felt helpless and paid the ransom.

After 24 days in Ramadan 329 A.H. Buraidi's army revolted because of non-receipt of their salaries. Buraidi fled and went to Wasit. After his flight, a chief named Kortageen dominated the caliph and his court. He received the title Amirul Omara. Baghdad at this time had a large group of people from Delam in addition to the Turks. The Delamis had started growing in power since Yahkum's rise to power. The Delamis created an uprising against Kortageen but his power remained unaffected.

Hearing this, Muhammad bin Raiq who ruled over Syria went to Baghdad to secure the post of Amirul Omara. Kortageen came out of Baghdad to face him. Raiq entered Baghdad by force and Kortageen was arrested and imprisoned. The Caliph made Ibn Raiq Amirul Omara. Muhammad bin Raiq collected taxes from Abu Abdullah Buraidi by force.

In Rabia Thani 330 A.H., Ibn Buraidi invaded Baghdad and defeated Ibn Raiq. Buraidi's army was made up of Turks and the soldiers from Delam. They entered the city and started looting and killing. The Caliph along with Ibn Raiq and his own son Abu Mansoor fled to Mousil. They looted the caliph's palace and the houses of Baghdad. Some Qaramati also joined in looting. The nobles of the city were subjected to great humiliation and torture. On the arrival of the Caliph,

the ruler of Mousil, Nasiruddaulah bin Hamdan, left the city. The Caliph and Ibn Raiq consoled him and called him back. Nasiruddaulah killed Muhammad bin Raiq. The Caliph gave Nasiruddaulah the title of Amirul Omara while his brother Abul Hasan was given the title Saifuddaulah.

Preparing the army Nasiruddaulah and the Caliph moved to Baghdad. Ibn Buraidi who had captured Baghdad fought but was defeated in Shawwal 330 A.H. and Nasiruddaulah entered Baghdad with the caliph. Nasiruddaulah and Saifuddaulah lived with the caliph for 11 months. Then they returned to Mousil. In Ramadan 331 A.H., a commander named Tuzoon acquired power in Baghdad and the caliph gave him the title of Amirul Omara.

In Muharram 332 A.H., Abu Jafar Sherzad entered Baghdad while Tuzoon was in Wasit. When Abu Jafar entered Baghdad caliph Muttaqi left Baghdad and fled to Mousil out of fear of him. Tuzoon and Abu Jafar jointly invaded Mousil and defeated both the brothers Nasiruddaulah and Saifuddaulah and they along with the caliph went to Nasiban and from there to Riqqah he wrote a letter to Tuzoon and reconciled with Banu Hamdan and returned to Baghdad. The caliph along with Banu Hamdan stayed on in Riqqah.

During the same period, Muizzuddaulah Ahmad bin Buwayh who controlled Ahwaz invaded Wasit. Tuzoon returned from Mousil and fought against him on 17 Thul Qada 332 A.H. Though Muizzuddaulah suffered defeat in the fight, he re-invaded Wasit and conquered it. In 332 A.H., The Russians invaded Barua an Azerbaijani town on the Russian border. Marzaban Delam heard of this and sent his forces there. The Russians plundered and killed the Muslims on a large scale. The Muslims rallied and fought back. The fight continued for a long time and after many fierce battles the Muslims forced the Russians to retreat.

Deposition of Caliph Muttaqi

Caliph Muttaqi lived with Banu Hamdan until the end of 332 A.H. Meanwhile resentment developed between them. The caliph wrote letters for help to Baghdad and to Akhsheed bin Muhammad bin Tafaj in Egypt. Akhsheed visited the caliph in Riqqah on 15 Muharram 333 A.H. and requested him to accompany him to Egypt and live there.

The minister approved of the idea and described to him the benefits of making Egypt his capital. But the caliph did not agree to it. In the meantime, Tuzoon's letter from Baghdad came granting amnesty and security to the caliph and his minister Ibn Sherzad. The caliph expressed his sense of joy after going through the contents of the letter and leaving Akhsheed, he set out to Baghdad at the end of Muharram 333 A.H. Tuzoon received him warmly at Sandyah and lodged him in his tent. The next day he blinded the caliph with hot pokers. Then he sent for Abul Qasim Abdullah bin Muktafi Billah. All the members of the government took the oath for him and called him Mustakfi Billah.

The deposed caliph Muttaqi was also presented in the court and he also took the oath for caliph Mustakfi. Muttaqi was imprisoned in Jazirah. After remaining in that state of suffering for 25 years, he died in 357 A.H. When Qahir Billah was informed of Muttaqi's blindness, he was overjoyed and began to say. "Now we two have become blind and the third is waiting." Ironically after a few days, Mustakfi also met the same fate.

Mustakfi Billah

Abul Qasim Abdullah bin Mustakfi Billah was born of a slave girl Amlaahunnas. He came to the throne in Safar 333 A.H. at the age of 41. Abul Qasim Fadl bin Muqtadir Billah also made a claim to the caliphate. He went underground Mustakfi searched for him but he could not be found. He remained in hiding during his regime. When Mustakfi failed to locate him, he had his house demolished.

Soon after caliph Mustakfi's enthronement Tuzoon died. Mustakfi conferred the title of Amirul Omara on Abu Jafar Ibn Sherzad. Having taken power into his hands, he began to squander money until the treasury became empty and the entire administration was thrown into disarray. Theft and robbery were committed with such impunity that the civilians began to desert the city and migrate.

A Note

The area and size of the Islamic government continued to grow during the regime of Banu Umayyah. The Islamic government had a single capital and whatever instruction were issued from the caliph's court

in Damascus, were carried out in all territories from Andalus and Morocco to China and Turkistan. When the Islamic caliphate came to Banu Abbas, within a very short time, a separate and independent government of Banu Umayyah was established in Andalus and instead of one capital, there were two centers of the Islamic government. Then Morocco became independent. After that, the governments of Mawaraunnahr, Khorasan, and Persia went out of the control of the caliph of Baghdad. At this point in the narrative, the government of the caliph of Baghdad did not exist even in Baghdad itself. For a long time the state of the Tigris and Euphrates was under the caliph's rule. However, when the post of the Amirul Omara (chief of the chiefs) was created, its government was run by the Amirul Omara he called himself the subordinate of the caliph but in name only.

The caliph's orders were honored in the city of Baghdad proper. However, anybody who could subdue others by virtue of their power could become the Amirul Omara and the caliph would be forced to confer on him this title. Though the caliph had no power left in his hands, he enjoyed a bit of liberty and still commanded a sort of admiration and respect.

Muizzuddaulah Ahmad bin Buwayh, the fisherman's son came from Ahwaz and dominated over Baghdad and the caliph. He was given the title Malik (king) and others after him continue to enjoy this privilege. Muizzuddaulah put the caliph under strict surveillance and kept him as a respectable captive and seized the little respect he enjoyed in Baghdad. The caliph's duty was to greet ambassadors from abroad, the ambassador would be presented before the Caliph and shown a magnificent exhibition at the artificial court the Caliph would be used and exploited to serve their purpose. Conferring of titles and granting of documents were generally done by the caliph but without option. The actual decisions were made by the Malik alone.

The caliph was a figurehead only. The Malik used to fix the caliph's salary. When he received his salary late or did not receive it, he had to sell his personal belongings to meet his daily needs. The condition of the Abbasid caliphs had deteriorated to such an extent that it has become redundant for a historian to mention them, except for the word Caliph nothing else remained of their power. In order to

complete the history of the Islamic governments it is essential to record the lives and conquests of the rulers who not only ruled in Baghdad but also the area of the Euphrates and Tigris and other provinces as those controlled by the Malik. In order to deal with the conditions of these territories we will continue with the Abbasid caliphs though they are no more than figureheads, they are still called caliphs.

The important point is that now we are not studying the Abbasid caliphs but those who were in control of Baghdad. We should not overlook the fact that though separate and independent governments were formed and established in provinces all over the Islamic territories, all still honored the institution of the caliph. His name was mentioned in the Friday sermons even where he had no power.

In Andalus, the Umayyah caliphate was in power. The Fatimids in North Africa claimed the caliphate and leadership and the name of the caliph of Baghdad was never mentioned in Andalus or North Africa. Besides these exceptions in all other Islamic territories, they recognized the Abbasid caliph of Baghdad as caliph and their religions leader. Sometimes a particular Malik would expunge the name of the caliph from the Friday sermon and have his own name mentioned in it but the caliph's name did exist in the sermons of the other territories.

The Buhaywid (Buyid) Dynasty in Baghdad

The Buwayh dynasty has been dealt with above Buwayh's three sons Ali, Hasan and Ahmad had become rulers. Ali (Imaduddaulah) controlled Persia, Hasan (Ruknuddaulah) ruled over Isfahan and Tabristan while Ahmad (Muizzuddaulah) had captured Ahwaz. During Sherzad's term as Amirul Omara, riots erupted in Baghdad and Muizzuddaulah invaded it.

Sherzad escaped and went to Banu Hamdan in Mousil and Muizzuddaulah captured Baghdad easily. Caliph Mustakfi gave him the title of Malik. Muizzuddaulah then had coins minted in his name and began to rule over Baghdad with a heavy hand. After some time he was informed that caliph Mustakfi was conspiring against him. On that occasion, the ambassador of the governor of Khorasan arrived and an open court was held. Muizzuddaulah beckoned to two

Delamis and they moved forward. The caliph thought that they were going to kiss his hand so he extended it. They caught hold of his hand and pulled him down from the throne and arrested him. No one dared to utter a word.

Muizzuddaulah went home. The Delamis brought the caliph by dragging and humiliating him to Muizzuddaulah. He blinded him and put him under house arrest. This occurred in Jumad Awwal 334 A.H. Caliph Mustakfi remained caliph for one year as four months in name only. He died in this state of captivity in 338 A.H.

Muti lillah

Muizzuddaulah bin Buwayh was the youngest son of Buwayh. Because they had embraced Islam through Atroosh, all Delamis were Shiites. The Buwayh dynasty surpassed all other Shiites in excesses and prejudice. Having humiliated, deposed, imprisoned and blinded Mustakfi, Muizzuddaulah wanted to enthrone an Alawi. However, one of his advisers prevented him from doing so and convinced him saying, "If you make an Alawi caliph, all the people would believe that he deserved to be caliph and they would prefer to obey that Alawi caliph instead of you. Whatever influence you have on the Delamis, it would not last nor would your government and glory survive. It is better to put an Abbasid on the throne so that all the Shiites will consider him to be undeserving and will be loyal and obedient to you in this way Shiite power will continue in Baghdad."

Therefore, Muizzuddaulah called in Abul Qasim Fadal bin Muqtadir and entitled him Moti lillah, put him on the throne, performed the custom of the oath and fixed one hundred dinars per day as his salary. Moti lillah was born of a slave girl Mashghalah. He acceded to the throne in Jumad Thani 334 A.H.

Muizzuddaulah appointed Abu Muhammad Hasan bin Muhammad Muhallabi minister to the caliph. The minister was in fact the real minister of the country but the caliph was only a figurehead. It has been stated above that Nasiruddaulah and Saifuddaulah bin Hamdan had captured Mousil and Syria respectively while Egypt was ruled over by Akhsheed Muhammad bin Tafaj Farghani.

When Nasiruddaulah came to know that Muizzuddaulah controlled Baghdad, he left Mousil with an army and arrived at Samrah in 334 A.H. Hearing this news Muizzuddaulah along with Moti lillah went out of Baghdad to face him. Muizzuddaulah suffered defeat and returned to Baghdad.

Muizzuddaulah along with Moti lillah reached the western part of Baghdad while Nasiruddaulah camped in the eastern part. Fighting began but ended in reconciliation between them. Muizzuddaulah had his grand daughter married to Nasiruddaulah's son Abu Qasim Buraidi. He revolted against Muizzuddaulah in Basra and in 336 A.H., Muizzuddaulah along with caliph Moti lillah invaded Basra. Abu Qasim was defeated and he fled to Qaramata in Bahrain and Muizzuddaulah captured Basra. Leaving Abu Jafar Sahiri in Basra, Muizzuddaulah along with caliph Moti lillah returned to Baghdad. In 337 A.H., Muizzuddaulah invaded the governor of Mousil, Nasiruddaulah bin Hamdan. Nasiruddaulah could not stand the pressure and he went to Nasiban. In the meantime, Muizzuddaulah's brother Ruknuddaulah sent news that the Khorasani army had attacked Jurjan and Rayy and he should send an army quickly. Muizzuddaulah reconciled with Nasiruddaulah again, left Mousil for Baghdad and Nasiruddaulah returned to Mousil.

This peace with Nasiruddaulah was made, on the condition that he would continue to pay the tax regularly and mention the names of the three brothers in the Friday sermon. In 338 A.H., Muizzuddaulah had this order written by caliph Moti lillah, "Ali bin Buwayh popularly known as Imaduddaulah should work with his brother Muizzuddaulah as his deputy and fulfill the royal commitment. However, Imaduddaulah died that year and Ruknuddaulah succeeded his brother as Muizzuddaulah's deputy. In 339 A.H., The black stone was restored to its original place in the Ka'bah with a gold frame around it.

In 341 A.H., a new group appeared which believed in transmigration. A man claimed that Ali's (رضي الله عنه) soul had entered his body while his wife claimed that Fatima's (رضي الله عنها) soul had entered her body. Another said that Jibrail's (Gabriel) soul resided in his body. Hearing their claims the people beat them up. However, Muizzuddaulah being a

Shia ordered them to stop. He ordered them to respect them because he said they were from the Prophet's family. In 346 A.H., a great earthquake took place in Rayy and its neighborhood killing everyone except thirty people. 150 villages around Rayy sank into the earth and major parts of Halwan sunk into the water. In 347 A.H., another quake of the same intensity occurred. The same year Muizzuddaulah launched an offensive against Mousil because Nasiruddaulah delayed in paying the taxes. He conquered Mousil in Jumad Awwal 347 A.H.

Nasiruddaulah went to Nasiban. Leaving his assistant Subuktageen, in Mousil Muizzuddaulah went to Nasiban. Nasiruddaulah left Nasiban and went to his brother Saifuddaulah in Aleppo. Saifuddaulah entered into correspondence with Muizzuddaulah and made peace with him and a treaty was drawn up in Muharram 348 A.H. and Muizzuddaulah returned to Iraq. In 350 A.H., he had a very large palace constructed for himself in Baghdad the foundation of which was laid 36 yards deep. The same year the Romans captured Crete from the Muslims, which had been under their control since 230 A.H.

In the beginning of 352 A.H., Muizzuddaulah ordered that on 10 Muharram all shops must be closed to mourn the martyrdom of Imam Husain (ﷺ), buying and selling should be suspended, the rural and urban people should wear mourning attire and lament in public. Women came out into the streets and markets with their hair undone, faces blackened, clothes torn, reciting eulogies and beating their breasts. The Shiites obeyed this order willingly but the Sunni Muslims were stunned into silence. The next year the same order was issued and the Sunnis were also ordered to carry it out. They could not tolerate this and a riot between the Shiites and the Sunnis erupted. This public mourning has become a tradition among the Shiites until today.

Capture of Oman and Death of Muizzuddaulah

Oman was under Qaramata's control. In 355 A.H. Muizzuddaulah invaded Oman and captured it on 9 Dhul Hijjah 355 A.H. and expelled Qaramata from there. Thousands of Qaramata's followers

were killed and 89 of their boats were burned and sunk. Freeing himself from the campaign in Oman, he went to Wasit. He became ill and went to Baghdad. He was treated in the best possible way but he did not recover. After ruling for 22 years, he died in Rabia Thani 356 A.H.

Izzuddaulah's Rule

At the time of his death, Muizzuddaulah had made his son Bakhtiyar his heir. He was given the title Izzuddaulah from the caliph and began to rule after Muizzuddaulah. The Delamis had become so powerful that they were regarded as the real rulers reducing the caliph to a non-entity. They started selecting their heirs to the throne on their own accord. The caliph chose his successor and the real rulers chose their successors. Muizzuddaulah was the first king of the Buwayhs and Izzuddaulah became the second king.

Izzuddaulah appointed Abul Fadal Abbas bin Husain Shirazi as his minister. The same year Jati bin Muizzuddaulah revolted against his brother Izzuddaulah in Basra. Abul Fadal Abbas went to confront him and brought him to Izzuddaulah as a captive who imprisoned him. In 362 A.H., Izzuddaulah removed Abul Fadal Abbas from the post of minister and replaced him with Muhammad bin Baqiah.

Muhammad bin Baqiah was an ordinary man. He was the superintendent of Izzuddaulah's household. In the same year, Abu Taghlab bin Nasiruddaulah bin Hamdan imprisoned his father and took his place as the ruler. Abu Taghlab was married to Izzuddaulah's daughter as mentioned above. His two brothers Ibrahim and Hamdan fled from Mosul and went to Izzuddaulah in Baghdad. They complained to him about Abu Taghlab and begged for help. Taking his minister Muhammad bin Baqiah and the commander Subuktageen with him Izzudaulah invaded Mosul. Abu Taghlab closed down his office and went to Minjar.

Izzuddaulah entered Mosul while Abu Taghlab left Minjar and went to Baghdad. Izzuddaulah then sent Ibn Baqiah and Subuktageen to Baghdad to save it while he stayed in Mosul. Ibn Baqiah arrived in Baghdad before Abu Taghlab and Subuktageen they wanted to engage him in a battle outside of Baghdad.

The confrontation between Abu Taghlab and Subuktageen commenced while in Baghdad a riot broke out between the Shias and Sunnis. Hearing this Subuktageen and Abu Taghlab reconciled and decided to unseat all the Shias and enthrone a new caliph but then decide to suspend the idea. They called Ibn Baqiah from Baghdad and made terms for a peace settlement with Abu Taghlab. According to the terms of the peace pact Ibn Baqiah wrote to Izzuddaulah to leave Mosul and go to Baghdad and hand over the rule of Mosul to Abu Taghlab.

Abu Taghlab reached Mosul and embraced his father-in-law, Izzuddaulah. Izzuddaulah then went to Baghdad and on the way he went to Ahwaz to collect money. A riot erupted between the Turks and the Dailanis who were with Izzuddaulah and he punished the Turks. Hearing this Subuktageen, who was in Baghdad, rebelled, looted his house, arrested his relatives and sent them to Wasit. This occurred in Thul Qadah 363 A.H.

Subuktageen controlled Baghdad and he established a Sunni government. He expelled all the Shias from Baghdad and then forced the caliph to abdicate because his paralyses had rendered him unfit for the job. In Thul Qadah 363 A.H., caliph Moti lillah renounced the throne and his son Abdul Kareem with the title Taai lillah succeeded him. Caliph Moti lillah ruled for 26 years and a half as a figured head only. Nasiruddaulah bin Hamdan had been defending against the Romans and invading them since he captured Mosul. When Nasiruddaulah's brother Saifuddaulah bin Hamdan captured Halab and Homs, offence and defense against the Romans were his responsibilities. He very actively and successfully retaliated and defended these territories against Roman invasions. In 363 A.H., Izzuddaualh expunged the caliph's name from the Friday sermon. The caliph expressed his sense of grief and disappointment then Izzuddaulah stopped his salary. The caliph then had to sell his belongings to make both ends meet. After his deposition, Moti lillah title became Sheikh Al-Fadil. He died in Muharram 362 A.H. in Wasit. Abu Bakr Shibli and Abu Nasr Farabi, Mutanabbi the poet, died during this administration.

Taai lillahh

Abu Bakr Abdul Kareem Taai lillahh bin Moti lillah was born of a slave girl named Hazar. He acceded to the throne of the caliphate at the age of 45 on 23 Thul Qadah 363 A.H. following Moti's abdication. He conferred on Subuktageen the title of Nasiruddaulah and gave him a flag and appointed him Deputy of the Ruler replacing Izzuddaulah. The same year the Friday sermon in Madinah was read in the name of the ruler Muizz Obeidi. It has been stated above that when caliph Moti abdicated the caliphate Baghdad was ruled over by Subuktageen and Izzuddaulah bin Muizzuddaulah was in Ahwaz. Subuktageen sent Izzuddaulah's mother and brothers to Wasit. Hearing this news, Izzuddaullah went to Wasit to see his mother and wrote to his uncle Hasan bin Buwayh known as Ruknuddaulah the ruler of Iran, to send him reinforcements against Subuktageen and the Turks.

Ruknuddaulah gave an army to his minister Abul Fatah bin Hameed and sent him to his son Azduddaulah in Ahwaz. He wrote to his son to come with his army, join Abul Fatah and help his cousin Izzuddaulah.

Subuktegeen took caliph Taai lillahh and his father Moti with him and marched to Wasit with an army of Turks. The ruler of Mosul, Abu Taghlab, heard about this and left Mosul and captured Baghdad. When Subuktageen and Moti reached near Wasit, coincidently they both died. The Turks chose Uftageen as their leader and besieged Wasit. Uftageen was Muizzuddaulah's liberated Turk slave. Uftageen continued the siege for 50 days.

Azduddaulah with his father's minister Abul Fatah arrived in Wasit. Hearing of their arrival, Uftageen lifted the siege and went to Baghdad. Abu Taghlab left Baghdad upon receiving this news and went to Mosul. Izzuddaulah and Azduddaulah both stayed in Wasit for a few days. Then both cousins laid siege to Baghdad and stopped the food supply to the city, which caused great hardships to the civilians. The Turks looted Uftageen's house and then began to fight among themselves. At last, taking caliph Taai lillahh with him Uftageen broke the siege and escaped taking refuge in Takret.

Azduddaulah and Izzuddaulah entered Baghdad in Jumad Awwal 364 A.H. Azduddaulah corresponded with the Turks and had caliph Taai lillahh returned to Baghdad. He lodged him at the caliph's palace, took the oath as a formality for him, arrested Izzuddaulah and began to govern. Azduddaulah sent Muhammad bin Baqiah to Wasit as the ruler. Izzuddaulah's son Zaban, ruled over Basra. He wrote to Ruknuddaullah complaining against Azduddaulah citing Izzuddaulah's arrest and imprisonment. Ruknuddaulah was extremely aggrieved to hear this. He wrote a threatening letter to Azduddaulah. In reply, Azduddaulah wrote to his father Ruknuddaulah:

Izzuddaulah had no capability to govern. Had I not intervened, Bani Buwayh would have lost control over Baghdad. I promise to pay 30,000,000 dirhams annually to the province of Iraq. If you are interested in taking control over Iraq, you are welcome. I shall go to Iran.

It is quite evident from the letter that the Provinces of Iraq and Baghdad were under the jurisdiction of the Dailamis rulers and the strongest ruler at the time was Ruknuddaulah who lived in Khorasan. The caliph of Baghdad lived under the chief governor of Baghdad like a captive.

Finally, at Ruknuddaulah's insistence Azduddaulah released Izzuddaulah from captivity and handed over to him the government of Iraq and took a promise that the Friday sermon in Iraq would be read in the name of Azduddaulah and Izzuddaulah would regard himself as the deputy of Azduddaulah. He left Abul Fatah with Izzddaulah and went to Iran. After these events, Uftageen went to Damascus, expelled Muizz Obeidi's governor and captured it. The civilians of Damascus were pleased with his governance because Muizz Obeidi's ruler used to impose their beliefs on others by force and would harass them. With the coming of Uftageen, their ordeal ended. He introduced the Friday sermon in the name of caliph Taai instead of the Obeidi sultan. This happened in Shaban 364 A.H.

Azduddaulah's Government

Ruknuddaulah died in 366 A.H. His son Azduddaulah succeeded him. Izzuddaulah planned to raise an army against Azduddaulah. Azduddaulah found this out and launched an offensive against Iraq. He captured Baghdad and Basra in 366 A.H. In the beginning of 367

A.H., Azduddaulah caught his father's minister Abul Fatah bin Ameed who had became a supporter of Izzuddaulah blinded him and put him into prison.

Izzuddaulah then blinded his minister Amad who had joined Azduddaulah secretly then he went towards Mosul and Syria. There he won Abu Taghlab's sympathy and invaded Baghdad. Azduddaulah arrested and killed Izzuddaulah in the fight, pursued Abu Taghlab and captured Mosul and Jazirah. Abu Taghlab had no more allies and went to the Roman emperor who had his daughter married to Abu Taghlab.

The government of Banu Hamdan was interrupted for a short time. Azduddaulah ruled for five and a half years and died in 372 A.H. The noblemen of the government put his son Kakijar on the throne and gave him the title Samsamuddaulah. Caliph Taai lillahh paid a visit to Samsamuddaulah to console and congratulate him.

Samsamuddaulah's Government

Samsamuddaulah had several brothers. One of them was Sharfuddaulah who rebelled against him and captured Iran. In 375 A.H., he invaded Baghdad. In Ramadan 376 A.H., he arrested Samsamuddaulah and gained control over Baghdad. Caliph Taai lillahh congratulated Sharfuddaulah. Samsamuddaulah was sent to Iran where he was set free.

Sharfuddaulah's Government

When Sharfuddaulah took control over Baghdad and Iraq, there were riots and killings in Mosul After Sharfuddaulah his son Saduddaulah from Banu Hamdan ruled over Halab. Sharfuddaulah bin Azduddaulah ruled for 2 years and 8 months and died of dropsy in 379 A.H. His brother Bahauddaulah succeeded him as the ruler.

Bahauddaulah's Government

Caliph Taai lillahh personally called on Bahauddaulah and gave him royal robes and congratulated him in keeping with tradition. Bahauddaulah deputed Nasiruddaulah bin Hamdan's sons Ibrahim

and Husain to govern Mosul and sent them to the governor there with his authorization. Later on, he regretted this and wrote to Mosul to the former governor that the authority should not be handed over to them. However, Ibrahim and Husain had already captured Mosul by force. In 380 A.H., Bahauddaulah called his nephew Abu Ali bin Sharfuddaulah who ruled over Iran, and had him assassinated. Then he left for Iran and seized the treasury capturing Iran. In the meantime, Samsamuddaulah, who had been in exile there, won the people to his side and began to conquer the territory. Finally, Bahauddaulah had to compromise with Samsamuddaulah on the condition that Iran be left under Samsamuddaulah's control. After this arrangement Bahauddaulah went to Baghdad were he found the Shias and the Sunnis at war.

Bahauddaulah made peace between them. In Ramadan, Caliph Taai lillahh held an open court. Bahauddaulah was sitting on a chair near the throne. The noblemen and the members of the government arrived at the court and took their seats after kissing the Caliph's hands. Meanwhile, a Dailamis chief entered and moved toward the Caliph to kiss his hand. The caliph stretched out his hand and the Dailamis caught hold of it, dragged and pulled him down and tied him up. The Dailamis began to loot the caliph's court and palace. Bahauddaulah left and went home. The Dailamis followed him dragging and humiliating the caliph on the way. Bahauddaulah then forced him to announce his abdication and Abul Abbas Ahmad bin Ishaq bin Moqtadir was enthroned with the title Qadir Billah. Taai lillahh was imprisoned and placed under house arrest in a part of the caliph's palace. Taai lillahh lived in this state until his death in 392 A.H.

Qadir Billah

Abul Abbas Ahmad Qadir Billah Ishaq bin Moqtadir was born of a slave girl named Tamanna. He became Caliph on 12 Ramadan 381 A.H. He was an honest politician. He never missed getting up in the middle of the night to pray. He was a legal scholar. A few days after his accession to the throne, both Bahauddaulah and Qadir Billah swore to remain loyal to each other. Qadir Billah tried to reduce the humiliation, which the caliph of Baghdad had to endure during Taai lillahh's administration. He tried to raise the status of the caliphate but

the Dailamis had gained too much power and the status of the caliphate had gone down so much that Qadir Billah could not bring about any major change. However, he improved his status in comparison to Taai lillahh.

As mentioned above, Samsamuddaulah and Bahauddaulah agreed to make peace with each other in 380 A.H. on the condition that both of them should continue to rule over Iran and Iraq respectively. Bahauddaulah violated the agreement and sent his army to invade Iran in 383 A.H. in order to expel Samsamuddaulah's governors and bring it under his control.

Samsamddaulah put his army to rout. In 384 A.H., Bahauddaulah sent a powerful army to Iran under Taghan Turki.

The battles between them continued until 380 A.H. with varied success. Finally, at the end of Thul Hijjah 388 A.H. Samsamuddaulah, after reigning for 9 years in Iran, was caught and killed and Iran came under the control of Bahauddaulah.

In 389 A.H., Bahauddaulah went to Iran in person and left Iraq under the control of Abu Jafar Hajjaj bin Hurmuz in Baghdad. Caliph Qadir Billah bestowed on Abu Jafar the title Ameeduddaulah. In 389 A.H., the territory of Mawaraunnahr went out of the control of Samania dynasty and that dynasty came to an end.

In 384 A.H., Khorasan had gone out Samani control. Half of its government was seized and captured by Subuktageen and the other half went under the domination of the Turks. This will be dealt with in detail later in the narrative. After some time a riot broke out between the Sunnis and Shias in Baghdad. At this news, Bahauddaulah sacked Ameeduddaulah as the ruler of Iraq and handed over the rule to Abu Ali Hasan bin Hurmuz in 390 A.H. and gave him the title Ameedul Juyush. Ameedul Juyush quelled the riot between the Sunnis and the Shias and administered the country well. In 391 A.H., Bahauddaulah dismissed Ameedul Juyush and handed over the responsibility of Iraq and Baghdad to Abu Nasr bin Sabur. There erupted a riot between the two communities again but they were reconciled. In 370 A.H., Bahauddaulah died and his son began to rule. Caliph Qadir Billah conferred on him the title Sultanuddaulah.

The Government of Sultanuddaulah

Sultanuddaulah who succeeded his father Bahauddaulah deputed his brother Abul Fawaris as the governor of Kerman. Many of the Dailamis advised Abul Fawaris to seize and capture his brother's territory. Upon their advice, he formed an army and invaded Shiraz.

After a fierce battle, Abul Fawaris was defeated. Sultanuddaulah followed him. Abul Fawaris returned to Kerman but he could not find refuge there as Sultanuddaulah pursued him. Abul Fawaris left Kerman and went to Sultan Mahmood Ghaznawi bin Subuktageen's court. Mahmood Ghaznawi consoled him. He gave him an army under the command of one of his commanders, Abu Sayeed Tai. Abul Fawaris with these reinforcements invaded Iran again. He was put to rout again. Having lost, he did not approach Sultan Mahmood Ghaznawi again because he had not treated Abu Sayeed Tai well. He went to the ruler of Batiha, Mohazzabuddaulah. He entered into correspondence with Sultanuddaulah and begged forgiveness and received a pardon and was assigned to Kerman again.

The Revolt of The Turks

The tribes of Turks who lived in Khata staged a revolt, they took over a mountain pass between China and Mawaraunnahr and began looting, plundering and killings in the territory ruled over by Tagha Khan, the ruler of Turkistan. Tagha Khan raised an army of 120,000 from the Islamic territories. They fought and the Turks escaped he began to pursue them. He left the jurisdiction of his territory, the chase lasted 3 months and in the ensuing battle Tagha Khan killed two hundred thousand Turks before returning to Turkistan. The Turks, more commonly known as Mongols, were severely punished. This occurred in 408 A.H.

Sultanuddaulah appointed his brother Musharrafuddaulah as the governor of Iraq. Musharrafuddaulah stopped mentioning Sultanuddaulah's name being in the Friday sermon in Iraq and introduced his own name. He deposed Sultanuddaulah in 411 A.H.

The Government of Sharafuddaulah

When all the Dailami chiefs in Iraq accorded recognition to Sharafuddaulah's government and leadership, Sultanuddaulah gave an army to his son Abu Kalijar. Abu Kalijar captured Ahwaz. After a few clashes it was decided in 412 A.H., that Sharafuddaulah should rule over Iraq while Iran should remain under Sultanuddaulah. In 414 A.H., Kufa had a riot between the Sunnis and the Shias. The news of the riot reached Baghdad and incited a riot there also. The Dailamis who were in power were all Shias. The caliph who was powerless was a Sunni. The population of Turks who lived in Baghdad and Samrah were all Sunnis and so they thought it obligatory to comply with the caliph's orders. Caliph Qadir Billah thought over the situation deeply and took bold steps in order to help the Sunnis and restrain the Shias. A good number of the Turks and other Sunnis of Baghdad supported caliph Qadir Billah and that was why he commanded some status and respect. Sharafuddaulah died in the fifth year of his rule in 416 A.H. His brother Abu Tahir Jalaluddaulah, the ruler of Basra, succeeded him.

The Government of Jalaluddaulah

After Sharafuddaulah's death, the Friday sermon was read in the name of Jalaluddaulah in Baghdad. Jalaluddaulah left Basra but instead of going to Baghdad, he went to Wasit. When this occurred, the people of Baghdad expunged his name from the Friday sermon and inserted his nephew's name Abu Kalijar bin Sultanuddaulah's instead. Abu Kalijar was at war with his uncle Abul Fawaris in Kerman. The people of Baghdad requested Abu Kalijar to come to Baghdad but he could not get there then Jalaluddaulah left Wasit and went to Baghdad. The Baghdad army stopped his entry into the city and chased him away. He went to Basra again. When this occurred, the people of Baghdad became worried that Abu Kalijar would not be able to come to the city. The Khorasanis, the Turks and the Dailamis held a council. They feared that after Jalaluddaulah's retreat there was a good possibility of some Kurd or Arab leader coming to power. If an Arab came to power, the Turks and the Dailamis would not be able to conquer Baghdad and the Arab's control over Basra, Syria, Hijaz, Yamamh, Bahrain and Mosul would be strengthened by more Arab support.

In view of this, letters were sent to Jalaluddaulah inviting him to come to Baghdad without delay. He therefore came to Baghdad and began to rule and his name was incorporated into the Friday sermon.

In 418 A.H., Jalaluddaulah passed orders for a drum to be beaten five times a day at the time of prayer. Caliph Qaidr Billah disapproved of it, as there was no precedent for it and insisted to withdraw the order. He did withdraw the order but was displeased with the Caliph. After sometime, the Caliph rescinded his objection and Jalaluddaulah re-issued the order to beat the drum at the time of prayer.

In 419 A.H., the Turks revolted against Jalaluddaulah but Qadir Billah intervened and arranged a compromise between them. Then Abu Kalijar attacked Iraq and Jalaluddaulah dispatched the army to face him and a chain of battles began. The two sides continued fighting until Qadir Billah died in 432 A.H. After his death his son Abu Jafar Abdullah with the title Qayem bi Amrillah was enthroned. Sheikh Taqiuddin Salah has included Qadir Billah among the legal scholars of the Shafi school of thought.

Qayem Bi Amrillah

Abu Jafar Abdullah Qayem Bi Amrillah bin Qadir Billah was born of an Armenian slave girl named Badrudduja on 15 Thul Qadah 391 A.H. He was a handsome, religions, pious and humble man. He was a literary figure, a calligrapher, generous, a giver of charity and helpful. Jalaluddaulah's administrative ability had suffered setbacks and that gave rise to the outbreak of rebellions in his army time after time. In 425 A.H., he settled in Mohalla Karkh and deputed Arsalan Turki known as Basasiri to the western part of Baghdad. Basasiri subjected the people of Baghdad to great harassment. He did not spare even the caliph. He treated him roughly and rendered him powerless and reduced him to the position of a prisoner.

Riots erupted between the Shias and the Sunnis. Since Basasiri was a supporter of the Shias, the Sunnis suffered great losses. The army revolted in 427 A.H. and encircled Jalauddaulah's house and looted it. Jalaluddaulah went to Takrait. Caliph Bi Amrillah intervened and succeeded in bringing the Turks of the army and

Jalaluddaulah back together. In 428 A.H., Jalaluddaulah and his nephew Abu Kalijar reconciled and pledged to live in peace and amity with each other.

In 429 A.H., Jalaluddaulah requested caliph Bi Amrillah to bestow on him the title Malikul Mulook (King of Kings). The caliph consulted the scholars and legal experts about its justification. Some justified it but others declared it unlawful (Editor's note: This title is mentioned in Hadith as the worst of names). Finally, after being pressured by Jalaluddaulah he gave him the requested title. In 431 A.H., Abu Kalijar invaded Basra, expelled its ruler and captured it. He handed it over to his son Izzul Molook and he went to Ahwaz. The same year Tughral Baig Saljuk defeated Sultan Masood bin Mahmood bin Subuktageen's commander and captured Nishapur. He imposed himself on Khorasan and came to be known as Sultan Al-Azam.

The same year witnessed the signing of a peace treaty between Tughral Baig and Jalaluddaulah and the caliph sent his special messenger Qadi Abul Hasan to Tughral Baig. In Shaban 435 A.H., Jalaluddaulah died and the people chose his son Abul Mansoor Malikul Aziz as his successor. But Malikul Aziz could not pay the troops according to their expectations and that disheartened them. Taking advantage of this Abu Kalijar sent money to the army chiefs in Baghdad and his name began to be read in the Friday sermon. In Safar 436 A.H., he entered Baghdad and the caliph conferred on him the title Mohiuddin. In 439 A.H., Abu Kalijar entitled Mohiuddin bin Sultanuddaulah bin Bahauddaulah bin Azduddaulah bin Ruknuddaulah bin Buwayh Dailamis was reconciled with Sultan Tugharl Baig by marrying his daughter to him.

Abu Kalijar's Government

After assuming the post of second in command Abu Kalijar, by virtue of his planning, expediency, cleverness and military offensives conquered Isfahan and Kerman. He ruled for 4 years and three months and died in 440 A.H. His son Abu Nasr Firoz who chose Malikur Rahim as his title succeeded him.

Malikur Rahim's Government

Malikur Rahim began his government in Baghdad and Iraq. Another brother of his Mansoor Khusroo captured Shiraz. The same year a great riot took place in Baghdad. The cause of the riot was the same old rivalry between the Shias and the Sunnis. Malikur Rahim invaded his brother Abu Mansoor Khusroo who had captured Shiraz. Several battles took place after which Malikur Rahim's other brother and some relatives revolted in Iraq. In 442 A.H., the Shias and the Sunnis clashed again in Baghdad leaving hundreds dead on both sides.

The same year Tughral Baig captured Isfahan and sent his brother Arsalan bin Dawood to Iran. He conquered Iran in 442 A.H. Caliph Qaim Bi-Amrillah sent the certificates of governorship of all those provinces, which he had brought under his control to Tughral Baig.

On the eve of Eid in 443 A.H., Sultan Tughral Baig went to Baghdad to pay his respects to the caliph. He was honored with royal robes and returned. In 445 A.H., Baghdad again witnessed a great riot between the Shias and the Sunnis. Several areas of Baghdad were burned alive. Caliph Bi-Amrillah controlled the riot with great difficulty. Malikur Rahim remained engaged in war with his brothers and nephews in Shiraz and Basra until 447 A.H.

During this period, Sultan Tughral Baig conquered Azerbaijan and Jazirah and declared holy war against the Romans. After capturing huge amounts of wealth from these expeditions, he completed the conquest of Khorasan and Iran and brought under his control Mosul and Syria. Then he went to Makkah to perform Hajj afterwards he concentrated on making the administration of Rayy and Khorasan more efficient. The worst kind of rulers had been having their sway in and around Baghdad. In 447 A.H., Tughral Baig sent a letter of obedience and homage to caliph Qaim Bi-Amrillah. The same period saw the return of Malikur Rahim from Basra to Baghdad. He advised the caliph to continue to live on good terms with Tughral Baig. The caliph ordered in Ramadan 447 A.H. that Sultan Tughral Baig's name be read in the Friday sermon. That pleased Sultan Tughral Baig and he sought the caliph's permission to appear before him. The caliph granted his request and the leaders of the Baghdad army sent letters

of their loyalty to the Sultan. On 25 Ramadan 447 A.H., a large reception was arranged for the Sultan in Baghdad.

Basasiri, who was a Shia and had conspired with the Obeidi governor of Egypt, planned a riot in Baghdad. Tughral Baig arrived in Baghdad and made careful administrative arrangements and broke the power of the Dailamis. In 448 A.H., Sultan Tughral Baig married his niece Khadijah known as Arsalan Khatoon bint Dawood to caliph Qaim Bi-Amrillah and in this way established a relationship with the caliph's family. In Shawwal 448 A.H., Sultan Tughral Baig's cousin Qatlimas clashed with Basasiri at Sanjar and defeated him.

Basasiri then captured the province of Mosul and had the name of the Egyptian ruler Mustansir Obeidi read in the Friday sermon. The ruler of the province of Jazirah also rebelled. Sultan Tughral invaded Mosul, conquered it and punished the rebels and returned to Baghdad in the beginning of 449 A.H. The caliph honored him very much. He held court and conferred on him the title of 'Malikul Mashriq-wal-Maghrib' and handed over to him the governments and administrations of all the territories and provinces.

During the intervening period, Basasiri and the ruler of Egypt Obeidi misguided Sultan Tughral Baig's brother Ibrahim and caused a rebellion in Hamadan. Sultan Tughral Baig left Baghdad to stamp out the rebellion there. Basasiri took advantage of his absence and captured Baghdad. He had Mustansir Obeidi's name read in the Friday sermon in the grand mosque of Baghdad on 8 Thul Qadah 450 A.H. The Shias of the city helped Basasiri in all possible ways. He used the altered Shia call to prayer in Baghdad according to their tradition. Tired of the oppression of loasasiri, the Sunnis revolted but lost and many were killed by the military. Basasiri caught the caliph's Prime Minister and executed him in Thul Hijjah 450 A.H. He sent the news to Mustansir Obeidi in Egypt and asked for reinforcements however, he did not get any help from Egypt.

Meanwhile Basasiri received news that Sultan Tughral Baig had been victorious over his brother Ibrahim. He arrested caliph Qaim Bi-Amrillah and his wife Arsalan Khatoon and put them under house arrest somewhere out side Baghdad and had the caliph's palace looted. Upon receiving this news, Tughral Baig returned to Baghdad.

Basasiri heard the news and after a year of ruling, left Baghdad on 6 Thul Qadah 451 A.H. Tughral entered Baghdad. He called the caliph, enthroned him and asked his forgiveness saying that it was due to his absence that he had suffered such tortures. Meanwhile Tughral Baig's brother Dawood died in Khorasan. Caliph Qaim Bi-Amrillah entered Baghdad on 25 Thul Qadah 451 A.H.

Summary of the Buwayhid Dynasty

An account of the descendents of Buwayh Dailami, the fishermen, has already been given in previous pages. It was they, who dominated over the caliphate and completely ruined it. They dominated and ruled over the administration of Baghdad and Iraq as a whole and Iran for over a century. They were Shias and so the suffering the Sunnis had to under go during this period were too horrible to describe. Surprisingly, the Alawis did not get any benefit during this regime. Though the Buyid's claimed to be loved from the Prophet's family, they never tried to strengthen any Alawi nor did they bring any Alawis into power. Some of them were scholars and a few madrasas started during their regime but they were all affected by the Zoroastrian culture. They ended the Abbasid government and tried to establish a government of their own community and family.

During their regime all traces of Arab leadership were erased, their most notorious achievement was that they kept the Shias and the Sunnis at war with each other and introduced some irreligious rites to the Muslim community, which still exist until today. The jurisdiction of their government did not extend beyond Iran and Iraq. They never were able to rule over Mawaraunnahr and Khorasan. Syria and Hijaz also remained free from their abominations. Their 100-125 year long rule is replete with anarchy, looting, feuds and riots. The Buyid dynasty was not auspicious for the Muslims. They worked hard to put an end to the respect, dignity and grandeur of the Islamic government and did not leave behind anything the Muslims can be proud of today. This dynasty saw its end in 447 A.H. and it was replaced by the Seljuq dynasty during the caliphate of Qaim Bi-Amrillah.

Beginning of the Seljuq Dynasty

The Seljuq dynasty will not be recorded in connection with the Abbasid caliphs as the Buyid dynasty has been recorded above. It will find space in a separate chapter. However, it is necessary at this point to show how the Seljuq dynasty began. The Sasanid and Ghaznavid dynasties will be covered later in the narrative.

The territory of the Turks extended from the Chinese border to Khwarzam, Shash, Farghana, Bukhara, Samarkand and Tirmiz. The Muslims defeated them and made them pay taxes. Some of their tribes remained in the hard to reach mountain passes near the Chinese border they lived free from paying loyalty to the Muslims and were unconnected to China and Turkistan. In 400 A.H., they began to come out of those passes and raid the territories of Mawaraunnahr, which had been under the occupation of Turk chiefs after the fall of the Samani dynasty.

Islam had spread in those areas. Their greatest chief Elak Khan ruled there. Their greed for looting and killing goaded these Turks, who were unconcerned with and strangers to Islam to invade Turkistan and Mawaraunnahr. By 418 A.H., these Turks left their mountain passes and there forces reached to Azerbaijan. The general chaos and weakness of the Islamic caliphate enabled them to reach these distant places and loot the populated areas.

In 418 A.H., a noble and respectable Turkish tribe, which had remained aloof of these events, concentrated in Turkistan. These tribesmen camped on a main route in a pasture at a distance of 20 miles from Bukhara. The chief of that tribe was known as Seljuq. This tribe was more cultured and noble hearted than the other Turk predecessors. They were nomadic and their herds were with them. Their numbers were staggering. They were physically very strong and brave. Mahmood Ghaznawi's governor of Tus informed him of the arrival of the new tribe and told him that their presence near Bukhara was a danger. Sultan Mahmood Ghaznawi went to Bukhara and sent a message to these Turks to send their representative to his court. Arsalan bin Seljuq or Israil bin Seljuq came to the court of Mahmood representing his tribe.

Mahmood Ghaznawi took him hostage in breach of his promise and sent him as prisoner to the Indian fort of Kalinjer. Mahmood Ghaznawi died after two or three years and Arsalan's tribe found it easier to capture the plains of Khorasan than Turkistan and they settled throughout Khorasan. The rebel tribes that had been engaged in killing and plundering joined them. Mahmood Ghaznawi's son Mas'ud Ghaznawi tried to intercept and stop them and waged several wars with them. But ultimately they expelled the Ghaznawis from Khorasan and captured it. Mahmood Ghaznawi's descendents began to grow weaker and weaker. They made peace with the Seljuqs and left Khorasan to .them. Buwayh's, descendents were engaged in civil wars and had no power to face the Seljuqs and the Seljuqs made major advances. As the Abbasid caliph was in Baghdad so the Seljuqs held him in no special esteem.

The Seljuq tribe had embraced Islam on the plains of Bukhara prior to their series of conquests. They were unconnected to the Shias because the Muslims in Mawaraunnahr and Bukhara were Sunnis, which the Seljuqs had adopted. Those who were sick of the Buyid's oppression regarded the Seljuqs as saviors. The chief of the Seljuqs, Tughral Baig, first conquered Khorasan, Azerbaijan and Jazirah. His power increased and then, as mentioned earlier, went to Baghdad. He dislodged the Dailamis from power and was given the title Deputy of the Ruler. His descendents ruled for a long period and his successor Alp Arsalan Seljuqi founded a powerful government that extended from the Danube River to the Sindh River in present day Pakistan. We will now relate the remaining events of caliph Qaim Bi-Amrillah's life.

In 415 A.H., Sultan Tughral Baig's brother Chughri Baig Dawood the ruler of Khorasan, made a treaty with the Ghaznawi Sultan. The same year Abul Fadl Behaqi, Sultan Masood Ghaznawi's religious advisor, wrote his book of history during sultan Ibrahim Ghaznawi's regime. After Chughri Baig Dawood's death sultan Tughral Baig married his brother wife, Sulaiman's mother. The same year he attacked, captured and killed Basasiri while he was in the process of killing and plundering in Kufa. He cut off his head and sent it to Baghdad where it was hung on the gate of caliph's castle.

In Muharram 452 A.H., Sultan Tughral Baig became free from the

administration of Baghdad and went to Wasit from there he then went to the province of Jabal and Azerbaijan. On 15 Rabia Awwal 453 A.H., Abul Fatah bin Ahmad left Ahwaz and went to Baghdad and the caliph made him his minister. Shortly after that, Abu Nasr bin Jahir bin Marwan was given the title "Fakhruddaulah" and made minister. Abul Fatah was dismissed and returned to Ahwaz.

After his wife's death in 453 A.H., Sultan Tughral Baig sent a message to the caliph through Abu Sad, the Judge of Rayy that he would like to marry his daughter Sayydah. The caliph refused them. Tughral Baig sent his minister Ameedul Malik Kundri. Ameedul Malik stayed in Baghdad until Jumad Thani 454 A.H. and tried to convince the caliph to agree to the proposal but in vain and he returned to Tughral Baig. Tughral Baig then sent threatening letters to the Chief Justice of Baghdad and Sheikh, Abu Mansoor bin Yusuf. They went to the caliph's court and pleaded with him to give his daughter in marriage to him. When the caliph saw that the affair might become prolonged, he decided it was better to agree to the wedding. Besides, his wife Arsalan Khatoon who was Tughral Baig's niece also pleaded the case with him. He appointed Tughral Baig's minister Ameedul Malik to assume the legal responsibility for Princess Sayydah's marriage and to sign the marriage contract on his behalf. In Shaban 454 A.H., the marriage contract of the caliph's daughter to Tughral Baig was signed at the camp of Tabrez.

After the marriage contract was signed, Tughral Baig sent valuables, gold and jewels as gifts to the caliph and his daughter and transferred all the property of his deceased wife to Sayydah, the daughter of the caliph Qaim Bi-Amrillah. Then in Muharram 455 A.H., he left Armenia for Baghdad and the Princess's wedding feast was held. He remained in Baghdad until Rabia Awwal and then left along with his wife Sayydah Khatoon for the province of Jabal. When he reached Rayy, he fell ill and died on 8 Ramadan 455 A.H.

Tughral Baig had no children. Sulaiman bin Dawood Chughri Baig was Tughral's nephew and stepson. Ameedul Malik enthroned him but the people opposed him and read the name of Sulaiman's brother Alp Arsalan bin Dawood Chughri Baig in the Friday sermon. He was the ruler of Khorasan and lived in Merv. Hearing of the enthronement

of his brother, Alp Arsalan left Merv and invaded Rayy. Ameedul Malik presented himself to him as his loyal subject and took the oath for him. But Alp Arsalan remained doubtful about him and in 456 A.H. he imprisoned Ameedul Malik and made his own minister, Nizamul Mulk Toosi, the Prime Minister. Having entered Rayy, Alp Arsalan returned the caliph's daughter Sayydah to Baghdad with great honor. The Friday sermon in Baghdad was read in the name of Sultan Alp Arsalan.

Nizamul Mulk Toosi, on behalf of Sultan Alp Arsalan, visited Baghdad on 7 Jumad Awwal 456 A.H. to take the oath of allegiance for the caliph. The caliph held an open court and conferred on Sultan Alp Arsalan the title of 'Al-waladul Mu'ayyad'. In 460 A.H., the caliph dismissed Fakhruddaulah bin Jahir from the ministry but restored it to him in Safar 461 A.H. In 462 A.H., the ruler of Makkah, Muhammad bin Abi Hashim expunged the Obeidi ruler's name from the Friday sermon and put caliph Qaim bi-Amrillah and Sultan Alp Arsalan's names in it and deleted the Shiite addition to the call to prayer, and sent his son with a delegation to Sultan Arsalan. The Sultan was highly pleased and gave him royal robes, 30 thousand dinars as a reward and fixed 10 thousand dinars per annum as his salary.

In 462 A.H, the Roman emperor Armanoos invaded the Province of Khalat with an army of 200,000. The emperor was accompanied and joined by the Kings of France and Russia. Sultan Alp Arsalan defeated them with only 15 thousand men. He caught the Russian King and chopped off his ears and nose. He arrested Armanoos and released him after taking a commitment of allegiance and loyalty from him. After dealing this crushing defeat to the large Roman army, the Sultan went to Mawaraunnahr in 465 A.H. A bridge over the Jejune River was built and within 20 days, the royal army was able to cross the river. The commander in charge of an opposing fort named Yusuf Khwarzmi was ushered into the caliph's court for sentencing. The sultan said: "Release him. I shall shoot him with my arrow." By chance, the arrow missed the target. Yusuf ran to the Sultan and wounded him with his dagger. Those present at the court killed Yusuf but the Sultan succumbed to the injury on 10 Rabia Awwal 465 A.H. His dead body was brought to Merv and buried there. His son Malik

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Shah succeeded him. Caliph Qaim Bi-Amrillah sent all the official agreements and treaties and other official documents to Malik Shah. On 15 Shaban 467 A.H., the caliph had his doctor let blood and then he went to sleep. Unfortunately, the punctured vein opened and bled profusely. The members of the government were called in and they took the oath for the dying caliph's grandson Abul Qasim Abdullah bin Zakhiratuddin Muhammad bin Qaim Bi-Amrillah. The caliph died the next day. He had only one son whose name was Zakhiratuddin Muhammad. He had died during this father's lifetime. Six months after his death his son Abul Qasim Abdullah was born. Abul Qasim came to the throne and adopted the title of 'Muqtadi Bi-Amrillah'. Caliph Qaim Bi-Amrillah had sat on the throne for 45 years.

Muqtadi Bi Amrillah

Abul Qasim Abdullah Muqtadi Bi Amrillah bin Muhammad bin Qaim Bi Amrillah was born to a slave-girl named Arghawan. He was enthroned at the age of 19 years and 3 months. As soon as he assumed the throne, he issued orders for playing, singing and using musical instruments to be immediately banned. During his regime the respect and power of the caliphate was elevated. He was very pious, religious minded and courageous. He came into power in Shaban 467 A.H. A chief of Sultan Malik Shah, Atsaz bin Auf Khwarzmi conquered Damascus in Thul Qadah 468 A.H. and had the names of caliph Muqtadi and Sultan Malik Shah read in the Friday sermon. The words the Shiites had added to the call to the prayer were removed. By degrees, he occupied the whole of Syria. In 469 A.H., a riot erupted between religious sects leaving many dead and injured on both sides. In 470 A.H., Malik Shah gave Syria to his brother Tajuddaulah Tatash as a feudal estate and permitted him to capture as much territory from the Egyptian ruler as possible.

In 471 A.H., Tajuddaulah Tatash besieged Aleppo (Halab) meanwhile the Egyptian army encircled Damascus. Atsaz was besieged and asked Tatash for help. He lifted the siege of Aleppo and went to Damascus. The Egyptians escaped at the approach of Tatash. Tajuddaulah Tatash killed Atsaz for his negligence. In 476 A.H., caliph Moqtadi dismissed Amiduddaulah bin Fakhruddaulah bin Jahir from

the ministry and appointed Abu Shuja Muhammad bin Hasan to this post. Malik Shah called Amiduddaulah .to him and gave him the governorship of the Provinces of Bakr.

In Shaban 477 A.H., Sulaiman bin Qatalmash Saljuqi, the ruler of Konya, snatched Antakiah from the Romans. Antakiah had been under the possession of the Roman since 358 A.H. In 479 A.H., Yusuf bin Tashfeen, the ruler of Morocco, requested caliph Muqtadi to give him the certificate of the governorship of all the territories under him and to confer on him the title of Sultan. The caliph obliged him and sent him royal robes and the flag and gave him the title of Amirul Muslimeen. This was the same Yusuf bin Tashfeen who founded the city of Marrakech. In Thul Hijjah 479 A.H., Sultan Malik Shah entered Baghdad for the first time. He went to the caliph and received a royal robe and the next day he played polo with the caliph.

Minister Nizamul Mulk inspected the schools he established. Having lived in Baghdad for a number of months Sultan Malik Shah left for Isfahan. In 481 A.H., Ibrahim bin Masood bin Mahmood bin Subuktageen died and was succeeded by Jalaluddin Masood. In 484 A.H., the Normans captured the island of Sicily. The island was first conquered by the Muslims in 200 A.H. and ruled over by Banu Aghlab followed by the Obeidis. Sicily was taken from the Obeidis (Fatimids) by the Normans. The same year in Ramadan 484 A.H. Sultan Malik Shah arrived in Baghdad again.

In 485 A.H., a QaraMoti killed minister Nizamul Mulk Toosi at the age of 73 in Nihawand.

On 15 Shawwal, of the same year, Malik Shah died and a battle between his wife Turkan Khatoon and his son Barkiaraq began. In 486 A.H., Barkiaraq became free from the battles and visited Baghdad. Caliph Muqtadi gave him the title of 'Ruknuddaulah' and honored him with royal robes of honor and authority. It is said that Malik Shah's death was caused by Caliph Muqtadi's curse. Malik Shah had told the caliph to leave Baghdad and go to any place of his choice so that he could turn Baghdad into his own capital exclusively. The caliph was given 8 days time and began cursing Malik Shah. By the 8th day, Malik Shah died and the caliph escaped the ordeal.

Suddenly caliph Muqtadi died on 5 Muharram 487 A.H. It is said that an adviser of his named Shamsunnahar poisoned him. After his death, his son Abul Abbas Ahmad came to the throne and took the title of 'Mustazhir Billah'.

Mustazhar Billah

Abul Abbas Ahmed Mustazhir Billah bin Muqtadi Billah was born in Shawwal 470 A.H. and succeeded to the throne following his father's death. Barkiaraq was present in Baghdad at the time. He willingly took the oath for him.

On the third day after caliph Muqtadi's death a meeting was held to mourn his death and Sultan Barkiaraq along with his minister Izzul Mulk bin Nizamul Mulk and his brother Bahaul Mulk paid a visit to the caliph's court. Other members of the government also visited for the same purpose. In 487 A.H., Mustansir Obeidi, the ruler of Egypt, died and his son Mustali came to the throne. In 488 A.H., the ruler of Samarqand, Ahmad Khan, was arrested and killed for his irreligious activities. His cousin succeeded him.

The same year both Tatash and Barkiaraq clashed and Barkiaraq killed Tatash. This stabilized Barkiaraq's government. His brother Muhammad grew more powerful. Barkiaraq fought with him at Rayy in 492 A.H. but lost and went to Khuzistan. Muhammad bin Malik Shah entered Baghdad and received the title of 'Gheyathuddunayawaddin' from caliph Mustazhir Billah on 15 Thul Hijjah 492 A.H. Then he left for Khorasan. Barkiaraq left Khuzistan and went to Wasit and collected an army and entered Baghdad on 15 Safar 493 A.H. The caliph congratulated him, gave him a royal robe and his name began to be read in the Friday sermon. He then attacked Muhammad bin Malik Shah. They fought at Hamadan near the White River, which resulted in the defeat of Barkiaraq. Then Sultan Muhammad's name was read again in the Friday sermon in Baghdad on 15 Rajab 493 A.H. Following his defeat Barkiaraq stayed at Rayy. He left for Isfahan and then moved to Khuzistan. He collected an army from there and again clashed with Muhammad on 1 Jumad Thani 494 A.H. After defeating him, he went to Rayy. Muhammad went to his brother Sanjar at Jurjan. Barkiaraq arrived in Baghdad on 15 Thul Qadah 494 A.H. His

name was read in the Friday sermon.

In short, Sultan Barkiaraq and his brother Sultan Muhammad fought a series of battles. Sometimes one ruled over Baghdad and sometimes the other. Sometimes they reconciled and then they would clash again. The incessant battles resulted in the loss of peace in Iraq, Iran, and Jazirah. People found it difficult to protect their lives and honor. In Jumadi Awwal 497 A.H., a treaty of peace was drafted by the joint efforts of the chiefs of the armies and the territories were divided between them. Besides, both of them agreed that the names of both should be read in the Friday sermons of their respective countries. According to that agreement, the government of Baghdad remained under Sultan Barkiaraq. After that, he stayed in Isfahan for a few days. He fell ill and died in Rabia Thani 494 A.H. at Yazdjurd while on the way to Baghdad. At the time of his death, he declared his son Malik Shah bin Barkiaraq to be his heir-apparent and Amir Ayaz his tutor.

Malik Shah was only 5 at the time. Barkiaraq was buried in Isfahan. Amir Ayaz along with Malik Shah entered Baghdad on 15 Rabia Thani 498 A.H. The caliph conferred on Malik Shah all the titles, which belonged to his grandfather Malik Shah bin Alp Arsalan and his name was read in the Friday sermon there. After that, Sultan Muhammad captured Mosul and marched to Baghdad. He entered the city in 501 A.H., killed Amir Ayaz and had his own name read in the Friday sermon. In 502 A.H., he had a palace constructed in Baghdad for himself. His government was fully established and stabilized in his ancestral territories and uprisings and riots became things of the past. In Shaban, he fell ill. The illness prolonged and ultimately he died in 511 A.H. His son Sultan Mahmood succeeded him to the throne.

The caliph accorded approval to his succession and gave him a royal robe and his name was read in the Friday sermon in all the mosques, this took place on 15 Muharram 512 A.H. Caliph Mustazhir Billah died on 15 Rabia Thani 512 A.H. after 24 years and 3 months of his caliphate. After his death, his son Abu Mansoor Fadal came to the throne and chose the title 'Mustarshid Billah' for himself.

Mustarshid Billah

Mustarshid Billah bin Mustazhir Billah was born in Rabia Awwal 485 A.H. and came to the throne in 512 A.H. at the age of 27. Caliph Mustarshid's brother Amir Abul Hasan bin Mustazhir did not take the oath for him and left Baghdad to Wasit. He was captured after a year and the caliph excused him and allowed him to stay at the palace. In the second month after the succession Masood bin Sultan Muhammad Seljuqi, Sultan Mahmood's brother living in Mosul, revolted and also called Qasimuddaulah Zangi bin Aqsanfar, the ruler of Sanjar and Abul Hija, the ruler of Ardbil to his aid and set up in Iraq. Sultan Tughral bin Sultan Muhammad was the ruler of Zanjan since his father's regime. Sultan Mahmood attacked Tughral. Tughral fled from Zanjan and Sultan Mahmood looted it.

When Sultan Muhammad died and Sultan Mahmood came to the throne, Mahmood's uncle Sanjar was the ruler of Mawaraunnahr. Previously Sultan Sanjar's title was Nasiruddin. After Sultan Muhammad's death, Sultan Sanjar attacked Sultan Mahmood and the uncle and the nephew faced off at Sadah in Jumad Awwal 513 A.H. Sultan Sanjar was also accompanied by Amir Abul Fadal, the ruler of Sajistan, Khwarzim Shah Muhammad, the Amir of Anzdar, and Alauddaulah, the ruler of Yazd. The clash resulted in the defeat of Sultan Mahmood and the victory of Sultan Sanjar, who captured Hamadan. When the news reached Baghdad, the Friday sermon was read in the name of Sultan Sanjar.

Following his defeat Sultan Mahmood took refuge in Isfahan. Finally, Sultan Sanjar's mother who was Sultan Mahmood's grandmother intervened and compelled them to compromise on the condition that Sultan Sanjar should consider Sultan Mahmood to be his heir-apparent and that Mahmood's name should follow Sanjar's in the Friday sermon. In keeping with the agreement, Sultan Sanjar sent declarations that Sultan Mahmood was heir to Mawaraunnahr, Ghaznah, and Khorasan. Sultan Sanjar took only Rayy from the control of Sultan Mahmood and he recognized him as the ruler of the other territories mentioned. On the other hand, Sultan Mahmood compromised with his brother Sultan Masood and gave him the

governorship of Mosul and Azerbaijan provinces. He made Mosul his capital.

In 514 A.H. Sultan Masood revolted against Sultan Mahmood and they clashed on 15 Rabia Awwal 514 A.H. Masood lost and took refuge in the mountains near Mosul. The noblemen of the area mediated and both the brothers compromised. Sultan Mahmood returned to Baghdad in Rajab 514 A.H. and Sultan Masood began to rule over Mosul again. In 515 A.H. Sultan Mahmood gave the rule of Mosul to Aqsanfar Barsaqi and left the province of Azerbaijan with Masood. Sultan Tughral has already been mentioned. He had gone to Ganjah after losing to Sultan Mahmood. In 516 A.H., a treaty of peace was drafted and agreed to by both Sultan Mahmood and Sultan Tughral. After that, Sultan Mahmood gave the territory of Wasit and Mosul as a feudal estate to Aqsanfar Barsaqi. Aqsanfar Barsaqi deputed Qasimuddaulah Emaduddin Zanqi bin Aqsanfar to govern Wasit on his behalf. In 517 A.H., Sultan Mahmood killed his minister Shamsul Malik while caliph Mustarshid sacked Shamsul Malik's brother Nizamddaulah from his ministry. In Thul Hijjah 517 A.H., caliph Mutarshid formed an army and left for Baghdad to punish Dibas bin Sadqah. The armies of Mosul and Wasit also joined the caliph. The fight took place at Mubarkah. Emaduddin Zanqi bin Aqsanfar, the ruler of Wasit, showed exemplar bravery leading to victory for the caliph. The caliph entered Baghdad victoriously on 10 Muharram 518 A.H. That was the first battle after many years that was waged under the command of an Abbasid caliph. Then the news came that Dibas bin Sadqah wanted to loot Basra. Emaduddin Zangi left to defend it and Dibas returned without success to Tughral bin Sultan Muhammad. The same year Aqsanbar was appointed defender of Iraq and had to defend Mosul from Roman attacks. He called Emaduddin Zangi from Basra to Mosul. He left Basra but did not go to Mosul. He went to Sultan Mahmood who was in Isfahan. Sultan Mahmood gave him the certificate of governorship of Basra and he returned there. When Dibas bin Sadqah went to Sultan Tughral, he included him among his companions.

Dibas instigated Tughral to invade Iraq. In 519 A.H., Tughral with Dibas camped at Waquqa. Upon receiving the news caliph Mustarshid left for Baghdad on 5 Safar 519 A.H. in order to face him. They fought

at Nahrwan. Both Dibas and Tughral went to Sultan Sanjar in Khorasan. In Rajab 520 A.H., Yartaqash Zakwi, the city Magistrate of Baghdad went to Sultan Mahmood in Isfahan and said, "Caliph Mustarshid has collected an army and a huge amount of arms and equipment. His financial condition is very sound and there is a danger that he might get out of our control." Sultan Mahmood prepared his army and marched to Baghdad. When caliph Mustarshid heard that Sultan Mahmood was coming to Baghdad he wrote to him. 'You need not come here. You should return to punish and discipline the headstrong like Dibas". This convinced Sultan Mahmood that the caliph really wanted to be free of his subjugation and he began to move towards Baghdad faster. On 17 Thul Hijjah, he entered it and the caliph went to western part of Baghdad. On 1 Muharram 521 A.H., Sultan Mahmood's men looted the caliph's palace. 30 thousand inhabitants of Baghdad gathered round caliph Mustarshid to support him. A chain of battles began along the bank of the river Tigris. After many battles and trials of strength both compromised. In Rabia Thani 521 A.H. Sultan Mahmood left Baghdad for Hamadan. He called Emadudin Zangi from Basra to protect Baghdad. It has been mentioned above that both Dibas and Tughral had reached Sanjar in Khorasan. They convinced Sanjar to be against Caliph Mustarshid and Sultan Mahmood and Sanjar with his army marched to Rayy. After arriving there, he called Sultan Mahmood to him from Hamadan.

The plan was that if Sultan Mahmood was not an opponent he would come, otherwise he would refuse. He went to his uncle Sanjar without any hesitation. Sanjar treated him honorably and recommended Dibas to accompany Mahmood. Mahmood went to Hamadan with Dibas and entered Baghdad on 9 Muharram 522 A.H. He took Dibas to the caliph's court and recommended him to the Caliph. The caliph excused him. Sultan Mahmood deputed Bahroz to ensure the safety of Baghdad and sent Emaduddin Zangi to govern Mosul.

In Jumad Thani 523 A.H., Sultan Mahmood left Baghdad and went to Hamadan. Dibas left Baghdad, captured Hilla and rebelled against the caliph. The caliph sent an army to attack him. The fight was in progress when Sultan Mahmood heard of Dibas' revolt and reached Baghdad in Thul Qadah 523 A.H. Dibas left Hilla for Basra. He looted

Basra and hid in the mountains. Sultan Mahmood went back to Hamadan. In Shawwal 525 A.H., Sultan Mahmood passed away. His son Dawood succeeded him. His name was read in the Friday sermon in the provinces of Jabal and Azerbaijan.

In Thul Qadah 525 A.H., Dawood marched from Hamadan to Zanjan. Meanwhile he heard that Sultan Masood came from Jurjan and captured Tabrez. Dawood at once rushed to Tabrez and besieged it in Muharram 526 A.H. A series of battles started between the uncle and the nephew. Finally, they were reconciled. Dawood left Tabrez and went to Hamadan. Masood came out of Tabrez and began to collect an army and when a great army was raised, he sent word to caliph Mustarshid in Baghdad that his name should be read in the Friday sermon. The caliph replied that at the time Sultan Sanjar's name was being read in the Friday sermon and that his and Dawood's names would not be read for the time being. In the meantime, Seljuq Shah bin Sultan Muhammad raised an army and camped near Baghdad. The caliph treated him respectfully. On the other side, Sultan Masood won the sympathy of Emaduddin Zangi the ruler of Mosul, and requested him to help him. Emaduddin Zangi called on Sultan Masood. Then both went to Baghdad and camped at Abbasia. Seljuq Shah made preparations for the battle and sent Qarajasaqi to face them and after a fierce battle, Zangi's army lost. Emaduddin went to Takrait where Najmuddin Ayyub (Sultan Salahuddin's father) was the ruler. He provided boats for Emaduddin and had bridges constructed across the river. Zangi crossed the river and went to Mosul. Sultan Masood persuaded Seljuq Shah and the caliph through correspondence to agree to the proposal that Iraq should remain under the control of Sultan Masood and Seljuq Shah's name should be read in the sermons of all countries other than Iraq. In keeping with the agreement, Sultan Masood entered Baghdad in Jumad-Thani 526 A.H. and drafted and signed the peace treaty. Mention has been made above that Sultan Tughral was with his uncle and Dibas who had hid in the mountains and then went to Sanjar. Being acquainted with the situation, Sultan Sanjar along with Tughral and Dibas went to Rayy and then to Hamadan. On the other side, Masood Shah and Seljuq Shah along with Qarajasaqi left Baghdad to stop Sanjar. Sanjar advanced beyond untrabad and faced Masood and Seljuq Shah while Dibas marched on

to invade Baghdad. Sanjar defeated Masood and Seljuq and the caliph left Baghdad and faced Dibas and forced him to retreat. Sultan Sanjar forgave Masood and Saljuq and treated them with honor. He made his nephew Tughral the ruler of Iraq and ordered his name to be read in the Friday sermon. In the meantime, in Thul Hijjah 527 A.H., news came that the ruler of Mawaraunnahr had made preparations to revolt. Sanjar left for Khorasan at once. At that time Sultan Dawood bin Mahmood was in Azerbaijan. He raised an army and moved towards Hamadan. Opposing him on the other side was Tughral. Dawood lost and went to Baghdad. Sultan Masood parted company with Sultan Sanjar and went to Baghdad. Both Dawood and Masood jointly requested the caliph to allow them to capture Azerbaijan. It was duly granted and both expelled Tughral's men from there and captured it. Tughral fought but lost and fled. Sultan Masood occupied Hamadan and Sultan Dawood took control of Azerbaijan. Sultan Masood was informed in Hamadan that Sultan Dawood had announced his independence in Azerbaijan so he marched on him. Tughral found an opportunity and collected an army and began to conquer the province of Jabal. Sultan Masood came to confront him but he was defeated in Ramadan 528 A.H. and went to Baghdad while Tughral went to settle in Hamadan. In detail, the stories of the civil wars among the Seljuqs in very lengthy and characterless. Sultan Tughral died and Sultan Masood conquered Iraq. Then there arose differences between caliph Mustarshid and Sultan Masood. The caliph came out to fight and both the armies indulged in fighting and killing. The caliph's army betrayed him and deserted. He was defeated and imprisoned in a fort in Hamadan. When the news reached Baghdad, there was sadness everywhere. During the same period, Iraq and Iran underwent a series of earth tremors for several days. Sultan Sanjar wrote to his nephew Sultan Masood to go to the caliph in person and ask for his forgiveness. The earthquakes and the desertion of the mosque by the people are not ordinary events. Take the Amir al-Muminin to the capital Baghdad with honor. Sultan Masood obeyed and personally went to the caliph. The army that accompanied Sultan Masood included 17 persons belonging to Qaramata or Batini sect. Sultan Masood was unaware of their presence. These Batinis went to the caliph's tent and attacked and killed him. When the people found

out about his death, they arrested the Batinis and ultimately killed them, Sultan Masood was completely shocked. This happened on Wednesday 16 Thul Qadah 529 A.H. When the news reached Baghdad, there was a furor and the people burst out into spontaneous lamentations. Caliph Mustarshid's son Abu Jafar Mansoor took the throne and chose the title 'Rashid Billah' for himself.

Rashid Billah

Rashid Billah bin Mustarshid Billah was born to a slave girl in 500 A.H. When he was born, he had no anus. Surgeons operated upon him using a silver scalpel and he recovered. When Rashid Billah came to the throne in Baghdad, Sultan Masood was not present. Rashid Billah's name was read in the Friday sermon in all the mosques.

After his accession, Rashid Billah used tyrannical methods in collecting money from the people. They complained to Sultan Masood against him. Sultan Masood left for Baghdad. Having heard about his departure to Baghdad Rashid Billah went to Mosul. Sultan Masood entered the city and prepared a book of evidence in which the complaints of the people were recorded, that Rashid oppressed such and such persons, took money by force, shed blood, drank wine, etc. That document was presented to the Chief Justice of the legal scholars for his opinion, whether it was compelling enough to depose the caliph who committed such acts.

The Judge gave the decision that the crimes were serious enough to warrant the caliph being deposed. Therefore Sultan Masood enthroned Rashid Billah's uncle Muhammad bin Mustazhir and took the oath for his caliphate and announced Rashid's deposition. This took place on 16 Thul Qadah. He had ruled for one year. Muhammad bin Mustazhir came to the throne and chose the title Muqtafi Li-Amrillah for himself.

When Rashid was informed of his deposition, he left Mosul and went to Azerbaijan and distributed money among his soldiers. He ruined Azerbaijan by looting it. Then he went to Hamdan where he created havoc and violence on an unprecedented scale. He hanged the people, killed them, had the scholar's beards shaved. Then he went to Isfahan

and besieged it. In the meantime, he fell ill and on 16 Ramadan 532 A.H. a few non-Arabs came and stabbed him to death. When the news reached Baghdad, the official offices were closed for the day to mourn his death. The royal staff and other items signifying the caliph's authority were with him at the time of his death they were then sent to Muqtafi in Baghdad.

Muqtafi Li Amrillah

Abu Abdullah Muhammad Muqtafi Li Amrillah bin Mustazhir Billah was born to a black slave-girl on 12 Rabia Awwal 479 A.H. and came to the throne of the caliphate on 12 Thul Hijjah 530 A.H. After that, Sultan Masood sent an army to punish Sultan Dawood. Dawood was defeated at Moraghah. He reached Khozistan, raised an army and encircled Tashtar.

Saljuq Shah the ruler of Wasit, left to defend Tashtar at the insistence of Sultan Masood but returned after being defeated by Dawood. Sultan Masood did not leave Baghdad because he felt Rashid might invade Baghdad. Masood wrote to Emaduddin Zangi the ruler of Mosul, that Muqtafi's name should be read in the Friday sermon. When Emaduddin did so and expunged Rashid's name from it, the latter grew angry and left Mosul in Rajab 531 A.H. as has already been recorded. A few leaders of Iran decided to go to Rashid to help him and Masood left Baghdad to face them, he defeated them in Shaban 532 A.H. Then he went to Azerbaijan. On the other side Dawood, Khwarzam Shah and Rashid jointly went to Iraq. Sultan Masood defeated them. Khwarzam Shah and Dawood separated from Rashid. Rashid besieged Isfahan and at this time some Khorasani slaves assassinated him. Rashid was buried at Shahristan in Isfahan. Seljuq Shah left Wasit and captured Baghdad, which caused total anarchy. The people of Baghdad defeated Seljuq Shah and expelled him from Baghdad.

There was lawlessness and disorder in the whole country so much that the cover of the Ka'bah could not be sent in 532 A.H. because the roads were unsafe. Sultan Masood arrived in Baghdad in 533 A.H. and exempted the citizens from paying many kinds of taxes, which they had been paying for a long time. A few years passed in these

pitiful conditions. Besides members of his Seljuqi dynasty, other leaders began to assert their independence.

Sultan Masood overpowered and killed the chiefs whom he suspected. Many leaders were killed or assassinated deceitfully and consequently his forces became very weak. He went and settled in the province of Jabal and left Baghdad and Iraq in a state of restless disorder. Caliph Muqtafi did not hesitate in taking advantage of the situation, he began to enhance his power and influence. The caliph's power was increasing and Sultan Masood and Sultan Sanjar were losing their power gradually. Sultan Sanjar wrote a letter of condemnation to Masood pointing out the harm of killing the leaders and leaving Baghdad. Ultimately, Sultan Sanjar himself visited Rayy in 544 A.H. Sultan Masood also called on him there. In Rajab 544 A.H., Malik Shah bin Sultan Mahmood along with a few leaders invaded Baghdad. Caliph Muqtafi remained inside the fort and fought defensively he called Sultan Masood who was in Rayy for help but he did not come. Though Malik Shah was not able to enter Baghdad, he looted Nahrwan and destroyed it. Masood visited Baghdad on 15 Shawwal 544 A.H. and then went to Hamadan in 545 A.H. Sultan Masood died on 1 Rajab 547 A.H. Masood's minister Khas Baig enthroned Malik Shah bin Sultan Mahmood. However, following Sultan Masood's death the government of the Seljuq dynasty ended in Baghdad and none from it survived to retain the status of ruler of the realm. Sultan Masood is known as the last ruler of the Seljuq dynasty. Immediately after assuming power, Sultan Malik Shah sent a commander to occupy Hillah who captured it. The city magistrate of Baghdad named Masood Jalal went to Hillah, killed Malik Shah's chief and began to rule independently. Caliph Muqtafi himself led the army and invaded Hillah and after capturing it took the oath of allegiance from the inhabitants. Then he invaded Wasit and captured it and returned to Baghdad on 10 Thul Qadah 547 A.H. In 549 A.H., the caliph sent his minister's son and the Amir of Tarshak to conquer Takrait. The Amir of Tarshak and the minister's son had a falling out and the Amir had the minister's son arrested by the inhabitants of Takrait and he returned to Tarshak via Khorasan. In 549 A.H., the caliph himself invaded Takrait and captured the city but failed to capture the fort. He returned to Baghdad, gave his

minister catapults with the capability of breaking up the fort and sent him to conquer Takrait. He went and besieged it meanwhile Arsalan bin Tughral bin Sultan Muhammad took an army and attacked the minister. Hearing this news, caliph Muqtafi left Baghdad to do battle with him. The armies clashed at Aqr Babul and after 18 days of fighting most of the caliph's soldiers had deserted. However, the caliph kept fighting on with his remaining men and was victorious. Arasalan bin Tughral and his chiefs fled from the battlefield. The caliph returned to Baghdad on 1 Sahban 549 A.H. In 550 A.H., he invaded Waquqa but after few days of siege, he returned to Baghdad.

It has been stated above that in 490 A.H., Sultan Barkiaraq had handed over the government of Khuzistan to Sultan Sanjar. When Sultan Muhammad and Sultan Barkiaraq fell out and fought, Sultan Muhammad made his own brother Sanjar the ruler of Khorasan. Since then Khorasan had been under his control and Sultan Muhammad's son regarded him as Sultan Al-Araq. In 536 A.H., a group of Kyrgyz Turks snatched the territory of Mawaraunnahr from the Khans of Turkistan. Sultan Sanjar tried to expel the group from Mawaraunnahr but unsuccessfully and many veteran soldiers lost their lives. Due to Sultan Sanjar's growing weakness, his subordinate rulers became ambitious. Khwarizm Shah declared his independence. The Turks who lived in Mawaraunnahr, known as Oguz Turks, came to Khorasan, looted it and spread anarchy.

These Turks and Sultan Sanjar clashed in 548 A.H. resulting in Sanjar's defeat and capture. The new victors kept him with them and began to loot the cities of Khorasan and also defeated the Kyrgyz Turks who had taken Mawaraunnahr. The Oguz Turks kept Sultan Sanjar as their captive and fixed his salary equivalent to that of a groom. However, interestingly they still read his name in the Friday sermon all over Khorasan. In 551 A.H., Sultan Sanjar escaped from the prison but died shortly after in 552 A.H. After his death, Khawarizm Shah and his descendents captured all of Khorasan and also brought under their control the provinces of Isfahan and Rayy and the territory that the descendents of Subuktageen held and continued to rule until the arrival of Ghengis Khan. During caliph Muqtafi Li-Amrillah's regime, the kingdom of Khwarizm Shah was founded. In 549 A.H., caliph Muqtafi

ordered the ruler of Halab, Nuruddin Mahmood bin Emaduddin Zangi to go to Egypt and intervene in the affairs of the Obeidi ruler. The same year Nuruddin Mahmood was given the title of 'Malikul Adil'.

Sulaiman Shah bin Sultan Muhammad lived with his uncle Sanjar who had made him his heir-apparent. When the Turks arrested Sultan Sanjar, Sulaiman Shah began to lead the remaining members of Sanjar's army. Finding no safe place in Khorasan, he went to Baghdad. He visited the caliph's court in Muharram 551 A.H., took the oath for him and was given the position of Deputy of the Ruler. His name was read in the Friday sermon in Baghdad. In Rabia Awwal 551 A.H., Sulaiman Shah left Baghdad for the province of Jabal. In Thul Hijjah 551 A.H., Sultan Muhammad brought the ruler of Mosul and other chiefs into his army and they invaded and encircled Baghdad. Nuruddin Zangi wrote a condemnatory letter to his younger brother, the ruler of Mosul, Qutubuddin that he should not have taken part in the siege of Baghdad and so Qutubuddin evaded fighting against the caliph. Consequently, Sultan Muhammad lifted the siege in Rabia Awwal 552 A.H. and went to Hamadan. Qutubuddin returned to Mosul. Sultan Muhammad bin Mahmood bin Malik Shah contracted a lung disease after the siege of Baghdad and remained in Hamadan until he died there in Thul Hijjah 534 A.H. Differences cropped up among the Seljuqi princes about the accession. Finally, Sultan Muhammad's uncle Sulaiman Shah who had been under the custody of Qutubuddin Zangi in Mosul was enthroned. Sulaiman Shah still had to face resistance from the princes finally his government was established. Soon after that, one of his commanders Sharfuddin arrested him and his minister and killed them. Following this Sharfuddin proposed the name of Arsalan Shah bin Tughral for the throne and wrote to his Atabek Alidkaz (Editors note: Atabek or Atabeg a slave tutor whose influence could rise to the highest levels even becoming the ruler of certain territories) to bring Arsalan Shah. Alidkaz arrived in Hamadan with his army and had Arsalan Shah's name read in the Friday sermon. Alidkaz was one of Sultan Masood's slaves and an atabek of a high position. Following Sultan Tughral's death he married his wife who was Arsalan Shah's mother. After the succession ceremony of Arsalan Shah Alidkaz was appointed as the supreme Atabek. He sent an application to the caliph in Baghdad that Arsalan Shah's name be read in the Friday

sermon there. The caliph humiliated and expelled the messenger. The caliph's minister made a move to have Mahmood bin Malik Shah bin Mahmood's name read in the Friday sermon. At the time Mahmood, a minor, had been taken to Iran by his father's men. The Iranian ruler Zangi bin Wakla Salghari snatched Mahmood from them and imprisoned him in the fort of Astkhar. The caliph's minister, Aunuddin Abul Azfar Yahya bin Hubairah, wrote to the Iranian ruler to release Mahmood, take the oath for his caliphate and have his name read in the Friday sermon in his occupied territories. Zangi complied with the minister's order. Alidkaz wrote to Zangi to take the oath for Arsalan Shah. Zangi sent the refusal and collected an army. Alidkaz sent armies to Iran and battles were fought without any tangible results. On 2 Rabia Awwal 555 A.H., caliph Muqtafi Li-Amrillah died. He ruled for 24 years and 4 months as caliph. His son Abul Muzaffar Yusuf succeeded to the throne with the title of Mustanjid Billah.

Muqtafi Li-Amrillah liberated himself from the influence and power of the Seljuq kings and ruled over Iraq and Baghdad independently and that is why he is regarded as the most famous and powerful caliph among the last weak caliphs.

Dailmia and Seljuqia

After having gained power the Dailmia or the Buyid dynasty disgraced the Abbasid caliphs and did considerable damaged to the Islamic caliphate during their regime. There were continuous riots between the Shia and Sunni in their time and the power of the Muslims gradually declined. When the Seljuq's took their place and came to power, the honor of the caliphs and the status of the caliphate increased. The Seljuqs treated the Abbasid dynasty reverently and the Seljuqs were far more powerful than the Buyids. The Seljuq Sultans in general did not betray the caliphs. During their dynasty, the Muslims regained their lost power and glory. The Seljuqs were more capable of conquering and governing than the Buyids and they were more religious minded. During the last days of their rule, their internal strife and civil wars put an end to their power and this is a malady from which no dynasty in the world is free. During caliph Muqtafi's regime, the Seljuqs met their end although the Seljuq chiefs continued to rule over small tracts, they lost their existence as major rulers.

Mustanjid Billah

Mustanjid Billah bin Muqtafi Li-Amrillah was born to a Garjistani slave-girl named Taoos. He was made the heir-apparent in 547 A.H. and took the throne in Rabia Awwal 555 A.H. after his father's death. In 556 A.H., the Turkamans, the Kurds and the Arabs rebelled one after another and caliph Mustanjid stamped out these rebellions. The members of Bani Asad tribe at Hillah outnumbered others and they appeared to be inclined to rebel. The caliph sent the army against them and drove them out of Iraq in 558 A.H. In 559 A.H., there was a revolt in Wasit. That revolt was also crushed by military force. In 563 A.H., a man called Ibn Sawar got the better of the last Obeidi ruler of Egypt Azid li-dinillah's minister Shadar and turned him out of Egypt. Shadar left Egypt and went toAl- Malikul Adil Nuruddin Zangi who was one of the chiefs of the Seljuq kings. His father Emaduddin has been mentioned above, Nuruddin Mahmood Zangi ruled the territories of Halab and other parts of Syria and was loyal to the caliph in Baghdad. Among Nuruddin Mahmood's chiefs Najmuddin Ayyub his son Salahuddin Yusuf bin Najmuddin Ayyub and Najmuddin Ayyub's brother Asaduddin Sherkoh were holding high and honorable posts. Al-Malikul Adil Nuruddin Mahmood sent Asaduddin Sherkoh to Egypt with two thousands cavalry soldiers. Sherkoh killed Ibn Sawar but Shadar did not keep the promises he had made in Nuruddin's court. It was at that time the Christian crusaders were attacking the courts of Syria and Egypt and they had captured some coastal areas. Sherkoh was asked to clear these Christians out of the country. Sherkoh and his nephew Salahuddin, after a few months of fighting drove them out of Egypt and then Sherkoh went to Syria. In 564 A.H., the Christians invaded Egypt again. Azid li-dinillah again requested Al-Malikul Adil Nuruddin Mahmood Zangi to help him. Nuruddin again sent Sherkoh with Salahuddin to Egypt. As soon as the Christians heard about his arrival, they escaped and Azid li-dinillah made Sherkoh his minister and kept him in Egypt. Shadar revolted and Sherkoh exterminated him at once and became busy with his ministerial tasks. When Sherkoh died in 565 A.H. in Egypt, the ruler of Egypt, Azid li-dinillah

Obeidi appointed Sherkoh's nephew Sultan Salahuddin Yusuf to the post of the minister. Sherkoh and Salahuddin remained loyal to Sultan Nuruddin Mahmood. In this way, the Islamic forces of both Syria and Egypt defended against the invasions of the Christians. The caliph also met with success in suppressing all the rebellions in Iraq and restored his power and respect. Al-Malikul Adil Nuruddin Zangi was loyal to caliph Mustanjid and complied with all his orders. This was a time of peace and relaxation for the Muslims of Iraq and Syria. On 9 Rabia Thani 566 A.H., caliph Mustanjid Billah fell ill and died. During his caliphate Sheikh Abdul Qadir Jilani died. After Mustanjid, the people enthroned his son Abu Muhammad Hasan and gave him the title of Mustazi Bi-Amrillah.

Mustazi Bi Amrillah

Mustazi Bi Amrillah bin Mustanjid Billah was born to an Armenian slave girl. After assuming power, he established justice and excused all public taxes.

Within one year of his accession to the throne, the Obeidi (Fatimid) rule in Egypt ended. It has been stated above that Salahuddin Yusuf had become the Prime Minister of the last ruler of the Obeidis, Azid li-dinillah. Salahuddin put an end to the restlessness in Egypt and toned up the administration and began to govern taking all departments into his own hands. Nuruddin Mahmood Zangi the ruler of Syria wrote to Sultan Salahuddin at the end of 566 A.H. to introduce caliph Mustazi Bi-Amrillah Abbasi's name in the Friday sermon in Egypt. Salahuddin considered himself to be Sultan Nuruddin's deputy. He complied with his order with fear and in the beginning of Muharram 567 A.H., he read caliph Mustazi's name on the first Friday before the day of Ashoorah (the 10th of Muharram which is a day sacred to the Shiites) and no one opposed him and the caliph's name was heard with approval. Azid li-dinillah died in Muharram 567 A.H. and on the next Friday the name of the caliph of Baghdad was read in the Friday sermon throughout all of Egypt. Sultan Salahuddin sent this information to Sultan Nuruddin and he conveyed the good news to caliph Mustazi in Baghdad. When the news reached Baghdad, the caliph celebrated it by having trumpets sounded and celebration

lamps lit. The caliph sent his chief servant Sandal to Nuruddin with royal robes and black flags for Nuruddin and Salahuddin. Nuruddin expressed a deep sense of joy at Sandal's arrival and sent the caliph's royal gifts to Salahuddin. The rule of the Obeidis ended in Egypt and in its place was established the rule of the Ayyubia dynasty. Nuruddin had the titles to rule Syria, Jazirah and Mosul and then the caliph sent to him the documents to rule over Egypt, Syria, Mosul, Bakr, Khalat, Rome, and Iraq and gave him total power in these territories by appointing him Deputy to the Ruler. Salahuddin ruled as governor and king in Egypt on behalf of Nuruddin. Salahuddin was loyal to Nuruddin, who was loyal to the caliph of Baghdad. Now all the rulers began to fear caliph Mustazi and his name was read in the Friday sermons everywhere. No one dared to oppose him. He appointed Qutubuddin Qaimaz as the chief of the armies. In 570 A.H., Qaimaz showed signs of rebellion against the caliph. When the caliph was besieged in his palace, he climbed on the roof of the palace and shouted "O people! Qutubuddin Qaimaz's wealth and goods are lawful for you." As soon as the people heard this, they stormed Qaimaz's house and looted it. He fled Baghdad and went to Hillah while he was on the way to Mosul death overtook him. In 573 A.H., caliph Mustazi's minister Azduddin Abul Farah Muhammad bin Abdullah set out for Hajj with a big caravan. A Qaramati assassinated him on the way. The caliph then appointed Abu Mansoor Zahiruddin bin Nasr also known as Ibn Ata as his minister. The caliph died in Thul Qadah 575 A.H. after ruling for nine and a half years. Minister Zahiruddin bin Ata enthroned the caliph's son Abul Abbas Ahmad who chose Nasir Li Dinillah as his title.

Nasir Li Dinillah

Nasir Li Dinillah bin Mustazi Bi Amrillah was born to a Turk slave girl named Zamurrad on 10 Rajab 553 A.H. and he took the throne in Thul Qadah 575 A.H. after his father's death. He was a very wise, farsighted and alert Caliph. Immediately after becoming caliph, he sent messengers to all the Islamic territories asking all the nobles to take the oath for his caliphate. At that time, Bahalwan bin Alidkaz ruled over Hamadan, Isfahan and Rayy, The chief scholar Sadruddin was sent to him to administer the oath. Bahalwan at first refused to oblige

but when his chiefs threatened him that if he did not take the oath they would turn against him, he took it. Alidkaz Atabak died in Hamadan in 568 A.H. Alidkaz as has already been mentioned had been Arsalan Shah bin Sultan Tughral's tutor and guardian. Alidkaz had married Arsalan Shah's mother so Arsalan Shah was his stepson. After Alidkaz's death, his son Bahalwan became Arsalan Shah's tutor.

In 573 A.H., Arsalan Shah also passed away. Bahalwan enthroned Arsalan's son Tughral bin Arsalan bin Tughral and he himself continued to administrate over the above-mentioned territories. When Bahalwan bin Alidkaz died in 582 A.H., Hamadan, Rayy, Isfahan Azerbaijan and Armenia were under his jurisdiction and Tughral bin Arsalan was under his guardianship. After Bahalwan's death, his brother Uthman known as Qazal Arsalan bin Alidkaz took over the position. Tughral bin Arsalan remained under his guardianship for a short time and then he decided to part company with him. Along with some noblemen, Qazal captured a few cities. There were several battles between Qazal Arsalan and Tughral and gradually Tughral become more powerful while Qazal Arsalan grew weaker. Qazal Arsalan sent a message to the caliph's court, declared his allegiance to him and expressed the apprehensions for the safety of caliph's court in view of the growing power of Tughral.

Caliph Nasir Li Dinillah had the palaces of the Seljuqi Kings in Baghdad pulled down and sent Abul Muzaffar Obeidullah bin Yunus with an army to help Qazal Arsalan. Obeidullah had just reached Qazal Arsalan when he had to confront Tughral at Hamadan on 18 Rabia Awwal 584 A.H. In a pitched battle, Tughral became victorious and Obeidullah was captured. The rest of the army fled and retreated all the way to Baghdad. However, there was another battle between them and Qazal Arsalan defeated Tughral's army and arrested him and imprisoned him in a fort. Qazal Arsalan began to rule over Hamadan, Rayy, Isfahan and the other territories. He introduced his name in Friday sermon and minted coins in his name. In 587 A.H., Tughral was killed in prison and this brought the rule of the Seljuqs to an end. Thus, the sultanate founded by Tughral Baig met its end with a Sultan of the same name, Tughral Baig.

When Amir Isa, the ruler of Takrait died in 585 A.H., his brothers

captured it. Caliph Nasir sent his army and occupied it and granted feudal estates to Amir Isa's brothers. Similarly, he won Sharana in 586 A.H. and gave away feudal estates to the nobles there. Then he sent armies to Khozistan and captured it and deputed Tashtageen bin Bahiruddin as the ruler on his behalf. At that time, Rayy was ruled over by Qatlagh bin Bahalwan bin Alidkaz. Khawarizm Shah forced him to evacuate and captured it. Muayeduddin Abu Abdullah Muhammad bin Ali after conquering Khozistan at the caliph's instance and had given it to Tashtageen, was about to march with his army. Qatlagh bin Bahalwan called on him and persuaded him to invade Rayy. Muayeduddin went to Hamadan with Qatlagh where Khawarizm Shah's son was camped with his army. When he heard about his arrival, he left and went to Rayy and Muayeduddin easily occupied Hamadan. Then Muayeduddin went to Rayy. Ibn Khawarizm left Rayy and Muayeduddin occupied it too and gradually conquered the whole region, which was under Qatlagh's possession. Khawarizm Shah sent a messenger to Muayeduddin and asked him to vacate the territory but he replied that the territory was conquered by caliph Nasir Li Dinillah's army and it would never be returned. Khawarizm invaded Hamadan with a large army. Meanwhile Muayeduddin died in Shaban 592 A.H. but his army gave a tough fight to Khawarizm Shah's army. Finally, due to the absence of its commander, the Baghdad army suffered defeat and Khawarizm Shah captured Hamadan. After that Khawarizm Shah went to Isfahan, conquered it and put it under his son's care and left a large army for its defense. Then caliph Nasir Li Dinillah gave an army to commander Saifuddin who drove away Khawarizm Shah's son and captured Isfahan. Then Hamadan, Zanjan and Qazween also came under the caliph's occupation. In 602 A.H., Tashtageen, the ruler of Khozistan passed away and the caliph deputed the deceased's son-in-law Sanjar to rule. In 606 A.H., the caliph became angry with him. During that period, as has been stated above, Iran was governed by Atabak Sad Zangi bin Wakla. The caliph sent his deputy minister with an army to punish Sanjar. When the minister reached Khozistan, Sanjar left and went to Sad Zangi in Iran. Sad received him warmly. In 606 A.H., the caliph's army occupied Khozistan and sent for Sanjar but he refused to come to the Caliph. The Baghdad army marched towards Shiraz the

capital of Iran. Atabak Sad Zangi wrote letters recommending Sanjar to the deputy minister. Finally, Sanjar went to the deputy minister in 608 A.H. who took him to Baghdad and brought him to the caliph's court in chains. The caliph sent his servant Yaqoot as the ruler of Khozistan and he set Sanjar free and honored him with a royal robe. In Muharram 613 A.H., the caliph sent his grandson Muayed bin Ali bin Nasir Li Dinillah as the ruler of Tashtar, which was part of Khozistan whose father had died in Thul Qadah 612 A.H. Aghlamash who was one of Bahalwan's chiefs, he conquered Jabal province by virtue of his bravery and wisdom and ruled it with stability. He was killed by a Qaramati in 614 A.H. After his assassination the Iranian ruler Atabak Sad bin Wakla wanted to capture his territories while Khawarizm Shah, the ruler of Khorasan and Mawaraunnahr wanted to capture them from the other side. Atabak Sad Zangi took an army and conquered Isfahan. Khawarizm Shah was also marching on Isfahan. They clashed at Rayy and after a bloody battle Atabak Sad was defeated and captured. Khawarizm Shah brought under his control all of Aghlamash's territories and sent an application to the caliph in Baghdad for his own name to be read in the Friday sermon as his Deputy Ruler. He was refused. Khawarizm then sent his army to Baghdad but it was caught in a heavy snowstorm and most of his soldiers perished. The Turks and the Kurds looted the remainder of the army. Those who somehow survived these disasters returned to Khawarizm in a very miserable condition. He considered this an ill omen and returned to Khorasan. He deputed his son Ruknuddin and appointed Emadul Malik Sadi the Prime Minister and deleted the caliph's name from the Friday sermon in the territories he occupied, this occurred in 615 A.H.

In 616 A.H., a Mongol tribe, which lived in Tamghach in the Chinese mountains, revolted. Their native country was a six-month journey from Turkistan. The chief of the tribe was Genghis Khan who belonged to the Turk tribe Tamarji. Genghis Khan invaded Turkistan and Mawaraunnahr, snatched these countries from the Turkanul Khata tribe and brought them under his control.

Then he attacked Khawarizm Shah and captured Khorasan and Jabal from him. Then he conquered Araniah and Sherwan. One group of

these Tatars went to Ghazni, Sajistan and Kerman and conquered them. After having suffered defeat at the hands of the Mongols, Khawarizm Shah went to a place in Tabristan and died after ruling for 21 years. After defeating Khawarizm Shah they defeated his son Jalaluddin bin Khawarizm Shah at Ghazni and Genghis Khan pursued him up to the Sindh River. Jalaluddin crossed the river and entered India. After living in India for a short time, he went to Khozistan and Iraq in 622 A.H. and captured Armenia and Azerbaijan. Genghis Khan and his conquests will be dealt with in detail in a later chapter. After ruling for 47 years caliph Nasir Li Dinillah died in Ramadan 622 A.H.

It is said that as Khawarizm Shah had quarreled with the caliph and put a stop to the reading of the latter's name in the Friday sermon in his own countries, it was the caliph who instigated Genghis Khan to attack him because it was too difficult for him to punish Khawarizm Shah. Nasir Li Dinillah had spread his spies in all the cities of his territories. He wanted to keep himself abreast of all the affairs of his subjects. Most of them believed that he had under him some Jinn who supplied information to him. He was astute in political strategies and this helped establish a certain type of awe concerning him in his territories but the people were not happy. They were sick of his high-handedness and severe punishments. During his regime, Sultan Salahuddin conquered many Roman cities and in 583 A.H., he recaptured Jerusalem after 91 years of occupation by the Christians.

In 589 A.H., Sultan Salahuddin Yusuf the conqueror of Jerusalem died. During the reign of caliph Nasir Li Dinillah, Abul Faraj Ibn Jozi, Imam Fakhruddin Razi, Najmuddin Kubra, Qazi Khan passed away. After Caliph Nasir Li Dinillah, his son Abu Nasr Muhammad came to the throne and chose the title Zahir Bi Amrillah for himself.

Zahir Bi Amrillah

Zahir Bi Amrillah bin Nasir Li Dinillah was born in 571 A.H. He came to the throne after his father's death on 1 Shawwal 622 at the age of 52. Immediately after assuming power, he turned his attention chiefly to ruling justly. He provided relief to the people and exempted them from paying all taxes. He restored to them all their property, which the earlier caliphs had confiscated. He used to repay the debts of the

people personally. His motto was: "I have opened the shop in the evening. Let me do some good deeds." One day he was going to the treasury and a slave said to him, "The treasury remained full during your father's times." The caliph said, "I see no practicable way to fill my treasury. I know only how to make it empty. Filling it is the job of the merchants." He funded many scholars. His regime resembled that of Omar bin Abdul Aziz. The whole country enjoyed absolute peace and prosperity and justice but he did not live long. He died after being caliph for only 9 and a half months on 15 Rajab 623 A.H. After him, his son with the title Mustansir Billah came to the throne.

Abu Jafar Mustansir Billah

Mustansir Billah bin Zahir Bi-Amrillah was born to a Turk slave girl and came to the throne after his father's death in Rajab 623 A.H. He resembled his father in moral virtues. He tried to impart and promote justice as his father had done. He was very fond of observing religious rites. He founded a school named Mustansaria in Baghdad and appointed renowned scholars as teachers there. The construction work started in 625 A.H. and ended in 631 A.H. He started a library in which rare and invaluable books equal to 160 camel loads were kept. The teachers for 'Hadith' 'Grammer' Medicine and 'Heredity' were separately appointed. The school was responsible for the provision of their food, sweets, dry fruits and other things. It received much popular support. In 628 A.H., Malik Ashraf laid the foundation of Darul Hadith Ashrafia. It was completed in 630 A.H. In 629 A.H., Muhammad bin Yusuf bin Hud revived the Abbasid dynasty in Andulas. In 634 A.H., Alauddin Kaiqabad bin Qalj Arsalan bin Sulaiman bin Qatlamash bin Israil bin Seljuqi who had been ruling over the greater part of Asia Minor died and his son Gheyathuddin Kaikhusru came to the throne. In 641 A.H., the Mongols attacked and defeated him. He surrendered to them and agreed to pay tribute. The two centuries of Seljuq rule ended in Asia Minor. Gheyathuddin Kaikhusru ruled by paying tribute to the Mongols until 656 A.H. when he died. During the same period, the great ancestor of the Ottoman dynasty began his rise to power. This will be narrated in detail later.

Caliph Mustansir tried his level best to create an efficient administration and promote justice in the country. However, as the Turks and the Mongols started conquering states and provinces one after another, his income diminished. Salahuddin Yusuf's sultanate, which consisted of Syria and Egypt, was ruined due to disunity. The flood of Mongols looted and desolated all the territory extending from Mawaraunnahr to the Roman (Mediterranean) Sea and the Black Sea. At this time, the caliph had Iraq under his control and the Mongols were still wary of him and they did not approach his territories. Just as the Kings of Khorasan, Azerbaijan, Mosul, and Syria feared the Caliph's displeasure similarly the Mongols recognized the leadership of the caliph of Baghdad and dared not behave impertinently. The Mongols were sun-worshippers and did not come as Muslims like the Seljuqs so they did not care whose name was read in the Friday sermon at the mosques. Therefore, the name of the Baghdad caliph was being read in the Friday sermon as usual and that made him feel relieved. Having seen the surge of the Mongols Caliph Mustansir's brother, Khafaji, who was valiant and courageous, used to declare. "If I become caliph I would rub off the name of these Mongols beyond the river Jejoon."

In 641 A.H., Caliph Mustansir died. The people did not enthrone his brother Khafaji who was qualified in all respects and fully deserved it. They preferred Mustansir's son Abu Ahmad Abdullah because he was soft hearted and simple. The members of the court liked a caliph in whose regime they could make progress and grow more powerful. So, Abu Ahmad Abdullah came to the throne of caliphate with the title Mustasim Billah.

Mustasim Billah

Mustasim Billah bin Mustansir Billah was born to a slave girl named Hajir in 690 A.H. and came to the throne after his father's death. He lacked courage and intelligence. Though he was religious minded and observed all 'Sunnahs', he appointed Muayeduddin Ibn Alqami as his minister who was a fanatic Shia. As soon as he became minister, he turned the caliph into a puppet and became the ruling power in the government. Ibn Alqami began to push the Shias forward and allowed

them many concessions. The unorthodox additions to the religion which were current during the regime of Dailam were revived, which resulted in the outbreak of riots between the Shias and the Sunnis similar to those found during the Dailamis regime. He became busy trying to obliterate all signs of the Abbasids and establish the Caliphate of the Alawiites. In Baghdad, some sensible people knew about his evil plans. They informed the Caliph of Ibn Alqami's treacherous plot but the caliph was such a great fool and coward that he narrated all these complaints to Ibn Alqami himself. Ibn Alqami convinced him of his loyalty and declared them to be treacherous and traitors. The Caliph was fully convinced of his allegiance. That increased his influence all the more and the tongues of his supporters were silenced. Then Ibn Alqami led the Caliph to drown himself in sports and drinking and thus he became safe from any harm. After a few days, the caliph's son Abu Bakr attacked Karkh near Baghdad, to stop their heavy handedness and passed uncomplimentary words against Ibn Alqami. It made Ibn Alqami sad and he complained to the caliph but the caliph, regardful of his son, did not punish Abu Bakr in accordance with his wishes. That made Alqami all the more treacherous. He entered into correspondence with Genghis Khan's grandson Hulegu Khan who was the greatest chief of the Mongols and the King of Khorasan. When Hulegu Khan got the first letter, he did not pay much attention to it. Ibn Alqami had written that he would help him capture Baghdad and Iraq easily without any bloodshed and so he should invade them. Hulegu said to his emissary only this: 'What Ibn Alqami promises has no guarantee. How could we believe him?' In fact, the Caliph's huge army, the Arab valor and the courage of the people of Baghdad had impressed the Mongols and their armies had suffered defeat at the hands of the Arab tribes in Syria. Ibn Alqami went to the caliph and after complaining about the shortage of revenue and increase in the salaries of the army, he proposed a reduction in the number of soldiers. The Caliph agreed. The major part of the Baghdad army was sent to other cities and states. Those who remained were allowed to collect the revenue from the market for the payment of their salaries. This caused great agonies to the citizens and looting became rampant. He disbanded many divisions of the army and turned them out. He told the Caliph that they were sent to the

border to check and stop the infiltration of the Mongols. In Hillah, the Shias outnumbered the Sunnis, he goaded them to write letters to Hulegu saying, "Our ancestors had predicted that such and such a Mongol chief would capture Baghdad and Iraq in such and such year. According to that prediction, you are the victorious chief and we are sure that you are going to occupy these territories very soon. We are loyal to you and ask you for security and protection." Hulegu wrote the letter of protection for them and handed it over to the messenger Nasiruddin Toosi who enjoyed a great reputation at Hulegu's court and discharged the duties of minister. He was also a fanatic Shia like Ibn Alqami and he was an accomplice in his intrigue of ruining the Abbasids and establishing the caliphate of the Shiites. Ibn Alqami wrote to Nasiruddin to goad Hulegu Khan to attack Baghdad at any cost and that it was a golden chance to deliver the last mortal blow to the Abbasids. He also wrote a letter to Hulegu Khan that said. "I have evacuated the armies from Baghdad and sent away all the weapons of war. What greater guarantee do you want?" Along with this, he had an application sent him by the ruler of Ardbil, which contained an inducement to launch an offensive against Baghdad. Hulegu received the letters after he had already conquered the Maut Fort of the Qaramata (Ismailites) and the last King of the Ismailites had already come in chains before him. Hulegu sought counsel from Nasirruddin Toosi. He said "Astrology says that Baghdad will come under your control and you will suffer no losses if you invade it." Hulegu sent a huge army as a vanguard to Baghdad. When Mustasim heard about it, he sent Fathuddin Dawood and Mujahideen Ebak with 10 thousand horsemen. The commander of the army was Fathuddin who was a veteran and experienced general and a brave man. The Mongol army was defeated and it retreated. Fathuddin thought it proper to stay there but Mujahideen, due to inexperience, insisted on pursuing them. Being compelled Fathuddin went after the Mongols. Consequently, the Mongols turned back and fought. Those Mongols who had gone into hiding attacked from the rear. The Baghdad army was sandwiched in and was totally at a loss. Fathuddin was killed in action and Mujahideen fled and took refuge in Baghdad. It was because of the bad planning of Mujahideen that the victory of the Baghdad army turned into defeat. But caliph Mustasim, due to his

innate foolishness expressed joy at the sight of the run-away commander. Though the Baghdad army suffered defeat, Hulegu Khan's vanguard was also in disarray with many wounded. So, caliph Mustasim was satisfied that the storm had passed off peacefully. But as Ibn Alqami who had kept the caliph completely in the dark was laughing at the latter's stupidity, news suddenly spread that Hulegu Khan had laid siege to Baghdad with a huge army. The citizens tried to defend and for 50 days they did not let the Mongols enter the city. The Shias of the city approached Hulegu Khan's army one after another and received a pledge of safety and apprised him of the situation in the city. Minister Ibn Alqami remained in the city and kept sending information minute by minute. As the minister had no sympathy with the people of the city, they gradually grew weaker. At last minister Ibn Alqami came out of the city, met Hulegu Khan, sought security and safety only for himself and returned. He said to the caliph, "I have a pledge of safety for you too. Come let us go to Hulegu. He will let you continue to rule over Iraq as the Mongols allowed Gheyathuddin Kaikhusru to rule over their territories." The caliph came out of the city with his sons and went to Hulegu's army. Hulegu saw him and said, call all the members of your government and the religious and legal scholars of your city too." Hulegu Khan detained the caliph. Hearing the caliph's command the scholars and government leaders came out of the city and went to the Mongol army. All of them were slain one by one. Then Hulegu said to the caliph, "Send the message to all the citizens to lay down their arms and come out of the city empty handed." Mustasim sent the message to them. They came out and the Mongols began to put them to the sword. All of them numbering several hundred thousand soldiers, cavaliers and nobles of the city were cut to pieces. All the moats and ditches of the city were filled with the corpses. The water of the river Tigris turned red due to the excess of blood of the slain. The Mongols entered the city. Women and children with the Quran on their heads came out but none was spared. Hulegu Khan ordered his army to undertake a general massacre. The Mongols killed everyone they laid their hands on. Only a few persons who hid themselves in wells and similar places survived. The next day, Friday in Safar 656 A.H. Hulegu Khan entered Baghdad taking Caliph Mustasim with him, he

held court in the Caliph's palace, called the caliph before him and said to him, "We are your guests present us something". The Caliph was so terror stricken that he couldn't find the right keys. At last, the locks of the treasury were broken. Two thousand fine clothes, one thousand dinars and gold ornaments were presented to Hulegu Khan. He said "Had you not given these things to us, they would have still been ours." Having said so, he distributed them among his courtiers. Then he ordered the treasures, which no one knew about, to be located. The Caliph at once told him of their whereabouts. The ground was dug up bringing into view tanks full of gems and bags of coins. Ten million and six hundred thousand Muslims were butchered in and around Baghdad and the Caliph had to watch all these tragic scenes. Hulegu kept the Caliph without food and water. He felt hungry and asked for food. Hulegu ordered a tray full of gems to be put before him to eat. The Caliph said, "How can I eat it?" Hulegu sent word, "Why did you not spend these inedible things to save the hundreds of thousands of lives of the Muslims and give it to your soldiers to fight on your behalf and save your ancestral country and protect you from us?" Then he held a counsel with his men regarding killing Mustasim. All favored his death. However, Nasiruddin Toosi and Ibn Alqami seeing the irony of luck said to Hulegu Khan, "Mostasim is the caliph of the Muslims. Swords should not be stained with his blood. He should be covered with and rolled in a blanket and kicked." The task was handed over to Ibn Alqami. He rolled his master into a blanket and tied him to a pillar and had him kicked so much that he died. Then his dead body was again kicked and run over by the Mongol soldiers until it was torn to bits. Ibn Alqami stood by laughing and thinking that he was avenging the Aliwiites. In short, the dead body of the caliph did not find either a shroud or a grave and none of the Abbasid dynasty who was captured by the Mongols survived.

Then Hulegu turned to the royal library, which contained countless books. All the books were thrown into the Tigris River, they formed a sort of dam in the river and gradually the water swept them away. The water of the Tigris, which had turned red with the blood of the slain, now turned black with the ink of the books and it continued to be so for a long time. All the royal palaces were looted and then leveled to the ground. It was such a horrible carnage and catastrophe

that it is unprecedented in the history of the world. It was such a calamity for Islam that they have called it a small dooms day. Ibn Alqami who engineered the annihilation and blood shed now tried and wanted Hulegu Khan to appoint some Alawi ruler in Baghdad and confer on him the title of caliph. In the beginning when Hulegu Khan invaded Baghdad, many promises were made to him and he was sure that Hulegu Khan would make some Hashmite Alawi caliph and he (Alqami) would be made his Deputy Ruler but Hulegu Khan deputed his own men to rule Iraq. Ibn Alqami was at his wit's end seeing these developments. He planned and planned, entreated and begged Hulegu Khan to achieve his end but Hulegu Khan chided and drove away him away like a dog and for a short time, he continued to serve the Mongols like an ordinary slave but ultimately the frustration killed him. Caliph Mustasim Billah was the last caliph of the Abbasids who ruled in Baghdad. After 656 A.H., Baghdad ceased to be the capital. There was no caliph for three and a half years in the world after caliph Mustasim. After him, they took the oath for his uncle Abul Qasim Ahmad in Rajab 659 A.H.

The Abbasid Caliphs in Egypt

Sultan Salahuddin bin Ayyub had founded the sultanate of Ayyubia after the Obeidia (Fatimid) dynasty, which has been recorded in detail above. The power of ruling over Egypt, Syria and Hijaz remained in the dynasty of Sultan Salahuddin until 648 A.H. As Sultan Salahuddin was a Kurd, the sultanate of Ayyubia is also called the sultanate of Kurdia. The seventh King of the sultanate of Ayyubia was Malik Saleh who was the great grandson of Salahuddin's brother. In order to save himself from family rivals he purchased twelve thousand slaves from Mount Qaf, that is, the province of Sarkesia and raised a modern army. During his rule, the Christian King of France brought soldiers on board ships and invaded Egypt. The Egyptian army fought with the invaders humbled and defeated them and captured the French King on the battlefield. It raised the status of the Egyptian army's reputation. After Malik Saleh his son, Malik Moazzam Tooran Shah came to the throne. But after two months, Malik Saleh's slave girl Shajratuddur usurped the throne. Her regime gave rise to discontent

and rebellion. After ruling for three months she went into retirement and a man of the Ayyubia dynasty, Malik Ashraf Musa bin Yusuf, was formally enthroned. His regime strengthened the slave's power. Finally, in 653 A.H. they enthroned Azizuddin Ebak Salehi with the title Malik Moizz marking the end of the Ayyubia dynasty and the beginning of the slave dynasty (Mamluk dynasty) that lasted for many years. In 655 A.H., Malik Moizz's young son Ali succeeded to the throne. He was given the title Malik Mansoor and Amir Saifuddin Mamlook was assigned as his tutor and mentor. In 657 A.H., they deposed Malik Mansoor based on a religious judgment that he was a minor and therefore not eligible to be the leader, he was replaced by Amir Saifuddin with the title Malik Muzaffar. The slaves selected 20-25 persons from among themselves and gave them the authority to rule as a council. They were regarded as the council of ministers and they chose one from among themselves as the amir or king. After assuming power, the Amir was enthroned as a King and was called Sultan or Malik. The Sultan used to distribute important portfolios and posts among the members of the council. The Prime Minister was chosen from among the 20-25 council members also. Head of the Police and Head of Finance were considered to be major portfolios. The rest were awarded lesser posts and powers. Sarkasian slaves were purchased at government expense if there became a shortage of soldiers. A slave dynasty also was in power in India too with the exception of two or three kings all the kings were descendents of King Shamsuddin Altamash and they carried the title of slave but had become very sophisticated as the dynasty evolved but the slaves holding the throne in Egypt were often slaves who had been purchased on the auction block and then by virtue of their personal merits gained access to the throne. Historians have not pay heed to this fact and failed to state in unequivocal terms this quality of the slave dynasty of Egypt. In fact, the slave dynasty of Egypt needed reforms on some points but it is most admirable that the subjects had full liberty in choosing their ruler. The reign of this dynasty will be recorded in a separate chapter. At this stage in the narrative it is necessary to mention that Malik Muzaffar after hearing about the annihilation and plunder of Baghdad, the rest of Iraq, Khorasan, Iran, Azerbaijan, Jazirah and Mosul and the Mongols destruction of the

territories of Iraq with all their power, was galvanized into action. He along with his slave armies and armies of freemen left Egypt for Syria. On Friday 15 Ramadan 655 A.H., the general of the slave army Ruknuddin Baybars gave them a crushing and humiliating defeat the like of which they had never suffered before. Thousands of the Mongols perished on the battlefield and the rest fled in terror. The slaves captured huge quantities of spoils and inspired fear in the Mongol's hearts. The Mongols turned upside down many kingdoms but they never looked towards Egypt out of fear of them. The slaves pursued them up to Halab and then returned to Egypt. On 16 Thul Qadah 658 A.H., Ruknuddin Baybars ascended the throne after Malik Muzaffar's death and chose Malik Zahir as his title. He came to know that the last and 37th caliph of the Abbasid dynasty Mustasim Billah's uncle Abul Qasim Ahmad who had been in prison in Baghdad for a long time escaped at the time of the desolation of Baghdad and Mustasim's murder. He found out that he was alive and in hiding somewhere in Iraq. Malik Zahir sent a 10 member Arab delegation from Egypt to search for him. They succeeded and returned to Egypt with him. Hearing the news of his arrival Malik Zahir along with all the scholars and the members of the Egyptian government came out of Cairo to receive Abul Qasim and escorted him respectfully into the city. They took the oath for his caliphate on 13 Rajab 659 A.H. and proposed the title Almustansir Billah for him. The king had his name read in the Friday sermon and imprinted on the coins. He came to the grand mosque with the caliph in procession on Friday. The king spoke about the virtues of Abbas in the Friday sermon and made a prayer for the caliph. After the Friday prayer, the caliph presented him with a royal robe. On Monday 4 Shaban 659 A.H., tents outside Cairo were pitched. The caliph held court and declared Malik Zahir as the Deputy Ruler. Malik Zahir assigned servants for him and reserved a part of the Egyptian treasury for him with authority to use it as he liked. After three years, he went to Syria with Malik Zahir's army to fight against the Mongols and he was lost or killed in the battle. Following his disappearance one year passed when Malik Zahir received information about a lost Abbasid Prince. He found him and enthroned him as the caliph. His name was Abul Abbas Ahmad bin Hasan bin Ali bin Abu Bakr bin Khalifa Mustarshid Billah bin Mustazhir Billah.

Up to his great grandfather, none had been a caliph and thus the Abbasid caliphate started again with a descendent of caliph Mustarshid. His title was suggested as Hakim Bi-Amrillah. He was enthroned on 8 Muharram 661 A.H. In 674 A.H., Malik Zahir conquered Sudan. It was considered to be a grand victory. Malik Zahir died in Muharram 676 A.H. then Malik Sayeed came to the throne. In 678 A.H., Malik Mansoor took the throne. He gave a crushing defeat to the Mongols in Syria in 680 A.H. In 689 A.H., he died and Malik Ashraf succeeded him. On 18 Jumad Awwal 701 A.H., caliph Hakim Bi-Amrillah died after reigning for 40 years 5 months and 10 days and was buried in Cairo, he was succeeded by his son Abu Rabi Mustakfi as caliph. The slave government remained in power until 923 A.H. Sarkeshi slaves, called Bahriya slaves, reign was followed by another community of slaves in 784 A.H. called Charkasi slaves who began to rule as kings. The last Sultan of the Bahriya slaves, Sultan Malik Saleh was deposed in Ramadan 784 A.H. and was replaced by Barqooq Charkas with his title Malik Zahir. Until 922 A.H., Charkasi (Gurji) slaves ruled as kings in Egypt. The last King of Gurji or Charkasi slaves Sultan Tooman Beg suffered defeat at the hands of Sultan Saleem Uthmani and Egypt was annexed to the Ottoman Empire. As mentioned above, the second chain of the Abbasid caliphs began with the slave rule in Egypt and it ended with the rule of the slaves in 922 A.H. The condition of the Abbasid caliphs in Egypt was that of figureheads only. They were caliphs in name only and they named their heir apparent. The Muslim Kings of India and other countries received the documents authorizing their Kingship and received titles from them. The slave Kings of Egypt also considered themselves to be the Deputy Rulers of those caliphs, treated them with respect and read their names in the Friday sermons. However, in reality they enjoyed no power or glory. Their salaries were fixed. The Egyptian Sultan did not let them go anywhere freely. These caliphs with the members of their families used to live imprisoned within their palaces. They were called caliphs but they were as ignorant and as far from understanding the meaning of the Islamic caliphate as the sky is far from the earth. After capturing Egypt, Sultan Saleem Uthmani subjugated the Abbasid caliph Muhammad of Egypt who was the 18th and the last caliph in the

chain of the Egyptian Abbasid caliphs. The flag and robe that the Caliph had as symbols of the Caliphate with him were given to Sultan Saleem with his consent. Sultan Saleem took the last Abbasid caliph with him when he left Egypt. That Abbasid Caliph made Sultan Amir his heir-apparent and thus in 922 A.H. the Abbasid caliphate that began with Saffah and had been reduced to name only after 800 years met its end and the Ottoman dynasty which deserved the Caliphate most at that time began. There were 37 Caliphs in the Abbasid dynasty that ruled in Baghdad and Iraq plus 18 in Egypt a total of 55 Caliphs.

While following the chain of the Abbasid dynasty, we have moved away from studying important branches of rulers and other developments, which we will now address. Normally at the end of a dynasty, we make some summary comments and review. However, we have said what we wanted to say about the Abbasid Caliphate and do not want to lose the natural impression, which is produced on the heart after reflecting on the consequences or end of this grand dynasty of Caliphs.

Chapter 6

A General Study of Umawi and Abbasi Caliphates

Part One

The caliphates of Banu Umayyah and the Abbasids are over. But their study conjures up a small picture of their Caliph's rule, power, conquests and battles. What the historians in general write about the condition of the kings and rulers has been narrated above. The art of writing history has improved and it also looks into the principles of government, society, educational institutions of the times and the governments of the time period in question. Twice the amount of pages of this short history would be required to fulfill these requirements and cannot be fully delved into in these volumes. Taking into consideration these deficiencies, a few facts are given below on the authority of some reliable books.

Important positions and offices of the Government

The caliphate of Banu Umayyah was a victorious and international government during its period of rule the Arabs were regarded as

victors and other nations as the vanquished. The Arabs had religions zeal and to them no laws except the laws of the Quran and the Sunnah of the Prophet (ﷺ) were binding and practicable. The Muslims fought among themselves but the common life style of the inhabitants of the Islamic countries like Arabia, Syria, Egypt and Iraq and the restoration of peace despite internal invasions and battles did not demand any complex system of the government. The Caliph sought consultation but he was not compelled to seek it either. He received consultation, which was unsolicited and sometimes he had to accept it. The plain living of the Arabs was reflected in their government as well. Even an ordinary Bedouin could have access to the Caliph and his royal presence did not reduce their linguistic power. The Caliph sent deputies to rule over the provinces and states and they enjoyed total power and royal support there. The Caliph was the ruler of the entire Islamic world similarly he was also its commander-in-chief. The Governors of the Provinces and States were the Kings and the commanders of their Provinces or States. They were also the religious heads 'Imams' and Chief Judge. Whenever the Caliph had any doubt regarding a religious issue, he had no inhibitions in consulting the religious and legal scholars. Similarly, the Governors and the rulers of States also had to seek their opinions. Sometimes a Governor was appointed for a province and along with him the Caliph appointed another person as chief judge.

The functions of the governor were to maintain law and order in the country, to invade, to be always ready for defense against the enemies, to protect the subjects and to collect taxes and deposit them in the treasury. The functions of the judges were to promulgate Islamic laws, to settle disputes and force the people to uphold the Islamic law. The judge was not dependent upon the governor. Sometimes along with the judge and governor, a tax collector was separately appointed by the Caliph who handled all financial matters. In that case, the Governor was the commander of the armies. In short, simplicity was the hallmark of the caliphate of Bani Umayyah. All grievances were redressed in the light of Islamic law and the subjects were happy and prosperous due to the system of equal justice. They were neither unduly taxed nor was it necessary for the Caliph to spend lavishly on the administration. The Caliph was considered to be

the spiritual head of the whole Islamic world as well as the temporal ruler. For this reason it was easier to maintain peace in the country. There was no regular post of minister or advisor. During an emergency, anyone could discharge the duties of minister or advisor.

During the Abbasid caliphate, the Iranians and the Turks began to enjoy the rights of the victorious or conquering nation besides the Arabs and by degree, the vanquished nations grew more powerful. Therefore, complications developed in the administration. If the Arabs, the Iranians and the Turks were kept on an equal footing according to the Islamic laws and real equality was maintained, there would have appeared more simplicity and virtue in the administration than had been available even during Banu Umayyah's times. Unfortunately, situations kept cropping up and opposition and rivalry between these nations kept increasing. The greatest cause for this was that the Iranians were preferred over the Arabs. The Caliph's court adopted the Iranian and the Sasanid way of living and rejected the comfortable simplicity of the Arabs. Because of this, the Islamic caliphate suffered so many complications that gave way gradually to the decline in reliability, power and ultimately led to its end. However, the purpose here is to present a list of the major portfolios of the Abbasid Caliphate.

The Prime Minister

In the beginning, the Caliph had only one minister and he fully acted as the Caliph's deputy and head of all departments. Later on, when it transpired that one man could not do justice to all the departments, other ministers under the Prime Minister were appointed. There were matters, which only the Caliph was authorized to do and only the Prime Minister could advise him. At the time of seeking opinion, the Caliph invited not only the Prime Minister but also the other members of the government to participate. Some caliphs for instance Caliph Haroon Rasheed had vested all powers to his Prime Minister in matters of the administration of the country. The Prime Minister himself issued all kinds of instructions and the Caliph was formally informed of them. Such powerful ministers enjoyed high status and they were regarded as having more authority than the Caliph himself.

Later the caliphs began to grow weaker and the Dailami, Amirul Omara or Seljuk, Sultan imposed themselves on the caliphate both the Caliph and the Sultan had their own separate Prime Minister. In those times, to be the minister of the Caliph was not a major position. During this dual charge regime sometimes the Caliph's minister was called president and the Sultan's minister was named minister. Sometimes the Caliph's minister enjoyed more powers than the Caliph and when the Sultan appointed the Caliph's minister, the Caliph would be his own minister's prisoner.

The Caliph used to select the Prime Minister on the basis of his personal knowledge and sometimes he gave the royal robe of the ministry to a man of a lower stratum of society and raised him to the pinnacle of prestige and sometimes a minister's son succeeded his father as minister. Haroon Rasheed's minister Jafar Barmuk, Mamoon Rasheed's minister Fadal, Alp Arsalan and Malik Shah's minister Nizamul Mulk are famous ministers.

Amirul Omara (Chief Executive)

This post was created during the declining period of the Abbasid caliphs. Having imposed themselves on the Caliph, the people chose this title for themselves and were granted it from the Caliph. These Amirul Omara were in fact the rulers of Iraq, Iran, and Khorasan and they appointed all their office bearers. The Caliph was a Caliph only in name or only for the purpose of the official oath. The Dailamis' (Buyids) period lasted for 100 years and their rulers were all called Amirul Omara.

The Sultan (King)

Just as the Dailamis chose Amirul Omara as their title, similarly the Seljuks selected the title Sultan for themselves. These Seljuk Sultans were more powerful, more religious, ruled over wider and larger territories and were more loyal to the Caliph than the Dailamis. The Dailamis had seized all the power and influence of the Caliph's court. The Seljuks recognized the Caliph's greatness and allowed them to rule and it was during their regimes to a great extent that the caliphs succeeded in their attempt to get back their power and glory. There

were no posts of Amirul Omara and Sultan in the beginning of the Abbasid caliphate.

Amil or Wali (Governor)

The governors of the provinces and states used to send a fixed amount of his revenue every year to the Caliph's court. He enjoyed absolute liberty in the inner administration of the province and he used to send a fixed amount annually to the Caliph's treasury. It was on a contract basis in most cases. Another form was, the Amir used to send the surplus amount after the annual expenditures were deducted, in this case he had to justify the income and expenditure of his province and he was not responsible to pay a fixed sum. The border provinces, which were far away from the capital usually, used the contract form. A very small sum was realized from those provinces as tax and sometimes the reading of the Caliph's name in the Friday sermon was considered sufficient. The change or removal of the governors in these provinces was not regarded as necessary until they betrayed, opposed or rebelled but the governors of the other provinces were changed after short intervals.

Sahebu Shurta (Police General)

The man responsible for maintaining law and order in the cities, quelling rebellions and arresting thieves and robbers was known as 'Sahebu Shurta'. We may call him the Chief of Police. This man had his headquarters in Baghdad and appointed deputies in the other cities of Iraq. Sometimes he was the commander in chief of the Iraqi forces and the Governor of a Province. Tahir bin Husain was the Sahebu Shurta who ultimately became the governor of Khorasan. This was a very responsible post and no ordinary man would be appointed to it.

Hajib (Chief Body Guard)

Besides being the Caliph's bodyguard and the officer of bodyguards, the Hajib had a highly intimate relation with the Caliph. He always accompanied him at home and on journeys and was the trusted man in his privacy. All the servants of the Caliph's palace and the

watchmen of the police were his subordinates. He was ever ready to teach manners to every new entrant to the Caliph's court and to carry out all his commandments.

At times the Prime Minister had to yield to the Hajib. He was the Caliph's confidant and shared his secrets. Haroon Rasheed had Jafar Barmuk killed by his Hajib, Masroor.

Qadiul Qudat (Chief Justice)

The permanent post of the Qadiul Qudat (Chief Justice) was first created by Haroon Rasheed, this post continued until the end of the Abbasid period. The Qadiul Qudat appointed his deputies in all provinces and territories on his own authority. His main functions were to see that the people followed the Shariah laws and to settle disputes. It was a very high post. His position at the court was in no way inferior to that of the commander-in-chief and the Prime Minister. A new Caliph was accorded the status of the real Caliph only when the Qadiul Qudat recognized him as such. It was the Qadiul Qudat who issued the Fatwah (legal religious pronouncements) for the dismissal of the Caliph. The Caliph could sack the Qadiul Qudat but at the time of the accession of a new Caliph, the Qadiul Qudat's approval was essential. In important matters concerning invading a country or appointing the governor of a province he was consulted. If the Caliph, in the capacity of the commander-in-chief, invaded a country, the Qadiul Qudat accompanied him or he sent a deputy with each army. His seal on pacts, agreements, documents of Governorship, important commandments of the Caliph and wills was compulsory.

Raisul Askar (Army Chief)

Though every Caliph, every Amir, every minister and every important person could be the commander, there was a Raisul Askar or the commander-in-chief of the regular army of the Caliph. It was not a permanent post. Every division of an army had a commander. The Caliph could appoint who ever he liked as the Commander-in-chief. The commander of big and important expeditions was generally the Raisul Askar.

Mohtasib (Inspector)

The duty of a Mohtasib was to make rounds in the city, deter the people from violating the Shariah laws and punish them for committing misdeeds. They morally reinforced them by helping to remind the people to implement their Islam in the market places and other public places. He was subordinate to the Qadiul Qudat and was under the Chief of Police's authority. In modern terminology, we may call him a municipal inspector. He was also authorized to inspect the weights and measures of the traders and shopkeepers and arrest and punish any defaulters. A Mohtasib along with his subordinate staff was appointed in every town and market complex.

Nazir or Mushrif (Vigilant)

The Caliph appointed a Mushrif to look after all the government departments. He was given the status of a minister. A separate Mushrif or inspector for each department was appointed under him. After receiving reports from all the departments, the Mushriful Ala (Chief Inspector) presented a report, to the Caliph. They were an internal department for the improvement of the administrations efficiency.

Sahebu Bareed (Postmaster General)

The Caliph appointed Sahebul Bareed or Postmaster General to run and look after the Postal department in each province. His duty was to see to the departure of the royal post and arrange the horses at outposts for the messengers. It was his responsibility to see that a proper number of horses, mules or camels were always kept ready.

It was his duty to gather news and information of important events from all the provinces and communicate it to the Caliph's court. He had a body of sleuths under his command they supplied information about the subjects, the officers and the conditions of the departments of each province. He appointed his deputies in every city. This department dispatched public letters from one place to another. It also used pigeons for sending messages. The Postmaster General kept with him a register that contained the details about every post office, location, directions, and distances of the outposts and the list of the staff.

Katib (Secretary)

The Caliph appointed a Katib (Secretary). He held the rank of minister. His duty was to read to the Caliph the letters from abroad, write orders, issue instructions at the command of the Caliph and keep the necessary documents in safe custody. He had under him the offices of different departments such as the office housing the copies of royal orders, the registry office, and the office of military communications.

Amirul Minjaniq (Military Engineer)

He held the post of chief military engineer. Making roads, selecting places suitable for a battlefield and encampments, pulling down the enemies' forts and fortifications were part of his duties. His counsel and proposals regarding laying siege to forts or cities were given specific importance.

Amirut Tamir or Raisul Banna (Chief Architect)

He was the chief Engineer. He was responsible for constructing and repairing the royal palaces, public works construction projects, digging canals, constructing bridges and embankments.

Amirul Bahr (Naval Commander)

The chief of the warships and all naval forces was called Amirul Bahr. There were many officers under him and each of them had a war ship under his own command and reported to the Amirul Bahr.

Tabib (Doctor)

Tabib was the chief medical officer. More than one experienced and efficient doctor was always present at the court of the Caliph and in the capital. They took part in academic meets and were part of the community of intellectuals. Many hospitals and medicine shops were run at government expense under his supervision. They came from all countries and religions.

Other Important Departments and Offices

Though considered to be an independent ruler the Caliph was not supposed to rule with absolute impunity. When he was made Caliph and the oath was taken for him, he had to take a pledge that he would follow the Quran and the Prophet's traditions. The Scholars and legal experts had a right to object to any unlawful acts and were able to control him. If the Caliph's power came in conflict with their rights the subjects would fight against him and support the scholars and experts to the point of deposing the Caliph. Sometimes the scholars evaded discharging their duties and that led to corruption and weakness. Sometimes the Caliph would take advantage of his greatness and grandeur and issue orders without consulting anyone and have them implemented. However generally, all the public work was done in accordance with certain fixed rules and regulations and thus the government machinery used to run smoothly. That is why despite battles among the Sultans and dissension among the Amirs, the masses still had the opportunity to make progress in the arts and sciences and become more cultured and disciplined during the reign of the Abbasid caliphate. In the beginning of the Abbasid caliphate, the foundations of different arts and sciences were made. Invaluable documentation had already established. Then the Abbasid caliphate began to lose strength but the pace of development of their arts and sciences and inventions did not slow down. One of its greatest contributions was the implementation of a system of government, which was based on Islamic principles that remained undisturbed even after the government had become weak with battles and strife. Even during the period of anarchy and discontent, its character was ever present. That was why the educational, social and moral developments did not receive major setbacks. Although the governments of the Samanis, Saffaris and Seljuks were not stable, great scholars were born during their reigns and under their jurisdiction and reputed scholars of the arts and sciences left their immortal works behind.

Diwanul Aziz

The Caliph's court was known as Diwanul Aziz. Similarly, the office of the prime minister who dominated over all government departments and had his say in all matters and who appeared to virtually hold the reins of power in his hands was also called 'Diwanul Aziz'. All offices and departments were under him. The Prime Minister was supposed to issue orders after consulting with the heads of all the departments concerned.

Diwanul Khiraj

This may be called finance or tax revenue department. Sometimes it was directly handled by the Prime Minister and sometimes by a separate minister who was subordinate to the Prime Minister. Sometimes the Caliph did not let the Prime Minister have any link with the Finance Minister but had him connected to his own Katib (Secretary). Sometimes the Finance Minister appointed his deputies in the provinces himself and they were free from subordination by the governor of the province concerned. Generally, the Finance Minister empowered the Governors of the provinces to spend money but not without making them answerable for what they spent.

Diwanul Jizya or Diwan Dhamam

These offices housed the documents related to the Jizya (tax on non-Muslims for exemption from military duty) and the Dhimmis (non-Muslims who paid a tax for being exempted from military duty). It was responsible for the collection, fixation and exemption of the Jizya. The chief of the department was regarded as a subordinate to the Finance Minister. He had to carry out the Qadiul Qudat's (Chief Justice's) instructions related to the reduction or exemption of the Jizya.

Diwanul Askar

This department maintained the army register of military personnel. It had a direct link either with the Prime Minister or the Caliph. It disbursed salaries to the soldiers, the commander-in-chief was also considered to be an officer of this department. He was concerned with

this department to the extent that he was responsible for the disbursing of the salaries in his presence. The purchase of horses, mules, and camels, the collection of arms, and tailoring of uniforms were functions of this department.

Diwan Shurta

The Police officers and their management were under the supervision of these offices. The head of this department was the Chief of Police. The Mohtasibs also discharged their duties under this department. The salaries of the police of this department were higher than those of the soldiers and they were recruited with great care.

Diwan Dhaya

This department was concerned with the management of the revenue of the territories of Iraq considered to be the Caliph's feudal property. Its responsibility was to increase the produce of the fields and keep them always ploughed, seeded and green.

Diwan Bareed

Headquarters of the postal department were in Baghdad. It had details regarding maps of the territories, lists of the post offices, necessary directions about each stage of the road, instructions for the employees, reports of the services of the employees and workers and records and guidelines for peace and safety of the roads.

Diwanun Nafaqat

This department maintained the registers concerning the expenses, rewards, daily allowances and gifts of the Caliph's palaces.

Diwanut Tauqi

The department of the royal seal kept copies of each order issued by, or with the seal of the Caliph. This department, which may also be called the Official Registry department, was under the charge of the Katib (Secretary).

Diwanun Nazr Fil-Mazalim

The incharge of this department was the Mushriful Ala (Chief Inspector). He used to test the performances of the workers, correct errors in the registers and offices, inspect the offices and deter the workers and officers from wrong doing.

Diwanul Anhar

This department undertook the repair, safety of the canals and enhancement of the resources of irrigation. In addition to the farmers, the wealthy and other interested parties concerned with welfare activities were at liberty to dig canals. If the farmers or the inhabitants of a particular region wanted to dig a new canal, the government paid half of its expenditure. In cases of disputes between the two villages over the distribution of water, the government would let the farmers settle their disputes by peaceful means otherwise the department intervened and settled the problem. The benefit that the government received from the new irrigation canals was the increase in the collection of revenue, when production increased, the government received higher payments.

Diwanur Rasayel

The office of Correspondence's main functions was to prepare the manuscripts of pacts and agreements, sealing them with the official seals after having copied the royal orders, stamping these orders and putting them into envelopes, keeping copies of important judgments, sending copies of the royal mandates to provinces and cities, dispatching public petitions to the departments concerned and proposing the proper administrative policies for the offices.

Darul Adl

It could hear the appeals of every court. The Judge of Baghdad, the Chief Justice, ministers, legal experts and scholars of the city would gather and hear the major cases at the Darul Adl (Hall of Justice). The Caliph would also participate as President. If the Caliph himself was involved in the case, the Prime Minister or the Chief Justice would

preside over it. If the Governors were charged with rebellion or the Generals were accused of hatching a conspiracy they were given a chance to clarify their position. In this court, only those persons who could present written proof of his good conduct and standing duly signed by a judge and a Mohtasib (local inspectors of the market place) could stand witness. People of great status feared giving evidence at this court in case their conduct was questioned and objected to and their evidence rejected.

Darul Qada

The Judge's Court was a unique form of the Islamic justice system. Every Judge of the city could be a judge and magistrate in the Judge's Court. If anyone filed a case against the governor or administrator of the city, he had to appear in this court as an ordinary citizen and give proof. In order to handle the cases of non-Muslims, judges from among them were appointed. In the court of a non-Muslim judge, all civil and criminal cases would be heard and judgments delivered. In the case where one party was a non-Muslim the parties could by mutual consent take their case to whatever court they liked but an appeal in such cases would be heard by the Judge's Court. Even the non-Muslims in general liked to have their disputes settled at the Judge's court.

General Conditions of the Government

The government did not impose itself in the life-style and internal relations of the common people. The internal management of the cities and villages were in the hands of the citizens. They chalked out the plans of their safety quite freely. If they resented an administrator, they sent an application to the Caliph for his transfer and the Caliph generally granted it. No administrator was appointed without the consent of the citizens concerned. The inhabitants of a city were themselves a military force. At times, an army would surround the administrator of a city, he would face his enemies with the help of government forces but the citizens could compromise with the besieging enemy and the administrator would have to leave the city.

The official in general dared not deprive the citizens of their rights. Even an ordinary man could have access to high officials including the Caliph and say fearlessly whatever he wanted to say. The caliphs tried their utmost to endear themselves and prove themselves beneficial to their people. The Abbasid caliphs honored and patronized the arts and sciences.

Traveling Facilities

The Abbasid caliphs made careful arrangements for the safe passage of all travelers on the roads of Iraq, Hijaz, Iran, Khorasan, Mosul, and Syria. Groups of soldiers were assigned for the purpose of safety of the roads and outposts were set up at appropriate distances. Royal horses, camels and other means of traveling were available at every stage. A rest house was kept reserved for travelers at every stage of the road. Even the public could ride on the royal horses belonging to the postal department. Sometimes if the roads became dangerous due to robbers or rebels, royal forces would accompany a band of traders or other travelers. Similarly, for the sake of protection and safety an army was put under the charge of the Amirul Hajj (leader of the Pilgrimage), which went with the caravans of the pilgrims.

Trading Facilities

Every city had a committee of merchants and it was not compulsory for government officials to be part of the committee. The merchants themselves fixed the rates of commodities. Taxes were nominal on commodities. In this respect, the merchants did not have any grievance. They were given more respect than even government officials. They were welcome to pay visits to the Caliph's court. The city officials always tried to keep the merchants who brought commodities from abroad satisfied and pleased. They treated the merchants who brought commodities from outside as those who had made a public service. In case the goods were not sold, the official or the Sultan or the Caliph would buy it even if it was not needed at the time because they did not like to send the merchant away frustrated. If a caravan of merchants was looted in the jurisdiction of a particular administrator or governor, he was considered to be extremely careless

and worthless. The noblemen of the city used to invite and entertain the merchants and treat them as honored guests. If a merchant came from a foreign country, the Caliph himself would invite him to hear the stories of his journeys and would see him off with gifts and rewards. This attitude gave great incentives and encouragement to trade and so it flourished considerable. That was why during the reign of the Abbasid caliphs all kinds of trade and industry fully developed and each city came to acquire popularity for a particular industry. In this way, the products of one place began to be exported to another.

The Arabs had been the traders since ancient times. However, during the period of the Abbasid caliphs, the Iranians also developed an interest in trade. It developed to such an extent that the Muslim traders began to visit the coasts of the northern seas and the northern and southern parts of Africa, anthropologists have discovered Muslim artifacts manufactured in .Baghdad during the period of the Abbasid caliphs in Sweden and Madagascar. Some caliphs for instance Wathiq Billah, exempted foreign merchants from paying taxes and he levied no taxes on imports.

Government Tax Collectors

Instead of collecting money on cultivated or agricultural produce, share distribution was used. Forty percent of the produce was given to the government tax collector while sixty percent was left with the farmer. If the farmer had to work using irrigation, seventy five percent of the produce was left for him and twenty five percent was the government tax. On some agricultural products, only twenty percent was collected as tax and eighty percent was left to the farmer. On grape and date orchards, the tax was levied in cash on the basis of share distribution basis. In some provinces like Bahrain, Iraq and Jazirah, there were farmers on whose lands tax was fixed by agreement at the time of victory during the period of the first Caliphs. That was considered a permanent settlement and no enhancements could be made on it. At the time of fixing taxes, most of the lands were left tax-free and the farmers were exempted from paying taxes for the slightest reason. The government took special care to see that the farmers were happy and prosperous so that the population and the

prosperity of the territory would not suffer. A very large area of the territories collected only ten percent of the produce as tax. The Dhimmis who were not recruited in the army and the protection of whose lives rested on the government used to pay a nominal tax to cover military expenditures. Those who willingly joined the army were exempted from the payment of Jizya. There was conscription for the Muslims. The old and children among the Dhimmis were exempted. The Muslims had to pay another tax called Sadaqat (form of charity) while the wealthy among them had to pay the Zakat (this is the obligatory tax on wealthy Muslims), which could be called a wealth tax.

Government Expenditures

Along the Roman borders, the armies were stationed permanently in cantonments. They used to get higher pay than the other armies. One army always remained in the capital. One part of the army was deputed along the roads for safety and distributed over thousands of outposts. A good number of soldiers were kept in major cities and other central and key places. The police that worked under the command of the 'Mohtasib' and under the authority of the Chief of Police received their salaries from the government treasury. The major portion of the treasury was spent for the armies. That included the police of the postal department, horses and camels and the workers in the postal department. The militiamen who were requited to participate in the Roman border wars received their food, horses and other essential things from the government. In their absence cash and salaries or foodstuff were given to the members of their families. In times of war, the entire load and provision of the army fell on the government treasury. The chain of battles with the Romans continued and it led the caliphs to found cities and construct forts along the Roman borders. All the expenses of the armies of the provinces had to be borne by the treasuries of the provinces. However, the expenses of the armies on the Roman borders, security of Baghdad and the rest of Iraq, armed soldiers for postal safety, the Caliph's personal army and the militiamen all were paid by the Caliph's central treasury. Every new Caliph coming to the throne used to reward the army.

Important workers were awarded feudal estates and their salaries were fixed. In addition to construction of cities and forts, schools, bridges, canals, wells and mosques were continuously being built. Manufacturers, inventors and craftsmen were given bonuses and salaries, which encouraged them considerably and inspired others. Holistic doctors, medical doctors, poets, scholars and legal experts were amply rewarded and honored. Some Christian and Jewish doctors grew so rich in Baghdad that except the Caliph no one else excelled them in wealth. There were many schools in Baghdad the expenses of which were met with great royal liberality. In the same way there were high quality Halls of Knowledge in other cities. Factories for manufacturing arms, clothing, sugar, medicines and perfumes were set up in big cities and the government patronized them. Owing to the Caliph's special attention mills for making silken and woolen cloths and factories for manufacturing glass utensils made rapid progress. The Caliph had to have readily available with him in the treasury thousands of royal robes, shawls, woolen clothes, beautiful ceremonial dresses, costly swords, spears, shields and bows in order to reward and honor the extremely brave, the scholars, manufacturers and inventors. He used to purchase valuable and precious objects brought into the country by foreign traders and deposited them into his treasury and distribute them among the people as gifts and rewards.

Military Preparedness

The total strength of the army varied at different times. There were a number of armies. Each army was made up of ten thousand soldiers. Its chief was called Amir of the army. He had ten commanders under him and each of them had one thousand soldiers under his command. Each commander had ten deputies and each deputy had one hundred soldiers under him. Similarly, each deputy had ten sergeants and each sergeant had ten soldiers under his command. Sometimes the caliphs brought about some changes in the uniform of the army in accordance with their tastes. For instance, Motasim had lace sewn to the uniform of the Turk army. Sometimes the military uniforms were of costly brocade. A huge number of camels and mules for carrying equipment accompanied them. The army had spears, swords and shields with

them and was called 'Harbiah' (fighting army). The army that carried bows and arrows with it besides swords and shields was known as 'Ramiah' (shooting or throwing army). Each soldier had a helmet, iron armlets, gloves and socks. Every army had a team of engineers, physicians and surgeons. It carried with it stocks of medicine and all the necessary pharmaceuticals and other paraphernalia required for their mobile hospital with means of carrying the injured. Each army had a cavalry made up of veteran spearmen and archers.

When the caliphate grew weaker and Banu Buwayh became dominant, the custom of granting feudal estates to the army chiefs began and they were allowed to collect their salaries from the government collector of revenues who obtained the funds from that particular tract of land. This practice opened the door to the perpetration of atrocities on the farmers. When the Seljuks came into power, they introduced the custom that every administrator and every ruler was considered to be a general and they were supposed to be ready with an army in proportion to the collection of revenue from that part of the country. In other words, the army chiefs were made up of independent feudal lords by being the owner of part of the country their duty was to come with a fixed number of soldiers in times of emergency. The government of the whole territory thus came into the hands of the army chiefs and the old administrators and former feudal lords lost their power. The army had nothing to do with the royal treasury, the army chiefs had the authority to collect their salaries from their lands and property and to reduce or increase them as they saw fit. With his back to the wall the Caliph with the loss of revenue had to reduce the number of his soldiers leading ultimately and automatically to the seizure of power by the Sultans. When the Seljuks became weaker, the Caliph of Baghdad captured Iraq and directly increased his revenue and introduced again the old practice of separating the army from the administrative and managing functions.

Educational Developments

The Baitul Hikmah (House of Wisdom) had been established in Baghdad in the time of Haroon Rasheed. During Mamoon's, regime a big department began the work of translating Greek, Hebrew, Sanskrit

and Persian books. The Caliph arranged debates and academic discussions and participated in them. The scholars used to meet at the residences of the rulers, ministers and other important persons. Academic issues were hotly debated and listeners' minds would be highly illuminated. Just as a number of scholars were busy writing, compiling and translating books there was and equal number of them copying books. Booksellers were held in great esteem and busied themselves in copying books. They kept a number of copyists and calligraphers engaged in this work. People undertook journeys to distant lands for academic research and acquisition of knowledge and they proved themselves to be an invaluable asset to their countrymen and the royal court on their return. Ilmun Nahwa (Arabic grammar) was developed during the period of the Abbasid caliphate and many books were written on this subject. People penned books on travels. Ilmul Ahadith (Science of the traditions of the Prophet ﷺ) were compiled and edited. Books on the 'Usool (rules of principles) Ahadith were written. Similarly thousands of books on Ilmul Kalam, Ilmul Fiqah (Islamic Law) and Ilmul Orood' were written. Not only in Baghdad but also in all the major cities and territories, authors were engaged in scholarly pursuits. Very valuable books on medicine, physics, surgery and anatomy were written and published. Medicine shops were first started during this period. Similarly, the credit of systematizing and compiling the art of written history belongs to the same period. The Abbasids are also credited with very important discoveries in astronomy.

Mamoon Rasheed had the distance of one degree measured on the surface of the earth and thereby proved twice that the circumference of the earth was 24 thousands miles. He had observatories constructed and books written on the art of building. The telescope and the watch were also inventions of the Abbasid period. Remarkable books on mysticism, morality and theology were authored during this period. Not only were books on mathematics, chemistry, geology, zoology, botany and logic written but also the Muslims established these sciences. To fully do justice to the scholastic achievements of Muslims during this period would require a separate voluminous book. In these academic developments, the Umayyah caliphate of Andalusia did not lag behind and was the forerunner of many of the world's modern sciences.

Part Two

We have examined until this point in the narrative the life of the Prophet (ﷺ) and we have read in detail the conditions and the situations concerning the rightly guided Caliphs. No one after the Prophet (ﷺ) was permitted by Islamic law to inherit his property based on his relationship with him (ﷺ) or become the ruler or Caliph of the government founded by him (ﷺ), and this decision was taken in keeping with Islamic teachings. Each of the rightly guided Caliphs had sons and those sons were very capable but none of the caliphs wanted to nominate their sons nor did the rule and government become an inheritance in their families. Only after Ali (رضي الله عنه), his son Hasan رضي الله عنه was made Caliph by the people of Kufa. After six months, he handed the caliphate and the government over to Amir Mu'awiyah (رضي الله عنه). What Amir Mu'awiyah (رضي الله عنه) did was to nominate his son as his successor and instead of on his own accord giving it to a person chosen by the majority of the Muslims, he handed the Islamic government to his descendent as a personal inherited right. Never the less he did not officially say that the Islamic government was the property of a single individual family and so he tried to have all the Muslims agree to take the oath for Yazeed. This act of Amir Mu'awiyah (رضي الله عنه) caused the Muslims of that period to struggle hard to remedy it and this brought about the disaster at Karbala. It was due to these efforts that Abdullah bin Zubair رضي الله عنه was made Caliph and Amir Mu'awiyah's family was deprived of the Islamic government. Along with Mu'awiyah's act the Jew Abdullah bin Saba's anti Islamic conspiracy proved effective in disturbing the basic system of Islamic rule. First, the inner mistake, which was attributed to Mu'awiyah (رضي الله عنه) and secondly the external opposition, which was called Saba's conspiracy combined and turned into a great trial or evil disorder by being presented as Islamic. The result was that this Islamic pillar of government was pushed off its foundation and it also became the target for disaster by anti Islamic forces. The Marwani caliphs strengthened the evil practice of succession and nomination of the future ruler and this enabled those incapable of beneficial rule to hold the caliphate. It dealt a fatal blow to the awe and grandeur of Islamic

rule and in parallel allowed a series of struggles to begin that took advantage of Saba's moves aimed against the Islamic sultanate. Finally, the Abbasids captured the caliphate from the Umayyah caliphs and it marked the beginning of division in the Islamic government. Before the Abbasids Banu Umayyah ruled over the entire Islamic world with a single center and a single caliphate. However, in the beginning of the reign of the Abbasids in Spain a separate Umayyah government was formed that was out of the jurisdiction of the Abbasid caliphs. Then Morocco, North Africa and other territories established separate Islamic governments. After discussing the caliphate of Banu Umayyah, we have finished discussing the Abbasid caliphate leaving the other governments that were founded separately during the period of the Abbasid caliphate and in the third volume we shall study them. It is appropriate here in order to bring the continuity of events and subjects into perspective to give a short description of these ruling dynasties.

Spain

The Muslims conquered Spain and established their government in 93 A.H. and it was a province of the caliphs of Banu Umayyah. Until 138 A.H., like all other provinces Amirs and administrators were appointed by the rulers on behalf of the Banu Umayyah caliphs. When the Abbasids destroyed the Umayyah government and took it over, the tenth Caliph of the Umayyahs Hisham's grandson Abdur Rahman somehow escaped the bloodthirsty swords of the Abbasids and reached Spain and founded his government there in 138 A.H. When the Abbasid army attacked him, he repulsed and defeated them. He made the Spanish city Qurtabah (Cordoba) his capital and began his magnificent rule. This rule continued in his family until 422 A.H. The pomp and dignity and the power and greatness of these Spanish caliphs threw the entire continent of Europe into deep consternation and their love of knowledge and culture won them international praise and admiration. Their feats and achievements are more interesting and instructive than those of Banu Abbas. In 422 A.H., there began a state of anarchy in Spain and it led to the down fall and end of the grand caliphate of the Umayyah dynasty. After that, Spain was divided into small Muslim states and they made cities like Cordoba, Seville, Granada and Valencia

their capitals. After a short time, the Muslim Kingdoms of Africa brought most of Spain under their subjugation. The Christian Kings took advantage of the civil wars raging among the Muslims inciting the Muslims to fight among themselves and when they became extremely weak, the Christian conquerors of Spain subjected them to a repression that no nation had been subjected to or had been inflicted on the face of humanity. The history of Spain makes the Muslims shed tears of blood. The story of the ruin of the Spanish Muslims has the power of wounding the hearts and minds of the believers.

The Sultanate of Idrisid in Morocco

In 172 A.H. Morocco became separated from the Abbasid caliphate and an independent government was formed. Though this sultanate was in the neighborhood of Spain, it was opposed to the Spanish caliphate as it was to the Abbasid caliphate. It lasted for about 200 years. The Idrisi Kings ruled for 100-125 years and then the Obeidis started ruling in North Africa. Finally, it was divided in several parts and after surviving as ordinary rulers and chiefs their rule ended.

The Sultanate of Aghlabia in North Africa

In 184 A.H., the province of North Africa (Tunis) separated from the Abbasids and the descendents of Ibrahim Aghlabs governed with great pomp and dignity for more than 100 years. In 219 A.H., the sultanate of Aghlab captured the Island of Sicily from the Christians and annexed it to its own territory and continued to rule over it until the end of their dynasty. There were a few very courageous and able rulers in this dynasty. When the Obeidis (Fatimids) revolted, they founded their sultanate on the bases formed by the Aghlabs. They seized the Idrisi government and made the Aghlab's capital of Qairwan their own capital. Egypt came under their control and then they moved their capital to Egypt. The history of the Aghlab government is move interesting than that of the Idrisi. It met its end in 296 A.H. This dynasty conquered not only Sicily but also Malta and Sardinia. They had a powerful naval force and they dominated the Mediterranean Sea. At times, their fleets attacked and looted the coasts of Greece, Italy and France.

The Sultanate of Ziyad in Yemen

In 203 A.H., Muhammad bin Ziyad who was a descendant from Ziyad bin Abi Sufian, was appointed as the governor of Yemen. His dynasty continued to rule in Yemen until 402 A.H. Muhammad bin Ziyad founded the city of Zubaid and made it his capital. He conquered the province of Tahama adjacent to Yemen and he captured Hadramut also. There were a few very lucky and powerful Kings in this dynasty. In 288 A.H., the Alawis took a part of his territory and founded the Zaidiyah government. The borders of this sultanate continued to shrink. Though the Zaidiyah sultanate was independent, the names of the Abbasid caliphs were read in the Friday sermons there. Besides Zaidiyah when another independent government was established in a part of Yemen, they removed the names of the Abbasids from their Friday sermons. When the Zaidiyah sultanate grew weak, their slaves and slaves of the slaves began to rule. After that, a number of dynasties ruled in Yemen one after another. After the Zaidiyah there followed the Yafuriah, Najahiah, Sailhiah, Hamdaniah, Mahdiah, Zoriah, Ayyubiah, Rasooliah and the Tahriah dynasties which ruled independently until 1000 A.H. Some of these dynasties were Shia and some were Sunni. Their histories have nothing remarkable about them.

The Sultanate of Tahir Husain in Khorasan

Mamoon Rasheed Abbasid appointed Tahir bin Husain as the governor in Khorasan in 205 A.H. After that, this dynasty ruled for 50 years in Khorasan. The Tahir dynasty established Khorasan as a separate entity from Baghdad and from that time on they thought themselves independent from Baghdar rule,but the rulers of the Tahir dynasty regarded themselves as subordinate to the Caliph of Baghdad and read his name in the Friday sermons but the Caliph's court did not interfere in the affairs of Khorasan.

The Saffar Dynasty in Khorasan and Iran

In 254 A.H., Yaqub bin Laith Saffar captured Iran and separated it from the Abbasid caliphate. In 259 A.H., he brought under his control

Khorasan as well and put an end to the Tahir government. The Saffar dynasty governed for about 40 years and then the Samania government did away with them. Whatever has been stated about the Tahir and Saffar dynasties in the previous pages is sufficient for our purposes and these two dynasties will not be included in the coming volume.

The Samania Dynasty in Mawaraunnahr and Khorasan

Some things have been said about the Samanis above when the Samani government of Mawaraunnahr took away Khorasan from the Saffaris and Tabristan from the Alawis, its jurisdiction extended from Mawaraunnahr (including the cities of Samarkand and Bukhara) to the gulf of Iran and the Caspian Sea. From that time, Mawaraunnahr was free from the authority of the Abbasid caliphate. The Samani dynasty ruled for 125 years. Their contribution to the development of arts and sciences, culture and civilization is appreciable. Bukhara and Samarkand became centers of the arts and sciences and these cities were the birthplace of scholars of such repute that the world still remembers them. After about half a century, Khorasan, Iran and Tabristan slipped out of the control of the Samani rulers. The Buyid dynasty established their domination over this region and over threw the Samanis. Turk slaves of this dynasty became dominant and the Buyids downfall started approaching fast. In 384 A.H., a Turk slave of this dynasty Alptageen captured part of the Samani territory. Between 380 A.H. and 389 A.H., the Turks captured the remainder of the Samani territory and ended the Buyid dynasty. The history of the Samani government is even more interesting because this sultanate helped in the establishment of Alptageen's sultanate and Alptageen's successor was Subaktaggen whose son Mahmood Ghaznavi, remains an interesting and captivating figure for the students of Asian history.

The Sultanate of Qaramata in Bahrain

In 286 A.H., the provinces of Bahrain were separated from the Abbasid caliphate and Qaramata established his own kingdom there. He made the people's lives a hell through his repressive measures. His tyrannies and misdeeds will be recorded in a separate chapter. His rule in Bahrain lasted until 364 A.H. after that other dynasties took

control of Bahrain and a number of independent states began to rule there and in the provinces of that area.

The Sultanate of Alawis in Tabristan

From 250 A.H. to 316 A.H., Zaidi Alawi ruled in Tabristan. The Samanis annihilated them and yet several rivals kept fighting with one another in the region and they helped in the establishment of the Buyid dynasty, which has been discussed in the previous pages.

The Province of Sindh

In 265 A.H., the province of Sindh became independent from the Abbasid caliphate and two independent Muslim kingdoms were established, one having its capital in Multan and the other in Mansoora. The southern part of Sindh formed part of the sultanate of Mansoora while the northern part was ruled over the sultanate of Multan. Small states like Tooran, Qasdar, Kaikanan, Makran, and Mushki were established by Arab chiefs who had recognized the authority of the bigger states and paid taxes to them. In this way, the whole of Sindh became independent of the Caliph of Baghdad but his name continued to be read in the Friday sermons there. These states began to grow weaker and in 100-125 years time they were extinct. However, the state of Multan survived until Mahmood Ghaznavi invaded India.

The Buyid or Buwayhid Dynasty

The Buyids or Dailamis reigned in Iran and Iraq from 322 A.H. to 447 A.H., approximately 125 years. Instead of declaring independence from the Caliph's rule, the Buyids dominated the Caliph and captured the province of Iraq and finished the Abbasid caliphate both literally and figuratively. They however, spared the Caliph's name and the caliphate in name.

The blow that was dealt to the dignity and reliability of the Abbasid caliphate by the Buyids has been stated briefly in the previous pages. They imposed themselves on the Caliph and he became their puppet. The Buyids have found mention with the history of the Abbasids and no further details about them are needed in coming pages.

The Sultanate of Tuloon in Egypt

Ibn Tuloon has bean mentioned previously. Bani Tuloon ruled on Egypt from 254 A.H. to 292 A.H. Though he was independent and the province of Egypt was virtually separated from the Abbasid caliphate in 254 A.H., in the Friday sermon the name of the Caliph of Baghdad continued to be read in Egypt. Bani Tuloon annexed Syria to their government. Their kingdom in Egypt and Syria claimed to be loyal to the Caliph of Baghdad but they had cut off the court of Baghdad from any involvement in the Egyptian and Syrian governments.

The Sultanate of Akhshidiah in Egypt and Syria

When the government of Bani Tuloon ended in Egypt and Syria, the Governors of both the provinces began to come from the Caliph's court for sometime and both the provinces appeared to become a part of the Abbasid caliphate again. In 316 A.H., the Caliph of Baghdad, Moqtadir Billah, appointed Muhammad bin Tafaj governor of Ramla. In 318 A.H., he was made the ruler of Damascus followed by Egypt in 323 A.H. Muhammad bin Tafaj belonged to an ancient ruling dynasty of Farghana of Mawaraunnahr. The chiefs of Farghana were then called Akhshid. Muhammad bin Tafaj captured the Egyptian throne and announced his autonomy in 327 A.H. and chose the title Akhshid. In 330 A.H., he conquered Syria and in 331 A.H. annexed the Hijaz to his Kingdom and founded his dynasty. In so doing, he faced no hardship because the Buyids had made the Caliph's court powerless and ineffective. The fear and awe of the Caliph had left the public's hearts. The Akhshid dynasty ruled over these countries until 356 A.H. when the Fatimids conquered Egypt and later Syria.

The Sultanate of Obeidi (Fatimids) in Egypt, North Africa and Syria

In 296 A.H., the Aghlab dynasty ended in North Africa (Tunis) yielding to the Obeidi dynasty. In 356 A.H., the Obeidis took Egypt from a minor of the Akhshid dynasty and made Cairo their capital and constructed the defensive walls of the city. In 381 A.H., the Obeidis captured Aleppo and in a short time, their government

extended from the Moroccan border to Syria. The Obeidis left Qairwan and made Cairo their capital, the islands in the Mediterranean Sea and the western districts could no longer be held under their control but their superiority in the eastern part of the Mediterranean Sea was established and the eastern conquests compensated for their western losses. Most of the western territories that they lost went under the Christian's control and they latter took the eastern territories from the Muslims. The advent of the Obeidis in Egypt benefited the Christians and put the Muslims at loss. The Obeidis also claimed the caliphate and took the oath from those under their occupation and they were called Caliph by their subjects. Thus, three lines of the caliphate became established in the world. The foremost and the longest is that which was established by Abu Bakr Siddiq ♣ and ended with the last Caliph of the Ottoman dynasty Sultan Abdul Majeed. The first part is called the rightly guided caliphs, the second the Umayyah dynasty, the third is the Abbasid dynasty, the fourth is the Abbasids of Egypt and the fifth is the Ottoman Empire. We have finished four parts of this long chain. The fifth part will follow. The second separate line of the caliphate began from the period of Abdul Rahman III in Spain and ended with that dynasty. The majority of Islamic scholars have recognized this line of the caliphate as lawful. They regarded the caliphs of Spain as the caliphs of Islam, that is, obedience to them by the Muslims living in their regions was considered obligatory. The third separate line of the caliphate was started by the Obeidis (Fatimids) and has not been recognized as a true line by the scholars of Islam. They recognize them neither as caliphs nor do they regard them as deserving honor. They introduced partnership with Allah and evil innovations, desecrated Islamic worship and committed many kinds of misdeeds. The rule of the Obeidis lasted until 567 A.H. Then Sultan Salahuddin Ayyubi ended this dynasty, founded the Ayyubi dynasty and reintroduced the mention of the Abbasid caliphs in the Friday sermons in Egypt.

Daulatul Hamdan in Mosul, Jazirah and Syria

Abul Hija Abdullah bin Hamdan bin Hamdoon bin Harith bin Luqman bin Asad bin Hazam founded an independent state in the provinces of Mosul in 289 A.H. and for about 100 years Banu Hamdan

governed in Jazirah and Syria. They continued the Friday sermon in the name of the Abbasid caliphs in their territories. Prominent rulers among them were Saifuddaulah and Nasiruddaulah who ruled in Syria and Mosul respectively. They had taken the greater parts of Syria from Banu Akhshid and captured Jazirah too. They fought the Buyids that is, the Dailamis, a number of times and they gave them a good fight. Sometimes they got the better of the Caliph, who in that period of course was the puppet of the Buyids or Dailamis. During their regime, the issue of offensive and defensive responsibility against the Romans had nothing to do with the Caliph's court. Banu Hamdan alone invaded the Romans and retaliated against their attacks. Among these, Saifuddaulah led successful wars against the Romans and received much recognition in this respect. Finally, only Syria remained under their control and Hamadan's government went under the control of their slaves who introduced the Obeidis name in the Friday sermon in Syria and ultimately this government met its end in 380 A.H. Banu Aqil bin Kab bin Rabiah bin Amir established his rule in Mosul and captured the province of Jazirah. After that, several Arab chiefs established their kingdoms in small territories in these areas. They lived under the auspices of some bigger power in name only and sometimes they declared their independence until the Seljuks captured Baghdad and dominated all of Iraq and then the Seljuks deputed their own governors or established their own direct rule.

The Government of Banu Sulaiman in Makkah

The Caliph of Baghdad used to appoint Governors to Makkah. But in 301 A.H., Muhammad bin Sulaiman who descended from Sulaiman bin Dawood bin Hasan Muthanna bin Hasan bin Ali bin Abi Talib founded an independent government (Muhammad bin Sulaiman should not be confused with Sulaiman bin Dawood's son because between these two Sulaiman's there are probably two or three more). The State lasted until 430 A.H. During these 125 years, there were many fights and battles. Four or five persons of this dynasty ruled in Makkah. It was a strange sort of rule. During the Hajj season, the caravans from Egypt and Baghdad arrived and quarreled over reading the Friday sermon. They attached no importance to the Governor of Makkah. If the Amirul Hajj of Baghdad dominated, he

used to read the names of the Buyids and the Caliph of Baghdad. If the Egyptian Amirul Hajj got the better of the one from Baghdad, he used to read the name of Banu Akhshid in the Friday sermon. When the Obeidis (Fatimids) emerged victorious in Egypt, the Obeidis and the Abbasids would fight over the Friday sermon. When the Qaramata held power, they slew the Hujjaj and looted Makkah and the pilgrims caravans. Sometimes when the Egyptians desecrated the black stone and hurled stones and abuse on it, the Iraqis flew into a rage and started putting them to sword. During the same period, the Qaramata removed the black stone, carried it away to Bahrain and returned it to Makkah only after 20 or more years. In brief, during the Hajj time no trace of any rule of Banu Sulaiman was found in Makkah. They were Zaidi Shias and so they were naturally inclined to the Obeidis but they surrendered to whoever was more powerful.

The State of Hashimites in Makkah

After the Banu Sulaiman, Abu Hashim Muhammad bin Hasan bin Muhammad bin Musa bin Abdullah bin Abi Alkaram bin Musa's descendents began to rule in Makkah. They lived as rulers of Makkah like Banu Sulaiman. They started reading the name of the Caliph of Baghdad in the Friday sermon in the beginning of the Seljuk period. When the Seljuk Sultans became weak near their end the Hashims began to read the names of the Obeidi rulers in the Friday sermon. When Sultan Salahuddin Ayyubi wiped out the Obeidi (Fatimid) government in 567 A.H., the Hashims of Makkah became extinct as the Hijaz and Yemen came under Salahuddin's control and the Governors of Makkah were appointed by his dynasty. After some time Banu Qatadah established their rule in Makkah followed by Banu Nami and others until the Ottomans conquered the Hijaz and the Ottoman Sultan began to appoint the rulers of Makkah known as the Sharif of Makkah. Then in times that are more recent, Sharif Husain rebelled against the Ottomans and did great damage to the Islamic government by turning himself into the focus of hatred and humiliation of the entire Islamic world. He recognized the so-called Christian superiority and brought disgrace on the Hashimites.

The State of Marwaniya in Dayar Bakr

Abu Ali bin Marwan was a Kurd. He founded an independent government in Dayar Bakr, which lasted, in his family over 100 years from 380 A.H. to 489 A.H. The cities of Amad, Arzan, Miafareqeen and Kaifah were included in this state. They were loyal to the Obeidis of Egypt and the Obeidis made them the rulers of Halab this bringing them on par with the Hamdanis. They showed allegiance to the Buyid dynasty too. An invasion by the Seljuks put and end to them.

The Sultanate of Ghaznaviya in Afghanistan

It has been stated above that Alptageen had established a separate kingdom by capturing the southern part of the Samani sultanate. Then his son-in-law Subuktageen succeeded him as the ruler. Mahmood Ghaznavi was his son. This dynasty reigned from 351 A.H. to 552 A.H. During Mahmood Ghaznavi's regime, the length, breath and power of this sultanate reached its zenith. It extended from the Punjab and Multan in India to the western edge of Khorasan and from the Persian Gulf to the river Jejune. He invaded the territory up to Samarkand and Bukhara, he launched offensives against Kalinjer (Bengal) and Somnath on the other side. When this dynasty was in decline, the Khwarizm Shahs captured Khorasan while Afghanistan and Punjab were conquered by the Ghauri dynasty. The Ghaznavi dynasty was always loyal to the Caliph of Baghdad. During the regime of Sultan Mahmood Ghaznavi, the Seljuks came out of their ancestral lands of western China and settled in the plains of Bukhara and gradually they spread up to Asia Minor. Mahmood Ghaznavi had conquered the territories up to Mawaraunnahr.

Seljuk Dynasty

The rule of the Seljuks lasted for about 270 years from 430 A.H. to 700 A.H. Its beginning was very magnificent but at the end it was divided into many parts. From the beginning, they were divided into many sects. Their longest hereditary line was the one that included kings of international repute like Alp Arsalan and Malik Shah Seljuk. They are

called the Seljuk of Iran. A brief account about them has been given above. A detailed account will follow next. Besides them, the Seljuk of Kerman, Seljuk of Iraq, Seljuk of Syria, Seljuk of Rome (modern day Turkey) are also well known. The histories of all these dynasties are not without interest. After these there followed the sultanates of their slaves and the Atabaks (slave teachers or tutors). They also add richness and grandeur to our Islamic history. The Seljuks appeared on the horizon at a time when the repressions of the Dailamis (Buyids) had humiliated and weakened the caliphate in Baghdad. The Islamic government was torn to pieces and they established separate and independent kingdoms as we have read above. The Seljuks restored the lost glory of the Abbasid caliphate unseated many small dynasties from power and rule and resuscitated the Caliph's greatness and dignity in a grand and powerful government. The Seljuks power was based on their military and martial prowess, they let the army chiefs run the country's administration and government. It soon was in disarray and all the Seljuk chiefs vying with each other helped bring back the past anarchy by capturing provinces and states separately and independently. The Seljuks were new converts but they were the embodiment of sincerity and free from the conspiring and intriguing of the Alawis. They had many opportunities to serve the cause of Islam.

They served the cause of religious knowledge and encouraged noble-hearted people as much as they could. They held in greatest esteem the Abbasid caliphs simply because they thought they deserved it in view of the old traditions of Islam. They remained quite unaffected by the rivalries of Abbasids, Umayyahs and Alawis. They neither hated one sect nor did they love the other unjustifiably. They were simple, straightforward and true Muslims. They fought the Christians tooth and nail and established the superiority of the Muslims' swords on the hearts of the Christians and pushed back their on rushing flood with authority. It was due to their rule that the government of the Abbasid caliphs survived until the end. The cause of their downfall was the same that brings down every nation, internal dissensions and bickering.

The Seljuks power as has already been stated, was a military one their power was dependent on the army. Its officers were Turk slaves who were brought from the forests of Qaichaq and purchased. The Seljuk

Sultans trusted them most. They never doubted their loyalty. When those slaves grew disciplined and became chiefs, they proved to be extremely brave and faithful. The Seljuk Sultans assigned their slave chiefs as tutors to their young princes and the princes learned manners under their tutelage and that was why they called those slave-tutors Atabak. The word Atabak in Turkish language means an Amir who may be taken as the father's deputy. When the Seljuk Sultans became powerless after years of in fighting, those slaves or Atabaks found opportunities and established their own governments in different territories. Taftageen, Seljuk Tatash's slave, was appointed tutor to Tatash's minor son Wafaq Seljuk and became the ruler of Tatash's government after Wafaq and began to rule in Damascus. Emaduddin Zangi, Sultan Malik Shah slave's son, founded an Atabak state in Mosul and Aleppo. The Seljuk Sultan of Iraq Masood had a Qaichaqi slave. He established an Atabak sultanate in Azerbaijan. Sultan Malik Shah had a slave named Anustageen among whose descendents were the kings of Khwarizm Shahia. Similarly, there was an Atabak chief name Salfar who founded an Atabak government in Iran. In brief, by the sixth century A.H. all the Seljuk countries were captured and ruled over by Seljuk army chiefs.

The Atabaks of Syria and Iran

Malik Shah's Turk slave was Ak Sanfar who was his Hajib also. He was assigned as the ruler in Syria and Iraq. In 521 A.H., Ak Sanfar's son Emaduddin took over as the Governor of Iraq and the same year he annexed Mosul, Sanfar, Jazirah and Harran to his kingdom. In 522 A.H., he brought into his possession major parts of Syria. Emaduddin waged holy wars against the Romans and endeared himself to the world of Islam. His son Nuruddin Mahmood succeeded him as the ruler of Syria while his second son Saifuddin took Iraq. Nuruddin Mahmood out did his father in launching holy wars against the Romans and achieved even greater fame. After him, his family was torn into several groups. The Ayyubi dynasty was a branch of the same family as the Emaduddin Zangi dynasty, which continued to rule for 125 years.

The Atabaks of Arbela (Irbil)

Among Emaduddin Zangi's Turk officers was one named Zain Ali Kochak bin Buktageen who served as his deputy in Mosul. In 539 A.H., he annexed Sanjar, Harran, Takrait and Irbil (ancient: Arbela) to his kingdom and made Irbil his capital and established an independent government. It continued under his family's rule until 630 A.H. After that, it went directly under the control of the Caliph in Baghdad.

The Atabaks of Deyar Bakr

Artooq bin Aksab Seljuk was an army officer. His son El Ghazi founded his own government in 495 A.H. The government remained with this family in name only until Timur's times. They were loyal to the rulers of Sultan Salahuddin Ayyubi.

The Atabaks of Armenia

Qutbuddin Seljuk's slave Salman Qutbi took the city of Khalat from the Marwani kingdom and established his own sultanate in 493 A.H. His descendents continued to rule until 604 A.H. when the Ayyubi sultanate conquered it.

The Atabaks of Azerbaijan

Sultan Masood's Qaichaqi slave Alizkaz established his own government in Azerbaijan that lasted for a hundred years from 531 A.H. to 632 A.H.

The Atabaks of Iran

the chief of a group of Turks was named Salfhar. He joined the supporters of Tughral Baig Seljuk. One of his descendents Sanfar bin Maudood captured Iran in 543 A.H. His family continued to rule in Iran until 686 A.H. A ruler of this dynasty, Atabak Sad, began to pay taxes to Khwarizm Shah. It was after his name that Sheikh Muslehuddin Shirazi chose his title *Sadi* for his famous book. Atabak Abu Bakr succeeded Atabak Sad. He was loyal to Ektai Khan of the

Mongols. It was this Atabak Abu Bakr whom Sadi has referred to in his masterpiece *Gulsitan*.

The Atabaks of Laristan (near the Arabian Gulf in Iran)

The founder of this dynasty was Atabak Tahir who was a chief of the Atabaks of Iran. The year Sanqar bin Maudood captured Iran, Atabak Tahir was sent to conquer Laristan. He captured Laristan and established his rule there in 543 A.H., which lasted until 740 A.H. One of the branches of this dynasty continued to govern in Laristan until the tenth century A.H.

The Atabaks of the Khwarizm Shahia

Anwastageen was a Turk slave of Bulgatageen Ghaznavi who became Malik Shah's water supplier. Malik Shah appointed him as the ruler of Khwarizm (Khiva). Then his son Khwarizm Shah succeeded him. He extended his Kingdom up to the bank of the river Jejune and captured Khorasan and Isfahan. Khwarizm Shah's son Aladdin Muhammad conquered Bukhara and Samarkand in 607 A.H. and then extended their territory to include a major part of Afghanistan up to Ghazneen. Then he became a Shia and decided to uproot and wipe out the Abbasid caliphate. He just had begun his plan when Genghis Khan invaded and threw him into a defensive posture. The Mongols pursued him and he continued to evade them until he died on an island in the Caspian Sea in 617 A.H. He left three sons who continued to evade the Mongols. One of them Jalaluddin Khwarizm fled to India and after living there for two years went back to fight against the Mongols. Ultimately the Mongols destroyed their dynasty in 628 A.H. The Khwarizm Shah's Kingdom began in 470 A.H. and ended in 628 A.H. Their rule was regarded as equal to that of the Seljuks.

The State of Ayyubiah

An account of the Atabaks of Syria and Iraq has been given above. One of them Emaduddin Zangi appointed a Kurd chief called Ayyub bin Shadi as governor of the city of Baalbek. Gradually he became an important leader. Ayyub had a younger brother Sherkoh. When Emaduddin died and his son Nuruddin Mahmood Zangi succeeded

him as king, he made Sherkoh the ruler of Hims and Rahba. When he saw his merits and bravery, he made him the supreme commander of his army. When Nuruddin sent Sherkoh to Egypt, he asked his nephew Salahuddin Ayyubi to accompany him to Egypt. This has already been stated. Salahuddin founded his sultanate in 564 A.H. and Egypt, Syria and the Hijaz were quickly annexed to it. The kingdom founded by him is known as the Ayyubi Dynasty. This dynasty continued to rule until 648 A.H. but after Salahuddin it became divided. One of its branches at Hama survived until 742 A.H.

The Mamluks of Egypt

After the Ayyubi Dynasty of Egypt, the country saw the rise of the slave kings in 560 A.H. that has been discussed above. They also had two branches. They were vanquished in 922 A.H. and were replaced by the Ottomans.

While discussing the Seljuk Sultans we have covered a large area of history and have to go back to address several popular and powerful kingdoms, which were, established much earlier for which chronological references need to be given. So let us leave the eastern territories like Khorasan, Iraq and Syria and turn our attention to the west.

The Kingdom of the Zeriah of Tunis

When the Obeidi (Fatimid) Dynasty shifted its capital from Qairwan to Cairo, the whole of North Africa from Egypt to Morocco was under their jurisdiction at the time. Their naval forces in the Mediterranean Sea were regarded as superior to all but after the shifting of the capital to Cairo, its power did not last long over the western territories. The kingdom of the Zeriah was established in Tunis and it ruled from 362 A.H. to 543 A.H.

The Samadias of Algeria

The dynasty of Samadia established their rule in Algeria and they governed from 398 A.H. to 547 A.H. Due to the Obeidi's shifting their capital the Berber tribes in Morocco became independent/ They were destroyed by the dynasty of the Mowahids.

The Kingdom of the Murabitun

During the period of the caliphate of Banu Umayyah, some tribes of Yemen came and settled in the lands of the Berbers like Tunis, Algeria and Morocco. By virtue of their teachings, Preachings and the ideal Islamic way of life they converted the Berbers to Islam. One of the tribes that lived in Morocco managed to convert the Berbers that were still unconverted through the sermons of Faqih Abdullah bin Yaseen of the Maltunah tribe in 448 A.H. They wanted to make him their leader but he refused and pointed towards a man named Abu Bakr. The new Muslim Berbers chose Abu Bakr as their leader and began to address him as Amirul Muslimeen. This assemblage attracted the neighboring tribes. There was no stable government in Morocco at the time. There were various tribal territories but none were dominant. During this anarchy, Abu Bakr's power began to rise in stages. He called his men Murabitun the defending army of the Islamic border. Abu Bakr inspired them to serve Islam and motivated them to be very brave. He then moved forward towards eastern Morocco and conquered Sijilmassa and made his cousin Yusuf bin Tashfain its governor. Yusuf bin Tashfain was very religions minded, brave and wise. When Abu Bakr died in 453 A.H., Yusuf bin Tashfain became their leader. He founded the city of Morrocco and made it his capital. In 472 A.H., the Christians beleaguered the Muslim leaders of Spain by their attacks and the Muslims of Spain sought help from him. He went to Spain and broke the backbone of the Christians by defeating them in a major battle. He left an army of 3,000 Murabitun in Spain for its defense and returned to Morocco. After four years, the Christians again attacked the Muslims and they begged Yusuf to help them again. He defeated the Christians and annexed the Islamic part of Spain to his government. In short, Spain, Morocco, Tunis, Algeria and Tripoli were included in the Kingdom of the Murabitun. This dynasty paid very little attention to naval power. Their rule lasted until 551 A.H. By virtue of their valiant actions, they rendered the Christians quite powerless and helpless for a century.

The Kingdom of the Mowahids

Abu Abdullah Muhammad bin Tumart was from the Berber tribe Masmuda, they inhabited Sous Mountain (part of the High Atlas range in southern Morocco), he was known for his profound knowledge of the Traditions of the Prophet ﷺ, Islamic law, the Arabic language and literature and he had deep interest in the propagation of Islam calling to the good and forbidding evil. He made no discrimination between the rich and the poor in matters of moral instruction and truthfulness. His austerity made him content with simple dress and food. There was a group loyal to him and called him the Mahdi. He enjoyed royal privileges among his followers. Before his death in 522 A.H., he handed the leadership of his group called Mowahhadin to his friend Abdul Momin. Abdul Momin rebelled against the Murabitun and began to conquer territory. Ultimately within the span of two years, he took most of the territory of the Murabitun, caused their downfall and sent an army to Spain. After conquering Spain and Morocco, he called himself Amir al Muminin. Then in 547 A.H., he conquered Algeria and destroyed the Samadia dynasty. After the conquest of Tripoli, his Kingdom extended from the Egyptian border to the Atlantic Ocean including Spain. In 632 A.H., the army of the Mowahids received a great setback at the hands of the Christians and they failed to maintain their rule in Spain. However, the leaders of Granada continued to fight the Christians. After the loss of Spain, the dynasty of the Mowahids showed signs of weakness and decline. Sultan Salahuddin Ayyubi took Tripoli from them then followed a declaration of independence by the dynasty of the Hafsids who had ruled as the Mowahids deputies in Tunis and soon after that Algeria also followed suit. A number of leaders vied for power in Morocco leading ultimately to the end of this dynasty in 667 A.H. Its place was taken over by the Marinid Dynasty in Morocco.

Hafsid Dynasty in Tunis

The Mowahids had deputized in Tunis a man named Hafs as the ruler on their behalf. His family continued to inherit this post for generations. Finally, it declared its independence in 625 A.H. It ruled honorably for

over three hundred years in Tunis. In 941 A.H., the Ottoman Admiral Khairuddin (Barbarossa) conquered Tunis and annexed it to the Ottoman Empire. This was the end of the Hafsids rule.

This Kingdom of Zeyaniah of Algeria

The man who was appointed as Governor by the Mowahids in the province of Algeria, declared his independence in imitation of the Hafsid Dynasty in 633 A.H. Their capital was Tlemcen. Their rule lasted until 796 A.H. when the Moroccan Marinid Dynasty captured their country.

The Marinid Dynasty of Morocco

The Marinid Dynasty ruled over the mountainous regions of Morocco from 591 A.H. In 667 A.H., they captured the Mowahid's territory and established their rule over all of Morocco. In 796 A.H., this dynasty was ruined by one of its own branches and in its place two small rival groups of Muslims founded their rule.

In this chapter, a few references to some of the eastern territories are yet to be given, for instance:

The Ismaili Assassins

Imam Jafar Sadiq's son Musa Kazim is considered by all the ten Imams of the Shia sect to be his father's successor and Imam. However, Imam Musa Kazim had a brother Imam Ismail. Those who regard his brother Ismail as Imam are known as Ismailia Shias. The Obeidi (Fatimid) Dynasty was the greatest government of the Ismaili Shias. The Ismailis have always taken recourse to secret plotting and conspiracies in order to achieve their ends. The government of the Obeidis had already set up a secret intelligence department for the sake of propagating their beliefs and thoughts and it was through their missionaries that their message was sent not only to the territories occupied by them but also to other foreign lands. These missionaries lived and spread throughout all the Islamic countries as preachers, spiritual ascetics, traders, and many other guises and

educated the masses about the Ismaili beliefs. Their blasphemous teachings were abominable and extremely dangerous. They held that the Quran was impracticable that Ismail bin Jafar Sadiq was a prophet. According to them, there were seven Imams. They took the founder of the Obeidi Dynasty to be the seventh Imam and believed that obedience of the Obeidi caliphs to be the source of salvation and more. The efforts of these missionaries did much to benefit and popularize the Obeidi government.

Hasan bin Sabah was an inhabitant of Rayy. His lineage has been disputed. Some say he was an Arab by race and that his ancestors had come from Yemen. Some suggest that he was a magian. Regardless, his father and his relatives believed in the Shia way. Hasan bin Sabah was educated at Nishapur. He was the classmate of Omar Khayyam and Nizamul Mulk Toosi, the Prime Minister of Alp Arsalan and Malik Shah. He was an extremely intelligent and self respecting man. He reached Egypt during Mustansir Obeidi's regime. He was accorded a great reception there. He lived as a royal guest and companion of Mustansir for over a year in Egypt. After having full acquaintance with the Ismaili faith he took the oath for Mustansir and proved to be a first rate missionary for the Obeidi government. When he parted with Mustansir as a missionary, he said to him. "Whom should I follow after you? Who will be my Imam?" Mustansir said, "My son Nazar will be your Imam after me." That is why the group founded by Hasan bin Sabah is also called Nazaria. After his return from Egypt, he lived for sometime in various cities of Iraq and Iran and began to convert the people to his beliefs. Due to the efforts of the Ismaili missionaries, many of the Shias and non-Shias had already embraced the Ismaili faith. So, Hasan bin Sabah was able to gather many supporters very quickly. Mahdi Alawi was the governor of the province of Isfahan and Qahistan on behalf of Malik Shah. Hasan bin Sabah fraudulently purchased the Qalaa al-Maut (Fort of Death) from Mahdi Alawi in order to construct his prayer house. He fortified it in all respects. He collected his devotees endeared himself to the illiterate and warring tribes of the neighboring regions, founded his kingdom and came to be known as Sheikhul Jabal. He invented some strange faiths and practices and

inculcated them into the people's minds. He prepared a group of dedicated fighters who wrought wonders. He remained in his Maut Fort and had great Kings, ministers and scholars murdered by his fighters. He made his famous missionary Kaiyya Buzarg Ummeed his heir-apparent and successor whose descendents continued to rule for several generations. Finally, Hulegu Khan exterminated this group in 655 A.H. The government founded by Hasan bin Sabah lasted in Qahistan for about 175 years from 483 A.H. to 655 A.H. This Ismaili government had established its superiority all over the world and great emperors feared these warrior assassins for they always attacked their adversaries suddenly and by deceit and when they found their victim alone.

The Crusades against Syria

The European Christians began attacking the Muslims in 490 A.H. The Christian missionaries had enthused and instigated their people against the European Muslims and called for the liberation of Syria from Muslim occupation. They regarded this as an act of great religions service and a source of salvation. The chain of these attacks continued for over 300 years. All the Christian kings of Europe geared up to march to Syria along with the Christian invaders and to use their united power. All these invasions form an interesting chapter of the history of Islam and they will be narrated together. The part of these crusades dealing with Sultan Salahuddin Ayyubi's confrontations with the Christians is extremely important and interesting.

The Mongol Kingdom of Asia

In the beginning of the seventh century A.H., the Mongols or Tartars from the northern mountains of China and under Genghis Khan's command moved towards the west and made the countries of Turkistan, Mawaraunnahr, Khorasan, Azerbaijan, Isfahan, Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq, Syria, Asia Minor, Russia and Austria the target of their looting, killing and plundering. They ruined hundreds of kingdoms and put to death dynasties. In the middle of the seventh century in 656 A.H. Hulegu Khan looted Baghdad and killed its last Abbasid Caliph Motasim Billah, which has already been mentioned. Following

Genghis Khan's death in 624 A.H., the Mongol empire was divided into several parts. A part of Genghis Khan's descendents ruled over China. It established its rule in Turkistan and Mawaraunnahr. Another part established its Kingdom in Khorasan and Iran yet another part came to rule over the area of the Caspian Sea. The Mongol empire, which was established by Hulegu Khan in Iran and Khorasan, deserves our special attention. In a very short time, most of the Mongol Empire turned into Islamic territories, that is, the Mongols embraced Islam and became the servants of Islam. After 175 or 200 years, the Mongol Empire in Asia began to decline and ultimately it became extinct. In its place were formed many small states in Iran, Khorasan, Iraq and Mawaraunnahr.

In this state of decline of the Mongol powers in 800 A.H. a chief called Timur (Tamerlane) appeared. By virtue of his victories, he created an uproar all over the Asian continent and repeated the history of Genghis Khan's conquests. Timur was a Muslim but he also used killing and plundering as part of his warfare. They were far more civilized and disciplined compared to Genghis Khan. Timur's descendents succeeded in becoming rulers of all the same territories in which Genghis Khan's descendents had ruled. And just as Genghis Khan's descendents saw their downfall, similarly and with the same rate Timur's descendents met their end. The Mongols of Timur ruled for approximately the same period of time as the Mongols of Genghis Khan. When Timur's dynasty ended in Iran and Turkistan a man named Babar was born from among Timur's descendents. He founded a very powerful empire in India and Afghanistan, which lasted for a significant period of time.

The Ottoman Empire of Turkey

A reference to the Oguz Turks has already been given above. The Seljuks had pushed most of the tribes of the Oguz Turks back to the provinces of Armenia and the coast of the Caspian Sea. Among them was one, which has the credit of founding the Ottoman Empire. When the Seljuk Sultan's rule was over and the Mongols began to create havoc, there were 10 to 12 small states in that part of Asia Minor,

which were under Muslim occupation. Seljuk princes or the Seljuk's slaves governed those states. One of these states located near the border of Armenia, was under the control of Sulaiman Khan, the chief of a tribe of the Oguz Turks. When the Mongols invaded Alauddin Kaiqbad Seljuk's state, Sulaiman and his son Artughril accompanied by their native Turks helped Alauddin Kaiqbad. Their attack was perfectly timed and that forced the Mongols to retreat and flee. Alauddin Kaiqbad honored Sulaiman with a royal robe and made him the commander in chief of his army and awarded a large feudal estate to his son Artughril near the city of Ankara. Alauddin Kaiqbad's capital was the city of Konya at the time. Artughril's feudal estate was located at the border of the Roman emperor's territory. After his father's death, Artughril extended the frontiers of his territory. He secured some territory from the sultan of Konya as a reward and some he took from the Christians. In this way, he came to establish a good-sized state. The Mongols did not disturb these small rulers in Asia Minor and left them alone. In 641 A.H., gheyathuddin Kaikhusru the Successor Alauddin Kaiqbad of had to pay tax to the Mongols. In 657 A.H., Artughril died and he was succeeded by his son Uthman (Turkish Usman) at the age of thirty. The Sultan of Konya, Gheyathuddin Kaikhusro, married his daughter to Usman and appointed him the commander in chief of his army too. When Gheyathuddin Kaikhusro was killed in 699 A.H., all the Seljuk Turks put Usman on the throne of Konya and so besides his own state, the territory of Konya came under his control also. He called himself Sultan. This is the sultan after whose name the Ottoman Empire is known. The Ottoman Sultans were soon able to capture Asia-Minor and drive out the Romans. In 663 A.H., the Ottoman sultans conquered Adrianople and made it their capital and established an Islamic government in southeast Europe by capturing the province of Trabzon. The Roman emperor made peace with him and this saved the rest of his empire from the Ottoman powers. Then the Ottoman's started giving the Christians one defeat after another and continued to extend their frontiers. Finally, in 792 A.H., the Christian kings of Austria, Bulgaria, Bosnia and Hungary jointly launched a very big offensive against the Ottomans. Sultan Murad with a small army

confronted this huge Christian army at Kosovo and gave them a crushing defeat that shook and shocked the whole of Europe. In 799 A.H. the whole of Europe including the French and German armies stood up to root out the Ottoman Empire. The confrontation with Sultan Bayazid, Sultan Murad's son, took place at Nicopolis. Sultan Bayazid, known as Bayazid Yaldram, scored an important victory over the united European forces. Over 20 Christian rulers and dignitaries were brought as captives to the court of Bayazid, who were either kings or princes. This defeat sent a wave of fear all over Christendom. The vanquished Christian kings went back to their countries and made extensive publicity for the formation of a crusade. Then these Christians with even more religious enthusiasm and fervor collected and prepared to fight a decisive war with Bayazid Yaldram. Bayazid Yaldram defeated them in this battle also and was thus able to force the whole of Europe to obey him. At that time, the Roman emperor was in terror. He did not lag behind in sending reinforcements to the Christian crusaders secretly. So, Bayazid Yaldram decided to punish the Roman emperor and finish Christian rule from the Balkan Peninsula and then finish the Christians forever by conquering the entire European continent. He was still thinking of attacking when news came from the Asian continent that Timur with a huge army had invaded Bayazid Yaldram's Asian territories. He was forced to turn to Asia Minor and face Timur. In 814 A.H., the battle took place at Ankara, which resulted in a victory for Timor and Bayazid Yaldram's capture thus the European continent escaped from being over run by the Muslims. It then appeared as if the Ottoman Empire was going to end but after a few years, it was restored to the power and glory seen during Bayazid Yaldram's regime. Within 50 years, Muhammad II conquered Constantinople and put an end to Christian rule in the Balkan Peninsula. Then Sultan Salim gave a crushing defeat to the Iranians, conquered Egypt, Iraq, and Arabia and established the Islamic caliphate in 922 A.H. by finishing the Abbasid caliphate and introduced the chain of Islamic caliphate into the Ottoman dynasty as has been mentioned above. The history of this dynasty is highly interesting as well as instructive for the Muslims.

The Turks of Kashghar

The Turk tribes inhabiting the eastern part of Farghana, which had converted to Islam, established independent kingdoms that lasted from 320 A.H. to 560 A.H. One of their rulers called Elak Khan ruled in Turkistan. His capital city was Kashghar. He belonged to the Oguz Turks and the Ottoman Turks were their countrymen. When the Seljuk Turks established their kingdom, these tribes went to Armenia and Azerbaijan. The Seljuk Turks also were originally from the same nation. These wandering tribes established their kingdoms around the Caspian Sea and those, which were pushed to the east, founded their governments in Turkistan with their capital in Kashghar.

The Kings of India

The Indian state of Sindh was annexed to the Islamic caliphate in the first century A.H. The Governors of Sindh continued to be appointed by the Caliph's court many years. When the Abbasid caliphate began to weaken there sprang up several independent Islamic states. Slowly and gradually, the areas of those Islamic states began shrinking. One of these states in Sindh existed until the invasion of Mahmood Ghaznavi. He attacked Punjab and Multan and annexed them to his Islamic government. And when the Ghauris succeeded the Ghaznavis, they conquered the whole of northern India and established a powerful Islamic state. The first Muslim king who came to the throne of India was Qutbuddin Ebak who was a slave of Shababuddin Ghauri. The Khilji dynasty followed the slave dynasty and then came the Tughlaqs. The Tughlaq dynasty was followed by Khizr Khan's dynasty. Then the Lodhis became the rulers followed by the Moghals. But Sher Shah expelled them and founded his own Kingdom. The Moghals recaptured India from the Sher Shah dynasty and established their own empire. Then the English entered India. The Muslim dynasty referred to above was established in Delhi and Agra. Other contemporary Muslim Kings ruled in different provinces of India for example the Bahmani dynasty, Kings of Gujrat, Kings of Jonepur, the Kings of Bengal and the Kings of Malwa. The account of these with details could be seen in history of India.

The Sultanate of Jalairiah of Iraq

When the Mongol Empire collapsed, the Mongol chiefs established their separate kingdoms in various places including the Jalair dynasty, which ruled in Iraq from 736 A.H. to 814 A.H. Their capital was Baghdad. The founder of this ruling dynasty was Sheikh Hasan Buzurg Jalair. His son Owais succeeded him as the ruler in 757 A.H. after his death. He took Azerbaijan and Tabriz from the Turkmen in 759 A.H. and included Mosul and Deyar Bakr into his Kingdom. When he died in 784 A.H., Kurdistan was given to his son Bayazid and Iraq and Azerbaijan went under the control of his next son Sultan Ahmad Jalair. In 796 A. H., Timur conquered Jalair's entire territory and Ahmad Jalair fled to Egypt. He lived there as a refugee with the Mamluks for several years and when Timur returned to Samarkand, Ahmad Jalair came back and recaptured his old territory. In 813 A.H., Yusuf Turkmen killed Ahmad Jalair in the battle. His nephew Shah Wald came to the throne of Baghdad. At last, in 814 A.H., this dynasty was completely destroyed by the Kara Koylunlu Turkmen.

The Kingdom of Mozaffar

There was a great leader Mozaffar Khorasani at the court of the Moghal Kings. In 713 A.H., the Moghal King Abu Sayeed made his son Mobarzuddin the Governor of Iran. In 715 A.H., Kerman was also annexed to Iran. Thus after bringing Iran and Kerman under his control he declared his independence. This dynasty continued to rule until 759 A.H. The renowned poet Hafiz Shirazi enjoyed an important position at the court of King Shuja of this dynasty.

The Kara Koylunlu Turkmen of Azerbaijan

This dynasty like that of the Jalair had the chieftainship of the Mongol armies. This dynasty established its rule in the southern lands of Azerbaijan and continued to rule from 780 A.H. to 874 A.H. From this tribe, Yusuf Turkmen was very famous. Ak Koylunlu Turkmen took

their power away from them. Kara Koylunlu means ' black sheep'. They had the picture of a black sheep on their flags so they were called Kara Koylunlu. Similarly, Ak Koylunlu means a white sheep and they had the picture of a white sheep on their flags and so they were known as Ak Koylunlu.

The Ak Koylunlu Dynasty

The Ak Koylunlu Turkmen established their state in the vicinity of Deyar Bakr in 780 A.H. They expelled the Kara Koylunlu Turkmen from Azerbaijan in 784 A.H. and established their rule over all of Azerbaijan and Deyar Bakr. But in 907 A.H., Shah Ismail Safwi ended their rule and captured all their territories.

The Kingdom of Safwi

When Timur was victorious in Ankara in 814 A.H., his army captured many Turks. Later on, he took these captives to Sheikh Saifuddin Ardbeli. The Sheikh claimed to have descended from Iman Musa Kazim but he was a Sunni by faith. Once when Timur expressed his readiness to do anything for him in exchange for some service the Sheikh asked him to release all the Turk captives. He obeyed and released all of them. After freeing them, he took the oath for the Sheikh and began to live with him. Timur left Ardbil but the Sheikh found himself surrounded by a huge crowd of dedicated servants who showed their loyalty to the Sheikh's descendents for generations until they made one of his descendents Ismail Safwi their King. Ismail Safwi was a Shia by faith. In 903 A.H., he conquered a few cities in Iran and then in stages he succeeded in bringing under his control the entire country. In 920 A.H., Sultan Salim I gave him a shocking defeat at the battle of Chaldiran, a place 20 miles away from Tabriz. He annexed some western provinces of the Safwi government and then turned to Syria and Egypt. Ismail Safwi lived for 10 years more after this defeat and his descendents continued to rule in Iran until Nadir Shah Irani exterminated this dynasty in 1148 A.H. and established his own rule. Then Iran and Afghanistan went under the rule of the Pathans. Then Iran went under the rule of the Qajar Dynasty.

A Bird's-eye View

The perusal of the above-mentioned list of ruling dynasties and Islamic governments marks the end of this second volume. This should enable the readers to form a picture of the Islamic dynasties and states and they would be able to understand where each dynasty ruled and when they ruled. After this brief summary, one can easily form an idea of the detailed conditions and the lifespan of these dynasties up to the end of the Abbaśid caliphate. This volume should help the readers in understanding these dynasties, which will be covered in the following third volume.

THE END

[Second VOLUME]